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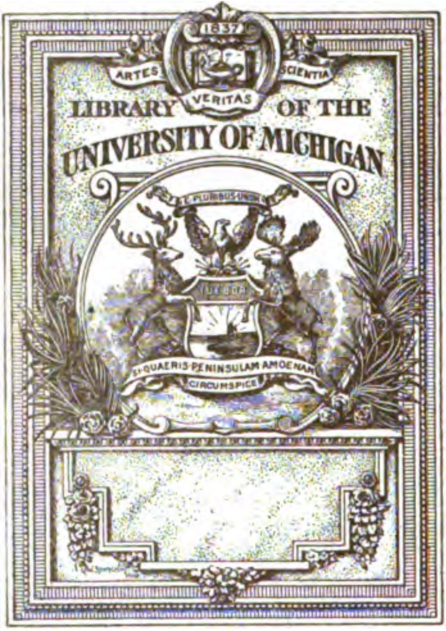
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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1862.

ART. I.—THE BEMA AND THE PULPIT.

Orations of Demosthenes. Edited by BEKKER. 3 vols. Leipsic. 1855.

Oratio de Corona. With Notes by J. T. CHAMPLIN.

Orations of Demosthenes. Translated by KENNEDY. Two vols. London: Bohn. New York: Harpers.

SPEECH will ever be the supreme human power on the earth. No rival will ever dethrone it. The printing press, that great king of thought, now seated firmly on his throne of widening empire, will in vain aspire to the highest sovereignty of mind. Nature is the mother of art, and holds dominion over her offspring by a primordial and prescriptive right. This right was solemnly reaffirmed by the Author of nature, in the person of Jesus Christ, when, about to ascend from the footstool to the throne, he placed the imperial scepter in the hands of speech, saying, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The pulpit, therefore, must ever be the divinely ordained fountain of religious instruction, the foremost agency of popular moral culture, and the grand conservator and bulwark of constitutional liberty. The word of God itself is bound where speech is set in the stocks, or where the pulpit is intimidated, enfeebled, or demoralized. Humanity and patriotism should join their voices with Christianity in vindication of the divine right of speech, and they should join their hands in the effort to bring the pulpit to the highest possible efficiency, by the speedy development of its maximum power. If there ever was an age calling loudly upon the preacher of the Gospel to put on strength, and to hurl the thunderbolts of divine truth with a mighty arm, that age is the present. If there ever was a country calling, as with a herald's trump, for champions to stand forth from the timid crowd, and lift up their voice for her honor and integrity, that country is America. Any suggestion, therefore, though it be merely the reiteration of forgotten truth or the finger-post to a neglected model, contributing to inspire the Christian ministry with boldness and persistence in defense of the truth, or to panoply and nerve our young men for a successful and glorious career in the sacred office, is worthy of their regard.

It is the purpose of this paper to direct the attention of those who would magnify the high vocation, toward that peerless model of eloquence, the nearest human approach to perfection, the undisputed master of the Athenian bema, Demosthenes. We purpose to show that his elements of oratorical power are broad as humanity, and especially applicable to the modern pulpit. It is true that Demosthenes was a secular orator, discoursing of topics of transient interest. But the almost superhuman manner in which he touches human themes; the saintly high-mindedness with which he walks among his fellowmen in an age of moral degeneracy; the quenchless ardor of his patriotism; his unconquerable advocacy of freedom, the Grecian Abdiel, "among innumerable false, unmoved;" his irresistible appeals to right, his vehement torrent of passion, always under the perfect mastery of reason; the simplicity of his style, making his thoughts pervade the soul, as electricity pervades the air; the perfect harmony between the style and the sense; the wonderful immediate effect of his orations, and their unchallenged right to the world's highest admiration after the lapse of twenty-two centuries; all these high qualities proclaim him the unrivaled master of the art of persuasion. To say that he was a *politician* in the American sense of the term would be the utterance of a foul slander. Such a character, in his definition of *συκοφάντης*, Demosthenes has photographed, by the light of his own genius, in indelible colors upon the pages of his immortal argument against Æschines. Then he damned his illustrious rival to everlasting fame by writing his name beneath the portrait. Demosthenes was the pure-minded *statesman*, whose noble lineaments he has traced in his delineation of the σύμβουλος, which this great limner of character painted for a likeness of himself, to be hung up in the gallery of history as a pendant to the demagogue.*

It is the misfortune of some of the world's greatest minds to be abundantly eulogized, but sparingly studied. It is much easier to glorify Bacon than to fathom his philosophy. It requires less labor to crown Newton with our praises than to follow him patiently through his Principia. Multitudes are lavish of compliments to

> "The blind old bard of Scio's rocky isle,"

who are quite content to pass through life without ever reading a verse of the Iliad. The peerless Athenian is no exception to this declaration. Many are profuse in vague encomiums who have never read one of his thrilling periods in the glowing Attic words which set on fire the souls of the Athenian *demos*. It is to be feared that many public speakers, having collegiate diplomas in their drawers, have never formed an intimate and pleasing acquaintance with this chaste exemplar of manly eloquence. In the curriculum of academic study they hastily ran through one or two Philippics, satisfied with some insight into the grammatical relations of the words, while blind to the ravishing rhetorical beauties which unfold themselves only beneath a long and earnest scrutiny. Since they pronounced their orations on commencement day—on which occasion Demosthenes and Cicero were spoken of in very flattering phrase—those distinguished gentlemen of antiquity have been quite forgotten, or remembered only as the authors of much vexation and disquietude to the halcyon days of university life. We are aware that there exists a strong prejudice in many minds against the earnest study of a master orator, grounded on the fear lest there would be more lost in originality than would be gained in other excellences. But why should the orator fear, rather than the painter and the sculptor, who from all civilized lands make pilgrimages to Italy, that shrine of the arts, and spend years in the study of the immortal productions of Titian and Michael Angelo? It is said that the orator should take lessons of the great teacher, nature. As well might you send the artist to nature for his studies, locking him out of the repositories of art in the Vatican, as to send the student of eloquence to nature, shutting him out from the contemplation of those great monarchs of the human soul, whose words have come down to us through twenty centuries enkindling the hearts of all the intervening generations. If man's noblest study is man, his best textbook is the great orator, who has trodden the mysterious avenues to millions of hearts. The successful speaker must be erudite in the knowledge of human nature. The sources of this knowledge are first of all the word of God, which is the discerner and the revealer of men's hearts; secondly, self-scrutiny; and lastly, observation upon our fellow-men. This, we contend, is wonderfully simplified and facilitated by the study of the drama, or the speech which has the power to move men; just as we may often arrive at a more accurate knowledge of the structure of a lock by inspecting the key which unlocks it, than by trying to pry into the lock itself. But he is not to be decried as an oratorical picklock, who has acquired, by the patient study of some great patterns, the high art of turning back the bolts of prejudice and passion in human souls, and of opening them to the ingress of truth.

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* Oratio De Corona, sec. 189. Champlin's edition.

The prolonged and thorough study of the words which swept the souls of the hearers, and which thrill with intense emotion the bosoms of the readers ages afterward, is necessary to complete the rhetorical studies of the schools. In school rhetoric we have the *disjecta membra* of anatomized writers and speakers, thrown together as illustrations of the various principles of the art, as detached bones are arranged in the cabinet of a college of surgery. With the contemplation of these dry bones the school rhetoric ends. If the student ever see bone come to his bone, and the sinews and flesh come upon them, and if he ever see them stand upon their feet as mailed and victorious warriors, he must give his days and his nights to the study of those acknowledged standards of eloquence from which the rhetorician collects his paradigms.

It is fortunate for the world that the highest of these standards, the speeches of the great Pæanian, have descended to the present time in the very syllables in which they flowed from his pen and fell from his lips. For these productions were most industriously elaborated in the closet; they are not the fragments of impromptu utterances, caught up by some Attic reporter in the Pnyx, and amplified by some Athenian Grubstreet. They all bear unmistakable internal evidence of their genuineness. The brief, simple, modest, and sometimes prayerful exordium, the lucid statement, the rapid, crystal stream of logic, the stirring appeal, the impressive peroration, all indicate the *ad unguem factum oratorem* as surely as the lion is known by his claw. We have said that the elements of power in Demosthenes are adapted to influence universal man; that the thoughts and sentiments packed into his periods, uttered in his impetuous manner in any age, to any people, would produce substantially the same effects. Hence we argue his fitness for a model for the Christian ministry whose commission contemplates the exertion of suasive influence upon every creature, even to the end of the world. There is one historical testimony to this characteristic of Demosthenes which it is instructive to contemplate. From his age to the present philanthropists, patriots, and statesmen remarkable for generous impulses and elevated moral sentiments, who have stood forth as champions of the right, and as swift witnesses against every form of tyranny and wrong, have been instinctively attracted to Demosthenes, and have lingered with delight over his pages, and have imbibed his spirit and imitated his style. The patriot Cicero, the advocate of outraged Sicily, and the successful pilot of the Roman Republic through the perils of civil commotion and dark treason; the philanthropic Brougham, whose youthful, fiery denunciations struck the fetters from eight hundred thousand slaves in the British colonies, and banished forever from English law "the wild and guilty fantasy of property in man;" and our own heroic Sumner, who rises from the floor of the American Senate crimsoned with his own blood, and before the vulture eyes of slavemasters pale with rage, hurls his resistless thunders at the baneful system which they love better than the Union cemented in their fathers' blood; these, and many other illustrious names which the world will not willingly let die, all confessedly drew inspiration from the orations of the enemy of the ambitious Macedonian and the devoted friend of Athens.

If the preacher of Christ's Gospel is set, not for the utterance of mere theological dogmas, but to show to men their sins; if it is his office, like his Master, to move among men an incarnate conscience, unmasking hypocrisy, and denouncing the woes of God upon every form of iniquity; if the world has a right to expect the pulpit to be the organ of a higher and clearer sense of right, and the fountain of a purer and warmer philanthropy than the legislative hall, then should the divinely appointed expounder and defender of human rights not only be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his high office, but he should be perfectly familiar with the best models for the expression of that spirit.

We now call attention to some of the prominent characteristics of Demosthenes, which if reproduced in the pulpit would greatly enhance its power.

1. *Demosthenes never attempts to move his hearers till he has laid down a foundation of massive, sterling thought.* It is supposed by many that his success resulted chiefly from his manner; that, in his own language, action is the first, second, and third quality of a victorious orator. But his enemies, when they intimated that his speeches were redolent of the lamp, more sagely divined the secret strength of that young Samson who had suddenly mounted the bema with a power to sway Attica and to shake the Hellenic States at his will, and to foil the perfidious Philip by a half-hour's speech. They could not, however, have asserted this from any appearance of art and severe labor in the structure of his orations, for every thought appears to spring up easily and spontaneously from the occasion. He had learned the perfection of all learning and labor, the *Ars celare artem.*. So unartificial do his speeches appear, that the reader is constantly deluded with the thought that it is a thing perfectly practicable for himself to give expression to his thoughts in a style equally felicitous. Thus Horace's test of literary excellence is satisfied three centuries before the Venusian poet penned the *Ars Poetica.*

> Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
> Speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret
> Ausus idem.

His enemies judged that he had consumed the midnight hours in the preparation of his orations because they felt the unusual weight of thought with which they were laden, as gold is detected by its superior gravity. Other men could *act* as well as Demosthenes. Why did not others produce similar effects? Because they had no mighty thought in their souls to act out, and to transfuse into the souls of their hearers. Hence they were mere declaimers and ranters. Had Demosthenes framed platitudes into intense and earnest expressions, his vehemence might have momentarily fixed the attention of his audience. But would those vapid inanities have been treasured up by the most cultivated minds of his age? Would they have been conned over and recited by his great political antagonist in exile as specimens of the most splendid triumphs of oratory; and would they have been sent, as a precious legacy, down the stream of time, wafted by the praises of each succeeding generation? The speaker who is indifferent to the matter of his address, relying chiefly on his impassioned delivery, presents a striking resemblance to the artillerist who loads his rifled ordnance with a ball of cork, thinking to compensate for its lack of weight by quadrupling the quantity of powder. There is, however, a caution to be observed, that the depth of thought be not beyond the plummet of the ordinary intellect. The deepest thinkers are never popular orators, except those rarely constituted minds, composed, like the Gulf Stream, of a surface-current of fervid impulses, and a deeper and colder stream of metaphysical speculation. The calm, profound, and constructive intellect of Bacon was, by reason of its very depth, far less capable of exercising popular sway by speech than many other men of much narrower intellectual range, as the Great Eastern steamship, by her enormous depth of keel, is excluded from many harbors to which vessels of less draught have easy access. Demosthenes never dreams in the cloudland, like the German; never dives into psychological abstrusities, like a Scotch philosopher; but he applies to the common understanding those plain, practical truths adapted to secure his purpose. That purpose is higher than to dazzle the mind by the corruscation of specious and vague generalities; it is to persuade to immediate action. He seizes upon a universal principle only as a lever with which to multiply his power to press upon the attention some particular truth. Between the extremes of unadorned, logical conciseness and Ciceronian redundance and ornateness he ever found the golden mean, always addressing the reason, yet always winning the heart. Much of modern preaching is ineffective because it is not saturated with thought; and much more fails to edify and to impress because the thought is expressed not in the language of the shop, and field, and fireside, but in the terminology of the metaphysical recitation room.

2. *Demosthenes knew all the points of contact between his own mind and his hearers.* Minds are like spheres, which can have, at the same time, only one point of contact. Through this common point the electric current of the speaker's emotions must pass into the souls of his audience. There is one such point between intellect and intellect, through which the spark of truth is to be conveyed from the giver to the receiver, and there is another for the transmission of the glowing currents of feeling from the sensibilities of the speaker to the sensibilities of the auditor. The first consists in knowledge common to both speaker and hearer. This is the only bridge which spans the chasm between mind and mind. Over this bridge the orator must make his thoughts travel to find an open door into the understandings of those whom he addresses. Otherwise he will speak in an unknown tongue. Here lies one element of the secret power of the Corypheus of Grecian orators; he was perfectly acquainted with the intellectual character of the Athenian people, and he knew just what coin would have currency with them. He was born of the common people; he was educated with them. They had been trained by the same masters, and they had drawn their intellectual nutriment from the same literature. Their youthful souls had been inflamed by the glowing myths of Homer, the father of song; their imaginations had been excited by the gorgeous and sublime imagery of Æschylus, the father of Greek tragedy, and chastened by the reflective and vigorous pages of Thucydides, the father of philosophical history. They had gazed from childhood upon the same scenes; the same rugged ridges of the Pentelican hills obstructed their eastern gaze; on the west was spread out "the loud-sounding sea," visible for many leagues from the summit of the Acropolis. They had a common ancestry, the recital of whose glorious deeds had often inspired their souls with national pride. Here, then, in the minds of his countrymen, was the medium through which the orator might pour his own

thoughts and emotions, a molten stream flowing from the glowing furnace of his own heart. There is, however, one thing lacking, which we have described as the point of contact between heart and heart. *This is a common interest with the hearers.* Demosthenes himself insists that this is the *sine qua non* of oratorical success. In his oration on the Crown he gives utterance to some most valuable philosophical reflections on the nature of eloquence, as Webster in his celebrated eulogy of Adams takes up the same theme and pronounces one of the most sublime passages in modern oratory, a massive ingot of gold. Æschines had all the oratorical advantages which arise from knowledge in common with himself and his hearers. For he also was born and educated at Athens. But there was one insurmountable obstacle to his success. He was suspected of being in the interest of Macedon, while it was manifest to all that Demosthenes was heartily in the interest of Athens. Hence, he tells his antagonist, in their great forensic contest, the reason why he never achieved the highest triumphs of eloquence. *Ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος Αἰσχίνη τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τάυτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὖσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρις.* "It is not the *language* of the orator which is precious, O Æschines, nor the tone of his voice, but the fact that he aims at the same objects that the multitude desire, and that he loves and hates whatever persons his country does."[*] He proceeds to declare that his rival must fail because "he does not anchor upon the same cable with the people, and therefore has not the same expectation of safety." These words commend themselves to the study of every public speaker; to the preacher who has not yet attained a thorough identification with the moral and spiritual interest of his hearers, and to the American politician, who dreams of influence in the reconstructed national government, after he has been once leagued with those whom his country hates, and anchored upon the cable of a confederacy whose keel is oppression and whose timbers are treason.

This devotion to the interests of his native Attica Demosthenes demonstrates by a life of labor and sacrifice. He points with just exultation[†] to his "*συνέχεια, πλάνοι*, and *ταλαιπωρίαι*,"

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[*] Oratio De Corona, § 280. Champlin's revised edition.

[†] Oratio De Corona, § 218.

"perseverance, journeys, and toils," as St. Paul recounts his perils encountered and sufferings endured for those to whom he preached, for whose spiritual well-being he expressed a willingness to lay down his life as a second atonement, if such an offering were necessary, to secure their salvation.* In the entireness of their devotion to their respective objects, there is a striking parallel between the great apostle of Grecian liberty and the great apostle to the Gentiles; they both "fought a good fight," both finished their course by a martyr's death, and both their works do follow. Both are impressive illustrations of the principle that the highest power to sway the human will involves a perfect consecration of being to the highest interests of those whom we would influence. Should we venture to suggest a modern illustration of the same truth, we should not hesitate to appeal to the perfect Christian devotion and the astonishing oratorical success of the seraphic Whitefield. Would our limits allow, we would gladly amplify upon the manifest wisdom of uniting in one person the office of pastor and of preacher, by which he is sent from house to house, to become familiar with his people's modes of thought, and to acquire a personal interest in their well-being, before he enters the pulpit and applies the great motives of the Gospel to their hearts.

3. *In all his speeches Demosthenes had an immediate end to compass.* He always aimed at some direct, practical result. His purpose, ever vividly before his eye, subsidized and intensified all the energies of his nature. He never committed the oratorical suicide of speaking for mere display. That man can never be a hero whose thoughts concentrate upon himself. He must see some object beyond himself, and, in utter self-abnegation, strain every muscle to reach it. If the Athenian Senate ever resorted to the parliamentary ruse of sending an orator into the popular assembly to speak against time, they never could have been so unwise as to select Demosthenes. He never could have prostituted man's godlike prerogative, the sacred gift of speech, to an unworthy purpose. He never learned the art recommended by Archbishop Whately, of marshaling mere words, the art of laboriously saying nothing, cultivated to perfection by a class of American Congressmen.

* Rom. ix, 3.

He is never satisfied simply to please; he always strives to move his hearers to action. His only oration in which he has not a vote to carry, a navy to build, an embassy to elect, or a tax to levy, is his funeral eulogy over his brethren slain in battle, an occasion in which he could animate the drooping patriotism of his fellow-citizens—a service which loyal Americans can appreciate since the day our volunteer army found their Virginian Cheronæa, and we with trembling inquired concerning the defenses of our Athens.

When the advocate sees the life of the prisoner trembling in the balance of a juror's volitions; when the statesman sees the fate of the empire turning upon the pivot of a single vote; when the preacher realizes that his impenitent hearer may be listening to the last offer of Divine mercy, a fitting *subject* and *occasion* for eloquence are presented if the *man* is not wanting. But how often do the first two elements of the divine art of persuasion concur, but the third is lacking! Treason stalks into the senate chamber undisguised, and plies his pick-ax at the very pedestal of the republic. Now the theme and the hour for eloquence are present; but no Cicero hurls words like bullets straight at the conspiritors' heads. The American conscript fathers all address the country. Immortal souls unwashed of sin and hastening to the fires of the judgment are assembled in the sanctuary. Now is the hour, eternity is the theme, worthy of words that burn their way to the heart. But the hour is occupied with a pointless, perfunctory address, because the bell has sounded and the people have convened, and they expect that something of a religious character will be said. The preacher girds himself for the achievement of no immediate purpose, hence no pathos trembles in his voice, no teardrop glistens in his eye, no seraph's coal touches his lips, and no sinner cries for pardon. Nothing gives cogency to the words of Christ's embassador, and inspires his soul with earnestness, like faith in the Gospel as the instrument for the immediate reconciliation of sinners to God. The absence of this faith explains the mystery of much of our fruitless preaching.

4. *The rhetorical structure of his speeches combines in the highest perfection all the excellences of persuasive oratory.* Our limits will not permit an extended analysis of any one of his orations with illustrative quotations. His beauties are so

inwrought into his style, that they are incapable of being detached and presented to the eye like separate gems. We commend his productions to the study of all those who aspire to wield the power of tongue or pen, especially to those who are under an inspired injunction to "study to show themselves approved unto God, workmen, needing not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." There are laws of thought and emotion in human souls as definite and changeless as the properties of matter. He who would overcome the spiritual inertia in a depraved heart, must be as familiar with the philosophy of persuasion as the machinist is with the philosophy of dynamics. Oratory is as much an experimental science as civil engineering; it is building a suspension bridge to an insulated mind. Hence the necessity of oratorical rules and models. Such a model is accessible to all our young men who have money enough to purchase the speeches of Demosthenes and mind enough to master them. They will find a Napoleonic strategy in the disposition of his topics, and a sharp discrimination between his arguments. They will observe the consummate art of his compound periods, memorable for unity, perspicuity, and force; his wonderful skill in the management of facts, and his power to digest them into arguments, and to press every point to the utmost by a facility of condensed restatement. They will admire the keenness of his satire, like a razor of polished steel encased in a style of burnished gold; and his delicate and well-timed appeals to the feelings to allay prejudice, and to prepare the mind for the reception of his arguments. His ability to surcharge a single word with an electric power sufficient to prostrate an antagonist by a single shock will awaken surprise. The student of Demosthenes will find his imagination strengthened and chastened by the orator's dramatic grouping of facts, presenting a scene to the eye like a painting —an unrivaled power of graphic delineation, exemplified in modern times by some of Webster's finest descriptive narratives. He will bow before his occasional outbursts of impassioned feeling, and he will tremble for the luckless victim doomed to endure the Alpine avalanches of his invective.

Let us mingle with the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* who throng the Pnyx at some great national exigency. A messenger is introduced bearing important dispatches. The herald asks, "Who wishes to harangue?" There is no response. After the question has been repeated many times, Demosthenes mounts the bema. His calm countenance gives no indications of the volcanic fires shut up within his soul. He begins with deliberation. He startles by no paradoxes, he excites by no extravagances, he enchains by no novelties, he charms by no subtleties, but, taking the facts which lie around them and the thoughts which repose within them, he proceeds to enforce the duty of the hour. His theme is the peril of the state. The crisis is the last move of the Macedonian upon the great Panhellenic chess-board. Elatea is taken. A few plain sentences place the state of the facts in a clear light before all eyes. A few more sentences let in the sunlight upon the dark purpose of the peace-proposing Philip. Then, in imagination, he makes the Athenians see the conquering squadrons of Macedon desolating Attica. He holds up the dark picture of national overthrow, with the extinction of their boasted democracy in the night of despotism, and the still darker picture of the disgrace which will ever blot the generation which cravenly yielded, without a struggle, to the upstart of Pella, the glorious heritage for which their fathers breasted the Persian myriads at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. Terror and despair brood over the assembled people, and their hearts sink within them. Should the orator descend now all is lost. Despair paralyzes, hope awakens to effort. The orator continues to speak. A rift appears in the leaden cloud, and the sun streams through and paints the rainbow over Attica. Thebes may be won over to our alliance, the Grecian States may unite and conquer, "and the impending danger may pass away as a cloud." The speaker's voice is drowned in the tumultuous shout, "Lead us to Philip." The orator has triumphed. His countrymen, enervated and demoralized by a love of ease and pleasure, heroically march forth to the unequal conflict of Cheronæa, and fall beneath the tread of the invincible Macedonian phalanx.

5. *The triumph of Demosthenes over extraordinary impediments by a vigorous system of self-culture, is an example replete with instruction to aspirants to eminence in the art of public speaking.* We must be pardoned for alluding to a subject so

trite as his cure of his hesitating utterance, short respirations, and uncouth gesticulations, by a persistent course of discipline, for we are writing for the special benefit of our clerical brethren, some of whom may be disheartened by similar infirmities. We cannot, therefore, deem this paper complete without asking our readers to visit, with us, the study of the great orator, and to learn the secret of his Herculean strength,

> Whose resistless eloquence
> Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece
> To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne."

The goblet on the table is not brimming with the ruby wine. Its owner is a water-drinker, an original tee-totaler, not for conscience' sake, but for eloquence; and he manfully bears the reproach of abstemiousness amid the scoffs of his tippling enemies. Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things, is a maxim, the wisdom of which was demonstrated by the athletæ, centuries before it was recorded among inspired truths. The illustrious Grecian needs no artificial stimulants to fire him for his coming effort in the popular assembly. Had the fumes of the narcotic weed been, in his day, a fashionable mode of physical defilement and mental stupefaction, we are warranted in the assertion that this prince of orators would have spurned the enslaving opiate. The sword may no longer be suspended from the ceiling to check the ungraceful shrug of his shoulder; the pebbles, with which his respirations were prolonged, may be lying upon the beach of Phalerum, where he practiced his last vocal exercise to the crested waves. But the workman himself is in his workshop forging, link by link, the adamantine chain with which he will bind his country's foes and lead them in triumph. No labor is shunned. Stroke after stroke from that Cyclopean arm rings upon the anvil. Every word is weighed, and every sentence is turned over and over beneath the sledge till it assumes the required shape. No such motto as *Orator nascitur non fit* is written on the walls of this laboratory. Here it is demonstrated that the proudest laurels of speech are won, not by fitful genius, but by patient toil. Emerson has somewhere said that mediocrity can declaim an oration the fifteenth time more effectively than genius can the first time. This truth may be rendered more impressive when generalized and formulated after the manner of the algebraist, thus:

$$(\text{Mediocrity})^{\text{15th Power}} = \text{Genius} + \chi.$$

Work is the only succedaneum for genius. Drill is the recreator of the man. It is generally supposed that the speaker from memory excludes himself from the highest style of oratorical effect, but the practice of Demosthenes does not sustain this notion; neither does the practice of Whitefield, whose fifteenth public delivery of a sermon, in the judgment of Dr. Franklin, was necessary to develop his maximum power. There is a well-authenticated tradition that the modern pulpit-charmer, Summerfield, who enchained multitudes with his apparently impromptu flights of imagination and outbursts of pathos, was accustomed in his preparation for the pulpit to rehearse his sermons by the clock. Had Dr. Olin unwisely burned his manuscripts he would not only have robbed the world of a rich legacy of sterling, original thought, expressed in a pure and majestic style, but he would have hidden from his brethren the secret staircase by which he mounted to his acknowledged pre-eminence in sacred oratory. But that secret is unvailed by the discovery, after his death, of carefully written copies of all his great sermons, corresponding with verbal exactness with those spoken productions which swayed his hearers as the tornado sways the forest, and which impressed their very words upon the student's memory "as laid in the rock forever." He added to his great natural powers the most laborious study. We are not authorized to say that he preached entirely from memory; but facts do justify the assertion that Demosthenes never more thoroughly prepared himself for the bema than did Olin for the pulpit. He made success a duty, and he made preparation for success a matter of conscience. He abhorred "slip-shod sermons" and a reliance upon "an inspiration which never comes" to help a sluggard in his time of want.

There are few living orators to contest the palm of eloquence with Edward Everett, whose pen patiently records every word of his great speeches, and his memory faithfully transcribes every sentence before his lips become the fountain of mellifluent periods. The rising stars of the Wesleyan pulpit, Arthur and Punshon, whose fitly spoken words are like apples of gold in pictures of silver, are model extemporizers; and yet, while they disclaim preaching memoriter, they candidly disavow improvised diction, and declare that they have the entire sermon in their "mind's eye" when they announce the text. A perfect verbal memory is a rare gift. Many who are moved by the Holy Spirit to the Christian ministry can never attain it even by the severest discipline; and very few can make it available so frequently as the sacred office demands. For this reason we do not assert that the illustrious son of Athens is in this regard a model for all preachers of the Gospel. Yet we do insist that those endowed with this aptitude should not neglect the gift of God that is in them, and through the influence of a vain expectation of divine inspiration, or of unfounded prejudice, or of culpable indolence, never magnify their high vocation by the application of all their powers to a work "which filled a Saviour's hands."

Every preacher who studies himself and his work will find deficiencies to be supplied and excellences to be acquired affording scope for the most assiduous self-culture. So many elements enter into the perfect orator—posture, gesture, mien, eye, pitch and quantity of voice, pronunciation, intonation, grammar, rhetoric—that he would be the eighth wonder of the world in whom all these excellences in perfection were combined by nature.

Unfounded religious scruples deter many from that elocutionary culture requisite to enhance their usefulness. It is supposed that attention to the manner of preaching is incompatible with reliance upon the Holy Spirit's promised aid in the proclamation of saving truth. But the dispensation of the Spirit is not a dispensation from labor. It is not a license to laziness, but rather a cheering voice arousing to higher effort, crying, Work, for God works with you.

Mr. Wesley, one of the highest authorities in all matters relating to preaching, gives to his young men the following sound advice: "It is more difficult to find out the fault of your gesture than those of your pronunciation; for a man may hear his voice, but he cannot see his own face, neither can he observe the several motions of his own body, at least but imperfectly. To remedy this you may use a large looking-glass as Demosthenes did, and thereby learn to avoid every disagreeable and unhandsome gesture." . . . "Whenever you hear an eminent speaker, observe, with the utmost attention, what conformity there is between his action and his utterance. You may afterward imitate him at home till you have made his graces your own." It is not unreasonable to suppose that this great master of sacred eloquence, in these directions to others, opens the door of a little room in Lincoln College, Oxford, and gives us a glimpse of the Demosthenean drill practiced by an ardent student in his preparation to inaugurate "that new dispensation of the Gospel"* with which his own name will be connected till the last generation shall dwell upon the earth; so that Methodism itself may be largely indebted to the influence of that example of patient self-discipline persistently applied by a weak and stammering Athenian youth, providentially set forth as a pattern of all perseverance to all who should live thereafter.

The best English translator of Demosthenes is Kennedy. His translations are as nearly literal as possible, considering that no two languages are exactly commensurate. But such is the muscularity and directness of the style of Demosthenes, and its general freedom from inversions, that he comes nearer to the English than any other writer in the dead languages, excepting the Hebrew. Mr. Kennedy's volumes abound in valuable notes and appendices. The cheapest and most attractive edition of the text is Bekker's Leipsic. But we advise all who attempt to gain a private introduction to this great orator to avail themselves of American editions of his works with notes, for there are difficulties which an unaided student would find formidable without such helps. By far the best companion for the profitable study of the masterpiece of Demosthenes we have found in a work printed but not yet published, entitled, "Notes, Grammatical and Rhetorical, upon the Oration on the Crown. With an Historical Sketch." Professor Larned, of Yale College, is said to be the author of this work, which he is now revising and enlarging for publication.

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* Dr. Hedge.

ART. II.—THE POLITICAL CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE GREEK RACE.

EVERY indication that reaches us tends to corroborate the belief that the condition of the Turkish empire, and more particularly of that portion of it which lies in Europe, has not reached an equilibrium. No part of the inhabited globe offers to man a more fertile soil or a more genial climate; and for no territory of equal extent has the contest been more animated. Yet no stability has been attained. Each successive impulse has only prepared for a new oscillation. Nor does the present aspect of the Eastern problem offer any reason to expect that the latest conquest by the Turks will be more permanent than the previous conquests of the same regions by semi-Hellenic kings and Roman generals. In fact the entire condition is one of instability, transition, and preparation. The grand political lesson of our times, it may safely be affirmed, is the futility of the attempt to bind together, by merely artificial and governmental bonds, elements that are dissimilar and discordant from their very origin. The cohesion between provinces united by the apparently fortuitous intermarriage of rulers in bygone generations, is at best of a very slight nature; it dissolves in an instant when it comes into active interference with the simultaneous and mutual attraction of the fragments of a great nation seeking to reunite. Notwithstanding every hinderance arising from arbitrary and unnatural association, Europe now bids fair to undergo a complete remodeling, such as shall restore great nationalities to their proper proportions, and afford to each an opportunity as nearly equal as may be to develop its own peculiar character and capacities.

In European Turkey the great majority of the population consists of adherents of the Christian faith. The Mohammedans, in spite of the advantages they have for the last four centuries enjoyed as the dominant race, and notwithstanding the system of proselytism to their creed which they have encouraged, still continue to be in the minority. In past centuries a few of the higher ecclesiastics and of the more important laymen of the cities may have been induced to renounce their religion, and, as a consequence, their national attachments; but the cases of apostasy were limited very much to the vicinity of the chief cities and towns. The people of the agricultural districts remained unswerving in their devotion to the faith and traditions of their forefathers.* Of this Christian population, comprising about twelve millions out of the sixteen million souls in European Turkey, the Greek element is by far the most important, whether we view it in respect to numbers, intelligence, or activity. It is evident, therefore, that no solution that leaves it out of the question can be permanent in its results. With population, growing intellectual strength, and energetic self-reliance in their favor, the Greeks must, in that entire alteration of the mutual relations of the races which every careful political observer must be convinced is imminent, obtain, if not the exclusive, at least a preponderating influence. Whether the Greeks are entitled to claim a pure Hellenic descent or not is a question which, however interesting it may be to those who would gladly share in the credit of Marathonian victories, will, we imagine, have little to do in settling sober matters of political supremacy. If the Greeks can only show that they are so bound together by the ties of common sympathies and sentiments as to constitute a harmonious people, neither Turks nor Franks need distress themselves even should it be true that for every drop of pure Hellenic blood that courses through their veins there are two drops of the baser Albanian or Sclavonic. It is sufficient that the Greek race as we find it is homogeneous, endowed with high capacities and qualifications for the accomplishment of the historic task which the providence of God seems destining it to undertake. And this we deem an incontestible fact. For quickness of apprehension and readiness of execution, for the power of subtle investigation in the domain of thought, and for fertility of imagination, we regard the Greek mind as unsurpassed. Of the energy of the Greeks we need no better proof than that afforded by the enterprise displayed in commercial pursuits, not only within the few years that have elapsed since the paths of trade have been cleared of obstructions, but from the very moment when their country was beginning to recover from the paralyzing effect of its subjugation by a horde of semi-barbarous invaders. Despised and oppressed at home, and with little to anticipate in case of success beyond an insecure tenure of their property exposed to the violence of every petty Turkish ruler, Greek merchants ventured to engage in a competition with the most commercial powers. And in the attempt they met with a fair amount of success, notwithstanding Venetian and Genoese jealousy, and the piratical inroads of the knights of Malta, of Catalan corsairs, and others, who troubled themselves little to ascertain whether they were plundering the property of friends or foes. At a later period, when a wider door was opened to legitimate commerce, the islanders of Hydra and Spetzia and the thrifty tradesmen of Smyrna and Scio laid the foundations of commercial establishments at home or abroad, which have now reached colossal dimensions, and extend their operations over the known world.

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* Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination. By George Finlay, LL.D. Pp. 182, etc. Edinburgh and London. 1856.

It cannot be disguised, however, that very grave doubts have been and are perhaps still entertained by many, regarding the capacity of the Greeks to perform the important part allotted to them. That many of the accusations are unmerited by them as a body, however applicable they may be to individuals, it would be no difficult matter to prove. In the same manner as the ancient Romans derived their ideas of Greek character only from the low and base type with which they came in contact, and judged of the whole nation from the servile disposition of those who visited Italy in numbers for the purpose of making gain by flattering the conquerors of their native land; so the modern Greeks have suffered the misfortune of having imputed to them all the foibles of the intriguing and covetous inhabitants of the quarter called the *Fanar* in the city of Constantinople. The heart of the race as it displays itself in the rural districts, whether of Thrace, Macedonia, or Hellas proper, has always been immeasurably superior to the idle population which readily congregates at the center of government, whether that center be Constantinople or Athens. The merchants of the East are, it is true, accustomed to attribute to their Greek *confrères* a want of strict adherence to truth and honesty in their dealings, and re-echo the old taunt of the Latin satirist, "*Græcia mendax.*" We shall not venture wholly to deny the truth of their assertions; albeit the transactions of many of these same gentlemen in the East have not been above suspicion of the like faults, and would seem to warrant the belief that they considered the Greeks, even when engaged in the sacred work of securing their independence, a fair subject for spoliation. Let us be charitable, and ascribe the vices which may seem to predominate in Greek character, not to any inherent defect which may not be eradicated by time and superior moral culture, but in great measure to the natural effects of an unremitting oppression by foreign masters, which has extended over twenty centuries of their existence. Even if the caustic assertion of the Frenchman spoken of by Lord Byron were supported by fact, "They are the same rabble that they were in the time of Themistocles," we might hope that the free development of their moral and religious natures would give us not a few who like Socrates and Plato, or like Chrysostom and Athanasius, might become an honor to their race. An acknowledgement of the failings of the Greeks, to be fair, must, however, be accompanied with a corresponding notice of their striking excellences, such as their sagacity, their thrift, their indomitable energy and courage, which place them in the very front rank of the various races of the Turkish empire.

A revolution such as that which freed a portion of the Greek race from the dominion of the Sultan could not fail in many ways to retard the progress which was everywhere beginning to manifest itself. It was this view of the matter that discouraged the aged Coray, whose patriotic mind, ardently as it burned to behold the liberation of his country, could not forget the immense cost at which it was likely to be purchased. The announcement of the outbreak of the war was mournful news to the philosopher and philanthropist, who had spent a long life as a voluntary exile in Western Europe, that he might more successfully occupy himself in the publication of works calculated to elevate his poor ignorant countrymen. Of the aspiring men who originated the revolution Coray shortly after wrote: "They scarce deserve forgiveness. For, with the blood of many myriads of men, with the disgrace of unnumbered women, with the conversion to Islam of multitudes of young men and maidens, with the destruction of whole cities, they have purchased freedom, (or rather a semblance of freedom,) which after twenty or, at most, thirty years would have been surely and absolutely obtained with incomparably fewer evils." *

The voice of history, we are confident, will fail to confirm the opinion of that devoted lover of his race. The day which was chosen by Providence for the enfranchisement of Greece will certainly appear, in the light of subsequent events, to have been most favorable to the accomplishment of the great designs to which it was merely the introduction. Even now we can recognize the impossibility of initiating in any part of Turkey such schemes of extended public instruction as form the crowning glory of independent Greece. And when we look at the growing intelligence of the people, at their well-perfected school system, reaching from the primary school to the university, and at the numbers of educated men filling every liberal profession, we hesitate to say that these advantages were dearly bought even at the cost of such sufferings as those from which Coray drew back in affright.

Undeniably the revolution, by the immense destruction of property which it superinduced, inflicted an injury upon the material prosperity of Greece which it has required long years to repair. Yet the elasticity with which a people lately freed from oppression undertakes to retrieve the losses it has incurred, soon obliterates every vestige of their existence. A more serious drawback, due rather to the miserably selfish policy of the pretended friends of Grecian independence than to any action of the Greeks themselves, has made itself felt ever since. Had not the allied powers interfered more to regulate than to insure the freedom of the peninsula, an area would have been given to the new state sufficiently extended to furnish full scope for the development of the race under free institutions. The blessings of liberty and education, now enjoyed in their largest extent only by a small part of those who joined in the war, would have been shared alike by the brave defenders of Suli, by the enterprising and refined Sciotes, and by the inhabitants of Crete and Rhodes. But the strength of the new state was sacrificed to the preservation of the balance of power, and French and English united in preferring to jeopard the success of the enterprise for whose sake rivers of blood had flowed, rather

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* Coray, Preface to his edition of Epictetus, I, 21.

than to weaken in any way the bulwark that stood between Russia and the command of the Black Sea.

We shall not undertake to say that the restricted size and, as it were, local character thus imposed upon the Grecian state, must in the end prove to be disadvantageous. On the contrary we can readily see that in more than one respect it may ultimately conduce to the more complete realization of those hopes entertained by every well-wisher of Greece. The failures that must inevitably attend a new experiment prove less disastrous when it is tried on a small scale. The people, long subject to a despotism, can better be trained to self-government in states of moderate size, such as are those of the kingdom of Otho and of the Ionian Islands, than if to the impediments arising from the general want of habits of self-control and subordination were added conflicting interests of widely separated communities. As education, both mental and moral, is in its very nature gradual, and requires the lapse of time to permeate an entire race consisting of several millions, free Greece may serve as the temporary school where the future legislators and judges, philosophers and philanthropists of the entire Greek race may be trained for their more extended work. It is a fact worthy of observation that, accordingly, in the University of Otho, as the new Athenian academy is styled, the number of students from abroad and representing every part of "enslaved" Greece is generally equal to and often exceeds the number of those in attendance from within the limits of "free" Greece.

One fact impresses itself very forcibly upon every foreigner who renders himself familiarly acquainted with the feelings of the Greeks scattered through the East, of whatever grade, and in whatever pursuits they may be engaged; and this is, that everywhere they look with pride and gratitude upon the small kingdom of Otho, and contemplate the rising institutions of Athens with much of the same devotion with which the Moslem directs his gaze to the land and the city of the Arabian prophet. The inhabitants of Smyrna on the one side, and of the Ionian Islands on the other, long to be united to the Greek monarchy, and that, nothwithstanding the abuses which they know prevail there in the administration of the government. Wealthy Greeks, who for purposes of gain have expatriated themselves, like Baron Simos in Austria, show their avidity to associate their own names with the advancement of the land of their forefathers by liberally contributing to its educational or mechanical establishments. They found an astronomical observatory on the hill of the nymphs, and furnish it with every necessary appliance; they rear costly edifices for a university of the largest size and for colleges for females; they establish theological and other seminaries in a country which it may be they have never even visited. All this, certainly, is far from proving that the Greeks themselves, whether at home or abroad, regard their experiment of self-government and independence as a failure.

The circumstances that have given rise, in the minds of many foreigners too little acquainted with Greece in her present condition, to the idea that the heroic struggles of her revolution and the noble devotion of many an enthusiastic philhellene were all to no purpose, it is not difficult to discover. While, on the one hand, the sympathizers with Greece in western Europe looked toward that classic land as if expecting to see the exhibition of every virtue and magnanimous trait which had ever gleamed from that quarter in past ages, the cabinets of the allied monarchs imposed upon it a government the least suited to call forth its resources and foster its growth. The *people* of Europe forgot the difficulty of implanting habits of industry in an agricultural population accustomed to the exactions of Turkish officials of every rank, and now destitute of land, implements, and capital. They ignored the yet greater difficulty of introducing uprightness and every quality of freemen among those who, from their abject condition, had almost necessarily been compelled to have recourse to intrigue and the ordinary vices of slaves. But the allied powers erred even more grievously in attempting the establishment of a monarchy, the counterpart of that of Bavaria, in a country where Teutonic institutions were altogether incongruous to those that had subsisted for generations.

When the allied powers, after the assassination of the president, Count Capo d'Istria, resolved to erect Greece into a monarchy, and for that purpose chose as king the second son of Louis of Bavaria, they intrusted the government during his minority to a regency of which the most conspicuous members were Count Armansperg and Mr. Maurer. The first error was in the appointment of men for this most responsible office who, although liberal in sentiment, were not only ignorant of the true character of the Greeks, but of their very language. The absurdity of such a selection does not find a parallel even in the accrediting of ministers by the United States to foreign courts, who are unacquainted with a single language besides their native tongue.

The condition in which they found Greece was indeed deplorable. Of all the flourishing villages hardly one was remaining at the close of the war. The commerce of the country, upon which a quarter of a million souls depended for employment, was utterly prostrated. We cannot picture the absolute ruin which stared the miserable inhabitants in the face better than by citing the graphic description given by Mr. Finlay in a pamphlet published not many years after the arrival of King Otho:

> In considering the condition of the Greeks at the period of the establishment of the present monarchy, it must be recollected that the war of the revolution had reduced the surviving population to a state of the most complete destitution. All agricultural stock was extirpated, houses, barns, and stables were destroyed, fruit trees and vineyards rooted up, the very forests from which the dwellings might have been reconstructed were everywhere burned down, lest they should afford shelter to the unsubdued population. The sword, famine, and disease had reduced the inhabitants of the continent and the Morea to about one-third of their original number. We believe that there has been no war in modern times in which an equal loss of property and life has been sustained by any people which, amid this suffering, has remained unsubdued. From the commencement of 1821 to the end of 1832 Greece has been deprived of every internal resource.*

In this position of affairs it was clearly the duty of the regency to direct their entire energies to the development of the physical advantages of the country, by lending that assistance to the husbandman which government can occasionally afford, as well as to encourage the immigration of the industrious from abroad. It was in offering inducements to colonists that the surest method of filling Greece with an industrious and wealthy population was to be anticipated. But while some of the ministers had a favorite project of making Greece "a German America," and attracting thither the burghers of their native land—a project little relished by the Greeks themselves—such obstacles were thrown in the way of settlers from Turkey and elsewhere as almost precluded their coming. This effect was perhaps not intended, but was the result of faulty statesmanship. The title to the greater part of the soil of Greece was vested in the Greek government as the successor of the Turkish. Now it was evidently the true policy to sell the lands to actual settlers, on such easy terms that multitudes of the Christian peasantry, who groaned under the galling yoke of the sultan, would fill up the depopulated plains. Instead of this, the lands were purposely kept out of the market. No part of the public domain was even allowed to be cultivated except for a rent of twenty-five per cent. on the gross produce; while private estates were by law subject only to the ordinary tax of one-tenth. The exactions of the collectors, however, not unfrequently augmented the impost to forty per cent. in the one case, and twenty per cent. in the other. Wealthy Greeks who came from Macedonia or the Levant with ready money to purchase estates in Greece and take up their abode there, disgusted at the obstacles they encountered, returned to their native districts, carrying away the capital that might by a very small degree of encouragement have been secured to the new kingdom. Hinderances were thrown in the way of the transfer of private estates. Owners of property in and near the cities were annoyed to an unparalleled extent by the arbitrary and vacillating course of the authorities. Time and again the plans of Athens were altered, and gentlemen who were building, or were on the point of doing so, were suddenly stopped by an announcement that their lots were about to be taken for some square or public edifice, of which nothing more was ever heard, though the prohibition remained in full force.

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* The Hellenic Kingdom and the Greek Nation, by George Finlay, Esq., of Lyosha. London: 1836. Pp. 17, 18. This valuable treatise, written many years before the historical volumes which have given Mr. F. his high reputation in the literary world, is characterized by the author's accustomed practical sagacity and thorough familiarity with the details of his subject. It points out with distinctness the capital mistakes of the German regents and ministers, as well as the measures of public improvement which ought to have been adopted.

So far did the regency carry their disregard of the sanctity of property, that at one time they put forth a claim on the part of the government to all land not actually in cultivation. The Minister of Finance was bold enough to proclaim that "every spot where wild herbs fit for the pasturage of cattle grow, is national property;" and that the Greek Government, like the Turkish, recognizes "no property in the soil vested in a private individual, except the exclusive right of cultivation."* But this attempt to weaken public security was too flagrant to meet with acquiescence. It was not only illegal, but struck at the very existence of the numerous class of shepherds, who were with difficulty prevented from rising in rebellion. The attempt to enforce the claim was "silently withdrawn."

Even a taste for archæology, laudable in itself, but ill-directed, served to delay the progress of Greece. A plan for excavating the entire site of Athens (like most of the other plans of the regency afterward abandoned) sufficed to keep the people for months in suspense as to where the new capital was to stand. Prof. Thiersch, than whom a more intelligent antiquary could scarcely be found, was of opinion that the government could not expend its spare funds better than by importing into Greece ten thousand yoke of oxen one year, and one hundred thousand the next, and he defended his somewhat extravagant recommendation by saying "that working oxen were more wanted than the bull of Marathon itself in bronze or marble." A member of the diplomatic corps at Athens playfully remarked that the worthy German professor was certainly thus far right; that Greece had much greater need of *bœufs* than of *Bavarois*.

With a government so regardless of the interests of the people, and so supine where any improvements were concerned, it is wonderful that Greece exhibited such recuperative energy, and that the wounds inflicted by a terribly destructive war so soon began to heal. Yet had the regency and the government that succeeded it been engaged in more profitable pursuits than the mere multiplication of laws never to be carried into execution, the Hellenic kingdom would have realized much more completely the sanguine expectations of its foreign well-wishers.

The importance of the course taken by the regency can scarcely be overrated. From its position it naturally gave direction to the policy of government long after its original members had passed out of office. Reaching his majority June 1,

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* Finlay, The Hellenic Kingdom, p. 64.

1835, the young king, Otho, followed in the steps of his predecessors in power, and even retained Count Armansperg in his cabinet as Chancellor and Prime Minister. A constitution had been promised to the people, but year after year was allowed to elapse without a fulfillment of the pledge. The king governed through the instrumentality of his cabinet, whose decisions were simply referred to a council of state with an order to return them ratified within forty-eight hours.* No representation being allowed to the people, the crown acted constantly in ignorance of the will of the nation. The king's advisers were mostly foreigners, and the cabinet was so constituted that it mattered little if it ever assembled; for as there was no single language which all the ministers understood,† any discussion of public measures was entirely out of the question. Of 9,250 men in the Grecian army, about one half were Bavarians, maintained at a much superior cost to the remainder of the troops. By adopting this policy much of the training that might have been given to the Greeks, both in the conduct of political affairs in a constitutional monarchy, and in military management, preparatory to any accession which might at some future time be made to the limited territory of King Otho's dominions, was temporarily lost to the nation.

Let us look for a moment at previously existing constitutions. Between the date of the first outbreak of the war for national independence in 1821, and the establishment of the monarchy by the choice of Otho on the 7th of May, 1832, Greece had been uninterruptedly subject to constitutional government. The constitution itself had, however, been twice remodeled. The first congress of the nation, held at Epidaurus in December, 1821, prepared a constitution which was at once published throughout all Greece. By the second national convention, at Astros in 1823, this instrument was modified in certain of its provisions. After the expiration of four years still more essential changes were introduced by the constitution adopted in the third congress, which met at Trœzene in the year 1827. It was by this last body that John Capo d'Istria was chosen governor or president (κυβερνήτης) for seven years. His term of office had not expired when, on the 27th of September, 1831, he was assassinated by the Mavromichales, instigated partly by personal motives, and partly by the jealousy which the evident devotion of Capo d'Istria to the Russian cause had implanted in the breasts of the adherents of a national policy. The democratic constitution under whose provisions the president had held office was still supreme, but may be regarded as having expired when, without consultation of the national wishes, Greece was subjected to the rule of a German prince.

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* Finlay, Hellenic Kingdom, p. 104.

† Ibid., p. 76, note.

Accustomed to the limitation of the executive authority by constitutional restraints, it was with great difficulty, and not without frequent exhibitions of uneasiness, that the Greeks submitted to the irresponsible sway of the regency, and afterward of the young king and his ministers. At length on the third of September, (fifteenth of September, New Style,) 1843, the discontent found expression in a popular demonstration. An immense crowd of citizens and soldiers assembled on the broad open space in front of the king's palace and loudly demanded a constitution. The obstinacy of the young prince inclined him at first to refuse compliance, but better counsels prevailed, and he gave a promise to call a national convention to draft the desired ordinance. The threatening aspect of a few cannon, loaded and directed toward the palace, is said to have conduced to persuade him to acquiesce in this unpalatable suggestion. Simultaneously with this concession he dismissed the Bavarians from the public posts which they engrossed, and disbanded his Bavarian regiments. A constitution was framed in due time by the convention assembled for that purpose, and King Otho himself publicly swore on the eighteenth of March, 1844, faithfully to observe all its provisions.*

The constitution thus obtained must be considered a very fair adjustment of the relations between government and people, and between the various departments of the administration. In its general features it approximates to the constitutions of Belgium and of France before the revolution of 1848. In a peculiar manner is the throne made to rest upon the good-will of the people, for an intermediate or privileged class cannot exist in Greece. No titles of nobility can be given by the government or recognized by it. While a senate exists by the side of the more popular branch of the legislature, it consists only of persons who have filled certain important posts which are duly specified in the constitution, and none of its members can be there by hereditary claim. The freedom of public worship is guarantied to all recognized religions; the liberty of the publication of his opinions by word or in print is reserved to each citizen; and the exaction of caution money, such as the responsible editor of every French newspaper must deposit, is expressly forbidden in Greece. Slavery is prohibited, and it is declared that a slave of whatever race or religion is free as soon as he treads upon Grecian soil. Elections are by ballot. The budget is submitted to the legislature. The ministry are held accountable for every regulation to which they give the sanction of their signatures, and no regulations are valid unless countersigned by them. Such are, in general terms, the characteristic features of the constitution of the Greek kingdom.

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* See Hippodamos, or the Greek Constitution annotated. By Nicholas Pappadoukas. (A modern Greek work.) Pp. 129, 130. Athens. 1848.

The reign of King Otho under the restraints of a constitution has now lasted nearly eighteen years, and it is reasonable that we should expect to discover its fruits, whether beneficial or otherwise, in the present condition of Greece. Under the circumstances it was to be anticipated that the first and most vigorous exertions of the king would be directed toward the adoption of such a course of policy as would build up a great national party. A good monarch would have striven so to heal the dissensions of the people engendered by personal animosities arising from the distracted state of the country, as to place himself at the head of a vast majority of his subjects, and to animate them with an earnest desire to forward the best interests of Greece. Instead of this, we find the political world divided unequally into three parties founded upon the worst of distinctions. Much as is to be deplored the existence of parties which depend upon sectional interests, those whose basis is foreign alliance and sympathy must in the end become far more detrimental. Our forefathers narrowly escaped the permanent establishment of a French and an English party in their midst. Greece has a threefold division into Russian, French, and English. It is true that the adherents of these factions do not differ greatly in the ultimate object of their aspirations. All are dissatisfied with the narrow limits of their kingdom, and with that policy of the great powers which has effectually excluded six or seven millions of Greeks from the privilege of self-government granted to one million souls of the same race. All alike look forward to the day when a new Greek empire shall comprise not only the Ionian confederacy, but the greater part of European Turkey, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the yet enslaved islands of the Archipelago, in which the Christians outnumber the Moslems, and when Constantinople shall be its capital. But the parties differ *toto cœlo* as to the method of carrying into execution this grand programme. The Russian party, also known as the *Napist*, looks to the only independent nation of the same Orthodox faith—the great Russian empire—as the source of strength for accomplishing its ambitious designs. The majority perhaps of its advocates expect that when the proper moment shall arrive, the moral and physical support of the czar will enable the king of the Hellenic state, whoever he may then be, to secure himself a more extensive sway over provinces now subject to the sultan. A smaller and more obsequious fraction would be willing to purchase the accession to the political importance of Greece at the price of accepting as monarch a younger brother or son of the emperor of all the Russias. Very few probably would stoop so low as to consent to annexation to Russia. This party is undoubtedly the largest, and comprises the great mass of the ecclesiastics, both regular and secular, with the whole body of bigoted adherents to the Orthodox Church, whether belonging to the higher or to the lower orders. Its main organ is the "Æon" of Athens. In education, as well as in religion, it is the retrograde party. Reforms in doctrine or practice, and the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures, it opposes. Not a few of its supporters would express themselves, as we remember to have heard an aged monk acting as abbot in the monastery of Phonia say, that "he was adverse to the education of the priesthood in particular, because learning made them all atheists."

The French and English parties are, on the contrary, the liberal factions; the promoters of education, and the patrons of the sciences and arts. The western nations, rather than Russia, are the objects of their admiration, and the pattern to which they seek to bring their country into conformity. Here are to be found most of the well-instructed men of Greece, the majority of the professors in the university and the gymnasia, and in general those whose ideas have been enlarged by travel and study in foreign lands. Hence, although their numbers are smaller, they exert a no less important influence than the Russian party. Not only do the sympathies of the supporters of these parties go out toward the more liberal systems of the west, but many of them look in certain contingencies to France and England for a successor of Otho. Some would prefer France, because they hope much from Napoleon's policy; others England, because of the personal merits of the royal family of that country, and because an English prince would assuredly receive the Ionian Islands as part of his dominions.

From entanglement with these parties Otho has succeeded in keeping himself free; and by playing the one against the other he has secured a sufficient support from all. The present cabinet comprises members of all the parties, united by one tie alone, which is the common desire to carry through the measures of the king. A new division is thus made into the supporters of the administration and its opponents. And here it must be conceded that the crown has displayed great perseverance and, at times, tact, in maintaining its ascendancy in both branches of the legislature. The constitution provides that the appointment of members to the senate shall be vested in the king, with the limitation that there shall never be less than twenty-seven senators, nor more than one-half of the number of the members of the other house. The power thus conferred Otho has more than once employed in order to obtain a majority. In 1851, when a project to which the king was favorable was about to fail in the senate, notwithstanding that he had by anticipation created three or four new members, he prorogued both houses for some forty days. When the senate reassembled the royal side found itself re-enforced by ten or more additional members, all selected with care from persons devoted to the king's interests. The measure then passed without difficulty. To influence individual members also no pains are spared. A distinguished foreigner, a philhellene who had long been on the benches of the opposition, we are sorry to say, has been accused of having been recently induced to change his views by receiving a subsidy of $10,000 in guise of back pay for services rendered during the revolution. The statement, however, we are loth to receive without further proof; but of the willingness of the government to effect its purposes by such means other incidents leave us in no doubt. The aged Canaris has long been a senator. Within a few months the ministry introduced a bill into the chambers which was intended to confer additional emoluments and the rank of vice-admiral on the revolutionary hero. This called forth from Canaris a letter addressed to the ministry, which will be read with pleasure wherever political honesty and private integrity are accounted virtues.

> With amazement did I last evening read in the official column of the general newspaper of the ministry the announcement of a bill appropriating to me a monthly salary of 1,000 drachms ($2,000 per annum;) for I replied clearly and distinctly to Mr. Colocotronis, the messenger of the king, that I would receive neither contribution nor the rank of vice-admiral, which he came commissioned to offer me. . . . On other occasions also, when such offers have been made to me by ministers, I have answered in the same language, and have made it evident that my opposition did not arise from the neglect of my rights, (for I have the conviction that the Greek nation will recognize and give to my children, if I am no longer living, that which I justly claim;) but that it sprang from the course of the government, which has made of no effect the constitutional form of polity, as it has destroyed the national power.*

On a recent occasion King Otho found himself in a position of some difficulty, and his method of surmounting it was such as exemplified his native obstinacy of character. Scarcely had the chambers assembled when the lower house showed the strength which the opposition held by refusing to elect a speaker favorable to the administration. With no better ostensible justification than this the king peremptorily dissolved the house, and ordered a new election of members. From private sources of information, however, which we deem worthy of credit, we learn that a more powerful motive led to the decisive step. The king had been apprised that it was in contemplation to bring up for discussion and settlement the question of the succession. As the Queen Amelia has no children, the crown of Greece, on the demise of Otho, would, in accordance with the constitutional provisions, pass to his younger brothers in the order of seniority. Never, however, can the crowns of Bavaria and Greece be united upon the same head. Now the constitution prescribes that, although the present sovereign is a Roman Catholic, his successors must profess the Greek faith—that of the vast majority of the people. Otho's brother Adalbert refuses to accept the throne upon this condition; and it is not improbable that not a member of the Bavarian royal family will consent to the sacrifice of his faith. Accordingly a large portion of the Greeks are desirous of fixing upon some member of another royal house of Russia, France, or England, who shall be recognized at once as the heir-apparent, and from the selection they hope for great political advantages. Any agitation of this question is naturally displeasing to the king. Hence the abrupt dismissal of the lower house of the legislature. When the election took place a few weeks later the ministerial party was completely successful. This result was attained by the most strenuous exertions. We do not know that there was any evidence of fraud, but the moral influence of every official, from the nomarch, or governor of the province, down to the most insignificant local magistrate, was put forth to its utmost stretch in offering inducements to the ignorant peasantry to vote for the government's candidates. So flagrant was this abuse that the ambassadors of two of the protecting powers, England and France, are said to have entered their protests against it.

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* See the letter in full in the Athenian journal 'Αστὴρ τῆς 'Ανατολῆς of April 1st, (April 13th, New Style,) 1861.

An administration so rigid, with so little power of adaptation to the fluctuations of public opinion, is evidently in great danger of sudden and entire destruction upon some new and even trivial issue. That the monarch and ministry have been apprehensive with regard to the security of their tenure of power, is apparent from the frequent and arbitrary seizures of public journals, and yet more patent from the numerous arrests of persons charged with conspiracy, with which the Greek papers have for some weeks come to us freighted. But whether such a conspiracy is real, and if so what are its dimensions, are questions which we cannot now answer.

If the monarchy under the management of Otho has failed to erect a firm national party and policy, it is no less demonstrable that it has signally disappointed the hopes of both Greeks and foreign well-wishers in fostering the development of the physical resources of Greece. With an expenditure of nine millions of drachms annually ($1,500,000) upon the army and navy, scarcely a drachm can be spared for internal improvements. It was some time since calculated that at the rate then adopted, two hundred and fifty years would be required to complete a tolerable system of public roads then in contemplation. For many years nothing of any importance has been accomplished toward the introduction of such communications as shall enable the wagon to supplant the mule and pack-horse. We do not complain of the neglect of railroads and canals; for the multitude of mountain ranges precludes the construction of the former, and the streams are too insignificant and variable to supply water for the latter. A few railroads may, however, be laid out in two or three of the larger plains; and we learn that there has just been signed between the government and a French company a contract for a short railroad to connect Athens and its port Piræus, about five miles distant.

Did our limits permit, we should here notice the want of encouragement extended to agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and the positively injurious legislation by means of which they have been repressed. Nor would our view be complete without a notice of the remarkable success which, on the other hand, has attended the educational system inaugurated by King Otho, for which he is entitled to no ordinary credit. This subject, however, deserves separate treatment.

While a candid survey of the course of the regency during the minority of the present king, and of that king and his constitutional advisers in more recent years, compels us to acquiesce in the prevalent opinion that the European Powers erred greatly in their selection of a monarch and of a regency for Greece, we must do the Greek people the justice not to render them accountable for follies and sins of which they were in no sense the authors. Much less must we conclude that the Greek Revolution, achieved at so large a cost of life and property, was a failure. If its fruits have not been such as may have been anticipated, we must make ample allowance for the infirmities of our frail human nature, especially as degraded and repressed by long-continued bondage; and we must not forget that many of our reasonable expectations have been disappointed by the incapacity of foreign rulers. More congenial institutions and an administration of a higher moral tone would have produced far nobler results; and these may be gained for Greece by some change in its political relations, not definitely foreseen at present. Certainly the Greek Revolution has proved no failure. The future will mark its important connection with the grand events which are to effect the regeneration of the East. But even were there nothing to hope for beyond the benefits already attained, the struggle was not made in vain; unless, indeed, the establishment of a system of instruction which is carrying the light of science and art into the darkest and most remote portions of Turkey, the education of an entire nation in the principles of constitutional government, and the diffusion of civil and religious liberty, are to be regarded as bought at too great a price when the temporary loss of material wealth is the purchase money. It is, however, an encouraging sign that the views of Greek statesmen are not confined to the narrow limits within which diplomacy has restricted Greece, but that they bear continually in mind the millions beyond with whom their ultimate union is inevitable. Hence arises their jealousy of anything that shall tend to impede the realization of the high ambition of the race;* a jealousy often manifesting itself unfavorably even to the advance of evangelical religion, as destroying that fanatical devotion to their ancestral Church which has proved so powerful a bond of nationality during ages of oppression.

It must not be forgotten, however, that for the accomplishment in its full extent of the important mission of the Greek race, the power of a purer religion and a more elevated morality is requisite. A quarter of a century ago Mr. Finlay remarked, that "the moral improvement of the Greeks holds out the only rational hope of re-establishing order amid the increasing anarchy of the Ottoman Empire." That improvement, although slow in its movement, is nevertheless in steady progress. The intercourse with Western Europe, more constant and intimate than ever before, is highly favorable. Many Greek scholars completing their studies at foreign universities imbibe, if not superior religious conceptions, at least stricter theories of ethics. The faithful and devoted American missionaries, laboring with little immediate and visible fruit of their toil, have not established schools and preached the Gospel in vain. Their converts have been few, but when they have passed from the scene of their self-sacrificing devotion they will leave valued native laborers to carry on the work. One of these, Dr. Kalopathakes, has already maintained an excellent family religious newspaper for nearly four years, besides distributing many copies of the Scriptures. Through the instrumentality of the missionaries also the Bible has become a text-book of instruction in the public schools of the kingdom. Its introduction into the course of education augurs well for the future of the Greek people.

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* The statement of Gladstone in the British House of Commons, that the Greeks were not desirous that the Ionian Islands should be united to their kingdom, was made the subject of animated inquiry in the Greek Parliament. In each house the ministry were called upon to state whence the English secretary had received such assurances. On the 29th of May, (June 10, New Style,) 1861, the Greek prime minister replied "that the government had never expressed itself averse to the union; nor could any one suppose it possible for it or any one of the Greeks to oppose union not only with the Ionian Islands, but with any other portion of the entire Greek race. Yet it had never felt free to express its desire for the union, being restrained by the feelings of respect and gratitude due to a great power which had rendered Greece signal benefits." ('Αστὴρ τῆς 'Ανατολῆς of June $\frac{3}{15}$, 1861.)

ART. III.—JOHN WESLEY AND "THE CHURCH."

It is no longer a matter of surprise, but it is still a matter of curious interest to Methodists, that writers of other religious denominations, especially "Churchmen," should exhibit so much solicitude for them, with so much depreciation of their peculiarities if not of their character. Pursuing their humble and somewhat peculiar methods of usefulness to the world, and singularly isolated from these denominations by repellant aspects of the latter toward them, they have nevertheless, during the more than a hundred years of their history, been called, almost incessantly, by admonitory or entreating voices, to heed this edifying example of fraternal concern. From "Deacons" and "Presbyters," and even from the high places of Bishops, they have been exhorted, often with a marvelously patronizing dignity and self-conscious condescension, "to return to *the* Church," assured that they might do much good therein, and would be received very lovingly to its maternal and luxurious bosom. It would seem even that John Wesley were already canonized by "the Church" which treated him for so many years with the most motherly strictness, not to say severity, banishing him with his heroic Itinerants from its communion altar, doubtless only as a parental and tender chastisement for his better discipline. Wesley is in fact now the chief authority for the admonitory entreaties of "Churchman" to his present numerous but unfilial disciples. He was, according to many of these writers, a saint; a truly great man; a chief character in the history of "the Church." Church dignitaries and Church writers fervently commemorate him as a conspicuous honor to their ecclesiastical household; kindly conniving at his ecclesiastical peccadilloes, though these were once denounced as intolerable flagrancies. The Bishop of Ripon has given to the world a life of him, and the Bishop of London has enjoined the study of this, or some other memoir of him, upon young candidates for holy orders. The committee on the New Parliament House even suggested a statue of him for one of its niches; and there is certainly no character of the last century more imposing in English ecclesiastical history, according to these admiring Church authorities, than the son of the good old Rector of Epworth—the man who, when he was awakening England to a moral resurrection, was turned away not only from the pulpit but from the sacramental table where he and his father had ministered, and was virtually placed under ecclesiastical ban throughout the United Kingdom. History has indeed a divine office; it is the invincible redeemer of great men. It would appear, in fine, that enlightened Churchmen generally begin to think as highly of the arch-heretic as Robert Southey himself did, who, though he wrote malicious anonymous review articles, and a caricatured memoir of him, declared in his private correspondence with Wilberforce: "I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."*

During Wesley's own day no little churchly and even prelatical concern for Methodism was displayed, and his replies to Warburton and Lavington are historical documents. Scarcely was he in his grave when a number of clergymen sent forth, through a lay Churchman, a new constitution for his societies, compassionately designed to save them from "wreck and ruin" by bringing them within the protecting embrace of the Church.

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* Wilberforce's Corr., vol. ii, p. 388.

Church writers assiduously interfered in the controversies which, after his death, periled the denomination respecting its subsequent government. The ample nourishing bosom of the Church was the only refuge to which they pointed the robust but toddling young Hercules. When they saw that these tender counsels were not duly respected, they took in hand the rod of chastisement, laying it on lustily; and finding his obstinacy invincible, they at last held up before him the fasces of the law, *in terrorem*, determined to correct and save him whether he would or not. But he promptly turned upon them, broke the fasces, and in the struggle made a memorable revolution in the law, if not in the very Constitution of England; securing religious liberty not only for himself but for the British people generally. Old Methodists who witnessed that energetic struggle of 1810–11 can never forget it, for the whole United Kingdom was shaken by it. The Quarterly Review for November, 1810, contained an extraordinary paper on Methodism, showing the necessity of subduing it to the Establishment in order to prevent the destruction of the latter. The article was attributed to the pen of Robert Southey; it charged the Wesleyans with the design of subverting the national Church, and predicted that they would sooner or later be competent to such a design. It showed that the denomination had grown from nearly thirty thousand members in 1770, to nearly one hundred and ten thousand in 1800; and that its average increase per annum was about seven thousand. "It is no light evil for a state," it argued, "to have within its bosom so numerous, and active, and increasing a party. How long will it be before this people begins to count heads with the Establishment?" The reviewer intimated that the Wesleyans were even aiming at a revolution of the supreme government of the country.

Public attention being thus called to the rapid growth of Dissent, and the declension of the national Church, Lord Sidmouth, in about seven months after the publication of the Review, introduced into Parliament a bill which, if it had been adopted, would have struck the dearest rights and most effective labors of all evangelical dissenting Churches, but especially of the Methodists. The regular Wesleyan ministry would have been broken down by it. Subordinate laborers of the Connection would have been practicably disabled. Its local preachers, exhorters, prayer-leaders, Sunday-school teachers, many thousands in numbers, would have been either silenced or forced into the prisons of the kingdom. Sidmouth and his associates in the measure had obtained statistics which could not fail to afford alarming arguments to Churchmen. They had ascertained that the number of preachers licensed by the magistrates in the half century from 1760 to 1810 was three thousand six hundred and seventy-two; that during this time no less than twelve thousand one hundred and sixty-one chapels and rooms had been licensed for public worship; that of country churches and chapels, in all parishes which included a thousand persons or more, the Dissenters and Wesleyans had a majority of nine hundred and ten over the Establishment, the latter having two thousand five hundred and forty-seven, the former three thousand four hundred and fifty-seven, not including private places in which preaching was maintained. The facts were significant enough, but the remedy proposed was preposterous, and destructive of the religious liberties of Englishmen. The whole Methodist Connection was aroused by the danger, and the Dissenters generally joined in their remonstrances. The Wesleyan ecclesiastical arrangements offered the best conveniences for eliciting public opinion on the question. The Districts notified their preachers and people, and petitions were rapidly signed and sent to Parliament. The "Committee of Privileges" met in London, and sent a deputation, of which Thomas Thompson (who was a member of Parliament) was chairman, to consult with Lord Sidmouth. Sidmouth persisted in his course, but the committee secured a speech from Lord Erskine against the proposed law. He presented the Methodist petitions. An attempt was made to push the bill with indecent haste; it was introduced on the 11th of May, and its second reading ordered for the 17th; but on the latter day, by the agency of Lord Stanhope and Earl Grey, it was postponed to the 21st. During the delay the whole religious population of the kingdom was stirred with agitation. Stanhope, in presenting a petition bearing thousands of signatures, declared that if the intolerant party would not yield the thousands would be multiplied to millions. Other peers presented memorials against the measure. Erskine on the 21st made a powerful speech against it, and moved that it be read six months from that day, which meant that it be read not at all. The motion prevailed without a division, and the oppressive measure was defeated.

Failing in this egregious scheme, an attempt was made by its advocates to so interpret and apply the Act of Toleration as to accomplish, to some degree, their aims. An applicant for license was required to show that he was the pastor of a particular or single congregation. The law thus construed would be fatal to the Wesleyan itinerant ministry, to candidates for the ministry, and to all preachers beyond the Establishment who had charge of more than a single church. Ellenborough and other judges put this construction upon the act, and many instances occurred, in various parts of the kingdom, in which Wesleyan preachers, itinerant and local, were refused licenses. The Committee of Privileges waited upon Percival, the prime minister, to remonstrate against this oppression, and the Connection was again constrained to defend religious freedom. An act of Parliament (Act of 53 Geo. III., c. 155) was obtained which defeated their oppressors. This act, one of the most important events in the history of English religious liberty, was procured directly by the exertions of the Methodists, though they were powerfully aided by their Dissenting brethren generally. It swept away the old barbarous "Five Mile Act," and the "Conventicle Acts" under which Wesley and his helpers suffered so often; it also repealed another offensive act which oppressed the respectable body of Christians called Quakers, and it was so liberally constructed as to meet alike the wants of Wesleyans and Dissenters. The Conference voted its thanks to its Committee of Privileges for the success of their labors in securing this "invaluable law." It also issued an Address to its people commemorating the event. "In contemplating this measure," it said, "we cannot but adore the goodness of God, who hath remembered us in our time of need, for his mercy endureth forever!"

The arithmetical figures of Southey and Sidmouth have grown at an amazing rate since this contest. The Registrar General shows that now only about one-third of the population are connected with the Establishment, and Mr. Bright assures the British public that this minority cannot and ought not to continue to control the religious affairs of the realm.

It cannot be doubted that these statistics reveal the real cause of the solicitude of "Churchman" for the ecclesiastical rectification of Methodism; and the similar comparative statistics of American Methodism probably occasion the chief tenderness of American Churchmen for the young and intractable denomination.

Since the failure of the early castigations and the law's compulsion, the strain of conciliation alluded to, the churchly coquetry, has been tried, but in vain. Resolutely indisposed to approve Methodism itself, in its present relative position, Churchmen have, nevertheless, conclusively perceived that its founder was a very "remarkable man," and a considerable authority in matters of ecclesiastical opinion; always bating some amiable weaknesses of his old age, especially his susceptibility to the influence of one ambitious little Welshman who betrayed him into the amazing folly of organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church. To be sure, this little Welshman was a somewhat inexplicable character—giving more money to religion than any other man of his age, clergyman or layman; voyaging and traveling more for the evangelization of the world than any other man of the last century, not excepting Whitefield or Wesley; the "greatest man of his century in ministerial labors," as Bishop Asbury, himself one of the greatest, declared; the first Protestant bishop of the Western Hemisphere; the founder of powerful missions in England, Wales, Ireland, the West Indies, Africa, Asia; dying a missionary himself on the Indian Ocean and buried beneath its waves. Yet was he a very suspicious intermeddler in the affairs of the well-meaning Methodist founder, and is responsible for that most deplorable solecism in American ecclesiastical history, the undutiful setting up of housekeeping by American Methodism; and, what is considered worse, he made the lamentable blunder of setting up its household before the organization of the "Protestant Episcopal Church"—thereby stealing the rights of primogeniture; for as both really sprung from the old English Church of America, and the Methodistic upstart was not only the first to organize itself out of the ruins of that Church after the American Revolution, but has numerically cast its younger rival into comparative insignificance, the latter stands out before the religious world in an attitude which gravely compromises its dignity and deprives it of authority in its patronizing endeavors to rectify the scandal of Methodistic illegitimacy.

Aside from this example of the weakness of his old age, John Wesley is, in the estimation of Churchman, a decisive authority against the modern ecclesiastical pretensions of Methodism. The Wilberforces in their biography of their father (vol. i, p. 248) say, "Nor were any of his preachers suffered during his lifetime to attempt *to administer the sacraments of his Church.*" And Dr. Pusey (Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 151) declares that "Wesley reluctantly took the step of ordaining at all, and to the last he refused, in the strongest terms, his consent that those thus ordained should take upon them to administer the sacraments. He felt that it exceeded his powers, and so inhibited it, however it might diminish the numbers of the Society he had founded." Any man who knows Wesley's recorded opinions knows that these statements are directly contradictory of them, and are equally contradictory of the facts respecting his ordinations. He ordained twenty or more of his itinerants, some for America, some for Scotland, some for England. He gave them certificates of ordination which expressly record that they were authorized by him "to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usages of the Church of England." Good old Henry Moore, Wesley's biographer, was thus ordained by him, and we have in his own autobiography (p. 134, Am. edition) a copy of the certificate containing these words. It is well known, too, that these ordained men did administer the sacraments during Wesley's life; their ordination would have been preposterous if it was not for this very purpose. After his death they supplied the denomination as far as they could with the sacraments. The seven years' controversy which followed his death, and shook the denomination to its foundations, related mostly to the demand of the people for the sacraments from their own preachers generally, and resulted in the concession of this claim. Wesley wished to conform to the Church as far as he possibly could without essential harm to the societies which he had providentially founded. He persuaded them fervently to the last to attend the Church and receive the sacraments at her altars. But in cases where his arguments could not prevail, where his people were mostly Dissenters, (and a majority of them were in his latter years,) or in Scotland and America, where the Establishment could not be an objection, he supplied them with the sacraments by the hands of his own ordained itinerants. He had read the "Irenicum" of Bishop Stillingfleet, and "The Primitive Church" of Lord King, and tells us himself that they convinced him of the essential parity of bishops and presbyters in "order," and of the original right of the latter to ordain. He practically claimed this right in behalf of his societies, though he prudently waived it whenever its exercise was not necessary.

Our cotemporary, "The American Quarterly Church Review" has shown more zeal for the reclamation of Methodism than any other cis-Atlantic periodical. It has frequently discussed the peculiar position of the denomination and the inestimable advantages which would accrue from its reunion with "the Church." Its temper is generally good in these discussions, and its pleas are evidently sincere, though marred by errors which can be defended, as conscientious, only on the charitable ground of inaccurate information. In an article entitled "Wesley on Separation from the Church," in its number for last April, occur some such errors which we are compelled to correct, and which will require unusual charity from the reader. For example, the reviewer gives the following citation from Wesley to show his sound Churchmanship:

> As to my own judgment, I still believe the episcopal form of Church government to be scriptural and apostolical. I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles.

Now read the whole of the passage of which this is but the beginning; here it is:

> As to my own judgment, I still believe the episcopal form of Church government to be scriptural and apostolical. I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicum." I think he has unanswerably proved, that neither Christ nor his apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government; and that the plea of divine right for diocesan episcopacy was never heard of in the primitive Church.—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, p. 284.

Does not our confrere need a considerable stretch of our brotherly forbearance in this instance? He gives two sentences of a paragraph; they seem to be entirely concessive of the orthodox Church claim for episcopacy; but they are in fact but a preliminary apology for the most outright and downright protest against that claim! Coleridge said that a partial truth is the worst lie, for the degree of truth in it gives a hypocritical disguise to its essential falsehood. We will not accuse the reviewer of lying, for we know how good men, in a case like this, see usually only what they wish to see. An error like this, however, on the very second page of the article, must impair the whole authority of the writer.

This remarkable declaration of Wesley was written thirty-five years before his death. It puts, therefore, a conclusive quietus on the charge that his alleged heresies on this and kindred subjects were the effect of the imbecility of his old age. He showed no "imbecility" in his old age, nor any mental decay, except in his last one or two years; his opinions were never really more authoritative than about five years before his death, for they were then in their richest maturity; but be this old apology for him worth what it may, this bold declaration of his opinion was made when, in his fifty-third year, he stood out before the world as clear and sharp a thinker as could then be found in all England. It saves also the credit of the great little Welshman, who has been made the scapegoat of Wesley's heresies on the subject, for he had not yet heard of Dr. Coke; he did not know there was such a man in the realm till twenty years later.

In fine, Wesley early and manfully settled, in his own mind, this whole question of Church government, and settled it by candid and elaborate study of the Holy Scriptures and of the best Anglican Church authorities. The above citation is but an example of opinions which are interspersed through his abundant writings. His strong Saxon common-sense scattered to the winds the whole brood of traditionary nonsense and bigoted puerilities which had gathered about the question. "No particular form of Church government" is prescribed by the Scriptures was the summary result of his studies. The Scriptures exemplify but do not enjoin any one form; the apostles copied chiefly from the synagogue the outlines of the primitive Church system, as Stillingfleet and King show; the synagogue orders and rites were not of divine prescription;

they belonged not to the Levitical ritual. The synagogue is not mentioned in the writings of Moses. The orders of deacons and elders (presbyters) were derived from the synagogue; they were not orders of the priesthood or of the temple service, they were conveniences of the provincial religious assemblies. "Ordination," now so mysteriously sacred to Papists and Churchmen, was a formulary of the synagogue and of the civil or municipal offices of the Jews. The divinely appointed priesthood knew nothing of ordination by imposition of hands. What, then, could the sound common-sense of Wesley infer? What but that Church polity is only a matter of devout expediency, and can be varied according to the ever-varying necessities of mankind; that the system which is most expedient, most utilitarian, is the most divine? Such is the real solution of the whole question as it respects John Wesley and Methodism, such the explanation of his frequent and emphatic declarations on the subject. In his earliest writings he shows the lingering prejudices of his early education; but in his ripening manhood he corrects them, and through the long remainder of his life is uniformly free from all "High Church" bigotry. Thirty years before his death he thus replies to charges against him and his people:

> "They maintain it lawful for men to preach who are not episcopally ordained." In some circumstances they do; particularly where thousands are rushing into destruction, and those who are ordained and appointed to watch over them neither care for nor know how to help them. "But hereby they contradict the Twenty-third Article, to which they have subscribed." They subscribed it in the simplicity of their hearts, when they firmly believed none but episcopal ordination valid. But Bishop Stillingfleet has since fully convinced them this was an entire mistake. "They disclaim all right in the bishops to control them in any of these matters." In every point of an indifferent nature they obey the bishops, for conscience' sake; but they think episcopal authority cannot reverse what is fixed by divine authority. Yet they are determined never to renounce communion with the Church, unless they are cast out headlong.—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, p. 301.

It is true, then, that Wesley did not wish his people to leave the Church, as the reviewer contends, but it is not true that he believed in the reviewer's notion of Church rites and authorities. Alluding to the essential equality or rather identity of bishops and presbyters in the primitive Church, he affirms:

> I firmly believe I am a scriptural *episcopos* [bishop] as much as any man in England or in Europe. For the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove.—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, p. 312.

In these remarks and citations we have answered whole pages of the reviewer; but let us proceed with his partial quotations, exemplifying Coleridge's opinion of the "worst lie," though protesting meanwhile, with whatever difficulty, our charitable construction of the reviewer's motive. Here is an example:

> In respect to the Methodists in America, he says: "Whatever then is done, *either in America* or Scotland, is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this; I have many objections against it."—*Review*, p. 73.

The italics of Wesley's words are the reviewer's. The reader perceives that the reviewer here quotes Wesley as against the separation from the Church, of "Methodists in America" after their organization by his own authority. What now was the real intent of Wesley in this passage? It is a part of a defense of his organization of American Methodism and his ordination of preachers for America and Scotland. And what is the defense? Why, that as there was no Church of England in America (for it was after the Revolution) nor any in Scotland, (none at least to interfere with these proceedings,) it was no secession from the Church of England for those portions of his people to have a separate or independent existence. And yet the reviewer quotes him to show that "Methodists in America" should not be separate and independent, but should come repentantly back to "the Church." Here are Wesley's real words; they need no further comment:

> After Dr. Coke's return from America many of our friends begged I would consider the case of Scotland, where we had been laboring so many years, and had seen so little fruit of our labors. Multitudes indeed have set out well, but they were soon turned out of the way; chiefly by their ministers either disputing against the truth, or refusing to admit them to the Lord's Supper, yea, or to baptize their children unless they would promise to have no fellowship with the Methodists. Many who did so soon lost all they had gained, and became more the children of hell than before. To prevent this, I at length consented to take the same step with regard to Scotland which I had done with regard to America. But this is not a separation from the Church at all. Not from the

> Church of Scotland; for we were never connected therewith, any farther than we are now; nor from the Church of England, for this is not concerned in the steps which are taken in Scotland. Whatever then is done, either in America or Scotland, is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this; I have many objections against it. It is a totally different case.—*Wesley's Works*, pp. 314, 315.

One more example:

> Two years after the appointment of Coke and the organization of the M. E. Church, he writes to Rev. F. Garrettson, a *Methodist preacher* IN AMERICA: "Wherever there is any Church service, I do not approve of any appointment the same hour, because I love the Church of England, and would assist, not oppose it, all I can."—*Review*, p. 73.

The italics and capitals are the reviewer's; they have a design. What is his design? Why, to prove to American Methodists that Wesley did not intend their separation from "the Church," but wished them to attend its "service" and have no "appointment" of their own at "the same hour," for it must be remembered that to the reviewer's mind his Church and the Church of England are the same body in America. Freeborn Garrettson is an historical character in American Methodism; all Methodists know this fact, and any Methodist reading the above citation, without knowing the history of the letter, would inevitably suppose the reviewer had here a clear and irrefutable case, that Wesley really did advise against the separation of the American Methodists from the Protestant Episcopal Church, and wished us all to attend its "service," shutting close our sanctuary doors against the people at the hours of worship among our Protestant Episcopal brethren. Nothing was further from Wesley's design, as the history of the letter proves. What is that history? Freeborn Garrettson, though one of the most conspicuous preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was for some time a missionary in Nova Scotia, where, of course, the Church of England still existed. While there he was in correspondence with Wesley respecting Methodism in that and the other British Provinces. In one of Wesley's replies to him is given the above passage, but without a word of allusion to Methodism in the American Republic; it was exclusively designed for the province. Here is a fuller quotation of the letter determining its local application:

> Wherever there is any Church service, I do not approve of any appointment the same hour; because I love the Church of England, and would assist, not oppose it, all I can. How do the inhabitants of Shelburn, Halifax, and other parts of the province, go on as to temporal things? Have they trade? Have they sufficiency of food, and the other necessaries of life? And do they increase or decrease in numbers?—*Wesley's Works*, vol. vii, p. 185.

Such are examples of this curious article. Again we must bespeak the charitable consideration of our readers for the reviewer; the case looks desperately bad, but he really seems to be an honest and even a devout man. Unquestionably, if any cunning, unscrupulous intriguer wished to make out an argument, in favor of a design full of duplicity, by garbled citations, he could hardly beat these; but it is sufficient that we have shown their absolute irrelevancy to the reviewer's design, the design itself we can leave to his own conscience.

But an important matter remains for our consideration. The reviewer not only attempts to prove that, according to Wesley, Methodists, American as well as English, should belong to "the Church;" he also ventures on the daring attempt to prove that Wesley never designed to "ordain" any of his preachers, and that the organization of American Methodism, based upon the supposed ordination of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, was an error if not a fraud, and contrary to the purpose of Wesley. He is ambiguous on these matters, but this, if anything, is the upshot of his argument.

All we have said respecting Wesley's twenty or more ordinations for Scotland, England, and America is relevant here, but need not be repeated. All that the reviewer cites from Wesley respecting his early opinion of ministerial orders, and of adherence, in England itself, to the English Church, may be admitted. It needs only the qualification which we have stated, and which is obvious throughout his works, that his early opinions were wisely changed as it respects Church government, and that while he really deemed it practicable and expedient for English Methodists to remain faithful to the Church, (as they have remained,) yet he believed that their adherence to it should be qualified by the necessities of their great mission as a religious body. A foregoing quotation is clear enough on this point. Repeatedly such declarations occur in his writings. He says as his rule on the subject: "Put these two principles together: first, I will not separate from the Church; yet, secondly, *in cases of necessity*, I will vary from it."—*Works*, vol. vii, p. 279. He long forbore with the ungenerous treatment of his people and himself by the Establishment; he died hoping that the policy of the Church would be modified, that the influence of Methodism itself would change it. He predicted that Methodism would either reform the Church or result in a separation from it. He recommended patience to his followers; but, admitting that they should deviate from the Establishment whenever a deviation was really necessary for the work which God had devolved upon them, he set them the example of such deviations by ordaining preachers himself, as we have seen, not only for America and Scotland, where the jurisdiction of the Establishment could not interfere, but also at last for England. He did not indeed usually observe the ritual forms of ordination, for these he deemed mere human forms and not essential; but, approving them as decent ceremonies, he waived them only to avoid unnecessary offense to the prejudices of Churchmen, and was prepared to adopt them whenever they should be expedient. As early as the Conference of 1746, more than forty years before his death, he expressly declared as a reason for not using them, "that it is not expedient to *make haste;* we desire barely to follow Providence as it gradually opens."—*Minutes of* 1746. He ordained, as we have affirmed, at least a score of his preachers. Few great reformers in history have more nobly broken away from the prejudices of tradition and education than John Wesley, and fewer have shown more of that practical wisdom which, rising above such prejudices, knows how to guard against any unnecessary shock to them in the minds of others.

Among the strangest "curiosities of literature," there are few more astonishing to us than the frequent assertions of Church writers that Wesley did not mean "ordination" by those "appointments," as they call them, which he unquestionably conferred upon certain of his preachers, and by virtue of which they bore about with them "parchments" authorizing them to "administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper according to the usages of the Church of England." This reviewer asserts, that "the 'appointment' of Dr. Coke as superintendent, in Mr. Wesley's private chamber, in 1784, was done, not as an ordination, or consecration." Again he says:

> But it will be said, that, at the time of the appointment of Dr. Coke as Superintendent of the Methodists in America in 1784, Mr. Wesley also "*ordained*" Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as elders and presbyters for the American Methodists, for the purpose of baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper; and that in that act he did pretend to ordain. John Wesley's own account of the matter is contained in a paper "On Separation from the Church," dated August 30, 1785, one year after the appointment of those men. He says: "Judging this to be a case of real *necessity*, I took a step which, for peace and quietness, I had refrained from taking for many years; I exercised that power which I am fully persuaded the Great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me. I *appointed* three of our laborers to go and help them by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise by administering the Lord's Supper and baptizing their children throughout that vast tract of land a thousand miles long and some hundreds broad."—*Review*, pp. 71, 72.

The word "appointed," here, is italicised by the reviewer; it is not emphatic in Wesley's document. Of course Wesley "appointed" them if he "ordained" them; but of that more directly. The critic proceeds to allude, but we think evasively, to certain points that look formidable to his construction of the case, and adds:

> Mr. Wesley, in his letter to the "brethren in North America," Sept. 10, 1784, is careful to say that he "appointed" (not *ordained*) certain men "to act as elders." In his sermon, published by Mr. Wesley himself in 1788 or 1789, four or five years after these "appointments," and so, decisive upon the point before us, Mr. Wesley says: "I wish all of you, who are vulgarly termed Methodists, would seriously consider what has been said. And, particularly, you whom God hath commissioned to call sinners to repentance. It does by no means follow from hence that ye are commissioned to baptize, or to administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamed of this for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach. Ye did not then, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, 'seek the priesthood also.' Ye know 'no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.' O contain yourselves within your own bounds!" The application to Bishop White on the part of Dr. Coke for the "reordination" of these Methodist preachers, shows conclusively that neither Mr. Wesley nor Mr. Asbury regarded them as having already received a valid ordination.—*Review*, pp. 72, 73.

We give this long passage because we wish the reader to have the argument fully before him, and we desire to confront it with perfect honesty as we do with perfect confidence. It presents three important points: First, Wesley "appointed" but did not "ordain" in these cases; Secondly, The sermon appealed to denies the right of his preachers to ordination or to the peculiar functions of the priestly office; Thirdly, The application of Coke to Bishop White for "reordination" shows that Wesley and Asbury did not consider the American ordinations valid. To an unitiated reader these statements appear formidable proofs, but a brief examination scatters the complicated argument in utter refutation.

First, did Wesley design merely to "appoint," or did he really mean to "ordain" Coke as a superintendent or bishop, Whatcoat and Vasey as elders or presbyters, and so with the others for Scotland and England? Our own writers have so often gone over the conclusive arguments of the question that it is not a little vexatious to have to repeat them, but they must be repeated while our opponents repeat their own fallacies. Here is a decisive one. Wesley, as we have shown, believed himself as real an "episcopos" or bishop as there was "in England or in all Europe," and therefore that he had the right to ordain, restricted only by considerations of expediency. Where the English Church had jurisdiction he deemed it expedient not to use that right except in cases of urgent necessity. He ordained for Scotland and America, where the English Church did not interfere; he ordained at last, in a few necessary cases, for England. After ordaining Coke, and the two presbyters for America, he sent by Coke a circular letter to the American Methodists. Read the following extract from it:

> For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right by ordaining [mark the word] part of our traveling preachers; but I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged. But the case is widely different between England and America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers; so that, for some hundred miles together, there are none either to baptize or administer the sacrament. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end!

Here is the very word "ordain" in respect to the very acts he had performed. His "scruples" were "at an end." Scruples! What scruples could he have about any such mere "appointment" as our opponents allege? In regard to America his scruples were now (after the Revolution) gone, because there was no jurisdiction of English bishops here; in England his scruples still applied, because that jurisdiction still existed. What sense is there in these statements if the act to which they refer was not the peculiar function of the English bishops to "ordain?" He refers further, in this circular, to the authority of Lord King's "Primitive Church," which shows that presbyters did "ordain," and yet according to our opponents he made this reference to vindicate an act which he did not mean to be an ordination! He refers to the example of the ancient Alexandrian Church, where, for generations, presbyters ordained their bishop, and yet he cites this example for the justification of an act entirely different from ordination! He called in two presbyters of the Church of England to assist him in his ordination of Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, that it might be according to the usage of English bishops in their acts of ordination, and yet, according to our reviewer, "the appointment of Coke in Wesley's private chamber in 1784 was done not as an ordination or consecration!" Wesley sent over by Coke a ritual to be used in the ordination of American preachers. It contains forms for the ordination of, 1. Deacons; 2. Elders; 3. Superintendents; and directs expressly that all preachers elected to the office of deacon, elder, or superintendent shall be presented to the superintendent "to be ordained." Let it be remarked then, 1. That here the very word ordain is again used. 2. We have here the three distinct offices of the ministry stated in order, according to the understanding of Wesley, and of all Episcopalians throughout the world. 3. These forms of ordination were taken from the forms in the English Liturgy for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops, the names of the latter two being changed to synonymous terms, namely, elders and superintendents. 4. These forms show that Wesley not only created the Methodist episcopacy and its ordinations, and meant by them what is meant in the original English formulas, but designed them to continue after Coke and Asbury's decease; for the ritual was printed for permanent use. What candid man can resist these absolutely decisive proofs?

The reviewer asks, in another place, how, on Wesley and

Lord King's theory that bishops and presbyters are the same, in order, could Wesley's ordination of Coke, who was already a presbyter, be in accordance with common sense? We reply that, according to that very theory, a bishop, though a presbyter in "order," differs from the presbyter in "office;" special functions being transferred to him by his fellow-presbyters for the sake of expediency; and therefore Wesley, though but a presbyter, could ordain his brother presbyter a bishop. This is bad "churchism," but it is good common sense and good Church precedent, as Lord King shows.

Such is a rapid but demonstrative view of this point.*

But secondly, Wesley's sermon, above quoted, admonishes his preachers against aspiring to the functions of priests, such as the administration of the sacraments. It really does. During most of his latter years he gave them this admonition, for he did not wish them to exercise these functions in England, and Ireland (where he preached the sermon) except in those cases of necessity for which he provided by his few ordinations. In this he was perfectly self-consistent, and the case demands no farther remark than that he also believed, that while some of them might have fitness for and a divine call to the office of presbyter, most of them were called, in the peculiar circumstances of England, simply to preach the Gospel, leaving the sacraments to the Church, and to such provisions as he by his occasional ordinations might make.

Thirdly, "The application of Coke to Bishop White for 're-ordination' of the American preachers shows conclusively that neither Wesley nor Asbury regarded them as having already received a valid ordination." This is the most notable passage of our reviewer, and makes the most extreme demand upon our charity—stretching it to such a tension that it hardly fails to snap. We must refer the reader to Bangs's "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church" (vol. ii, p. 200) for the whole correspondence of Coke and White. It is sufficient here to say, 1. Neither Asbury nor Wesley knew anything of this "application" of Coke to White; Wesley was dead, and Asbury heard nothing of it till years afterward. 2. Coke did not apply for "reordination," but for a union of the Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal Churches. 3. "Reordination" he was willing to admit, but only to meet the prejudices of Protestant Episcopalians for the sake of harmony. Coke himself thus speaks on this subject:

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* The writer must be allowed to refer the reader for a full resumé of the historical argument of this case to the "History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism," vol. ii, p. 217, *et seq.*

> If it be granted that my plan of union with the old Episcopal Church was desirable, (*which now, I think, was not so, though I most sincerely believed it to be so at that time,*) then if the plan could not have been accomplished without a repetition of the imposition of hands for the same office, I did believe, and do now believe, and have no doubt that the repetition of the imposition of hands would have been perfectly justifiable for the enlargement of the field of action, etc., and would not, by any means, have invalidated the former consecration or imposition of hands. Therefore, I have no doubt but my consecration of Bishop Asbury was perfectly valid, and would have been so even if he had been reconsecrated. I never did apply to the General Convention or any other convention for reconsecration.

Such is a sufficient answer, we think, to our Protestant Episcopal contemporary. No facts are historically more clear and certain than that John Wesley did "ordain" Coke and other of his preachers, and that he did design the distinct and episcopal organization of American Methodism. The very first conference at which it assumed this form of government published its Minutes; they were immediately under Wesley's eye in London, and they expressly declared that, "following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, *who recommended the episcopal mode of Church government*, we thought it best to become an episcopal Church."—*Minutes of* 1785. Charles Wesley, who for very judicious reasons was kept in abeyance from these measures, complained bitterly of Dr. Coke's "rashness" and of his new "Episcopal Church." John Wesley replied, while the above Minutes, declaring his recommendation of an episcopal organization, were read in England, that Coke had "done nothing rashly so far as I know." The title of bishop was not used in the American Church for some years; the General Conference at last voted that as they had the office they ought to use the popular title which signified it. It was immediately attached to the names of Coke and Asbury. Wesley then wrote a letter to Asbury against the substitution of the title for the former synonymous one of "superintendent," but he said not a word against the office itself. The Church being now an independent self-governing body, believed that, as the title was scriptural, and, to most of its people, who were of English origin, was more intelligible and morally significant than that of "superintendent," they had a good right respectfully to differ from Wesley. They chose therefore to retain it, and we think with no bad consequence thus far. It has enabled them to present before the world, nominally as well as really, an exemplification of the apostolic episcopacy, distinguished by severe simplicity, extraordinary travels and labors, cautiously restricted functions, and a moderation, a wisdom, a sanctity of life never surpassed since the apostolic age in the episcopal office.

In fine, the theory of Church government taught by Wesley, and universally received by his people, is remarkable alike for its liberality and its practical common-sense. As we have seen, they do not believe that the Scriptures prescribe any particular form of polity, but that they leave the subject to the discretion of the Church, according to its varying geographical or other necessities. Their ecclesiastical system has itself been a practical protest against ecclesiastical pretensions. In America it has been episcopal in form, while denying any claim of scriptural authority for episcopacy; in England it has been presbyterian in form, while denying any claim of scriptural authority for presbyterianism. In America it retains the orders of deacons and presbyters, but declines to acknowledge any scriptural obligation for them, though it acknowledges their scriptural example. In England it retains only the order of presbyters, without denying the scriptural example of the order of deacons. In both it maintains ordination by the imposition of hands, and in both it denies any other importance to this form than that of ceremonial expediency.

Is it not high time that our Protestant Episcopal brethren should abandon this petty warfare with us on the historical facts of our Church system? For about a hundred years they have incessantly skirmished about our camp with this controversy. The facts of the question are as clear and conclusive as any facts of history can be. They have been drawn out by our writers in overwhelming array as often as the attack has been made. They stand distinctly and triumphantly before the world. On the abstract or general question of the apostolic validity of our polity, our opponents may fire away to their hearts' content. We will not waste our ammunition in returning their fire. But on the historical questions of our Church system, controversial candor if not decency requires them to cease these petty and petulant annoyances. Methodism has better work to do than to be incessantly exposing the ignorance or disingenuousness of such assailants; and after the frequent repetitions of this exposure, we believe the Christian world is not longer disposed to tolerate the charge that Methodism in its ecclesiastical system is not only antiscriptural, but is a stupendous fraud perpetrated against the designs of Wesley himself, and perpetrated by men the most self-sacrificing, the most useful, the most devoted in the history of the modern Church.

There should be a more amiable relation between Methodism and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Methodists desire it. They have, as a denomination, not a few affinities with their Protestant Episcopal brethren—historical, theological, and ecclesiastical affinities. Willingly would they be on more catholic terms with them; but Methodists cannot now and, we believe, they never can, accept the exorbitant terms proposed by Churchmen; reordination, the practical recognition of the opinions of Churchmen on the "apostolic succession," episcopal prerogative, etc., etc. If we could make these concessions, so far as ourselves are concerned, for the sake of the blessed advantages of charity and unity, yet we cannot make them in view of our relations to the rest of the Protestant world. We cannot thus practically give sanction to traditional and uncharitable prejudices. We cannot thus practically impeach our brethren of other Protestant denominations, Presbyterian, Congregational, etc., whose ecclesiastical government acknowledges no such prejudices. We say to our Protestant Episcopal brethren, Substitute charity in the place of traditional bigotry if you would enable us to approach you. Come only to the catholic terms on which other Protestant bodies meet us, and we will gladly hail you, and listen to any practicable offers of friendliness and co-operation. But while you deny us an exchange of pulpits, denounce our ministerial validity, contemn our sacraments, caricature our history and our saintly dead, what more can we do but pray for you and defend ourselves?

ART. IV.—SOUTH AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS.

Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa, and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loando on the West Coast; thence across the Continent, down the River Zambesi to the Eastern Ocean. By DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L., etc. 8vo., pp. 730. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa, a Picture of Explorations. By RICHARD F. BURTON, Capt. H.M.I.A., etc. 8vo., pp. 572. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa; with Accounts of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Gorilla, the Crocodile, Leopard, Elephant, Hippopotamus, and other Animals. By PAUL DU CHAILLU, M.A.E.S., etc. 8vo., pp. 531. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

IN a former number we presented to our readers, in a review of Dr. Barth's "Northern and Central Africa," some account of the great interior region of Africa lying to the south of the Desert of Sahara, including the two scarcely separated basins of the Niger and the Tsad. To the east of this region lies the elevated range in which are the head waters of the Nile; and to the south, not far from the equator, is the water-shed between this valley and that of the southern interior. Some geographers believe that a mountain range extends nearly across the continent, along the line of the equator, which others earnestly deny; it is quite certain however that there is a water-parting along that line, making a boundary between the northern and southern portions of the interior of Africa, virtually coincident with the equator. Nearly along the same line are the mutual frontiers of the two great social and religious classes of interior Africa. In the northern portion the people have been largely affected by the medieval civilization of the Arabs and Saracens, by which they were raised from the low level of pagan barbarism to a kind of barbaric civilization. With this also came the faith of Islam, which for a thousand years has been naturalized in that region, and though now somewhat in decay, especially among the older races, it never completely extirpated the primitive paganism;

it is still the most powerful branch of that whole system. South [interior] Africa, on the other hand, has escaped all direct influence from the world beyond, and its people are simply pagans, worshiping fetiches and practicing the grossest observances of heathenism, and apparently without any notions of virtue and morality.

The southern interior extends from the equator to the borders of the basin of the Gwàrip or Orange river, in latitude 26° or 27° S. On the west it is bounded by a range of not very high hills, some two hundred miles from the coast, through which no river penetrates; and on the east by the basaltic wall running parallel to the coast, at a distance of two or three hundred miles, through which the Zambezi and some smaller rivers find their way to the sea. In area it is rather less extensive than the basin of the Niger and Tsad, being about 1,800 miles in length north and south, and its average breadth scarcely half that extent. This is sometimes called the Lake Region of Africa, as it has Lake Ngami in the south-west, Lake Nyassa in the east, Lake Tanganyika in the north, and Lake Nyanza in the far north-east, if indeed this last does not belong to another physical region. None of these lakes have any known effluent, though in the wet seasons they receive very considerable streams; but a large portion of the region is drained by the Zambezi and its branches, which rises on the west side of the basin and flows south-eastwardly, receiving large tributaries, and passing the basaltic barrier at the Victoria Falls reaches the sea.

Turning our attention first to the southern extremity of the continent, we find it, as far as the Orange river, (lat. 28° S.,) occupied by Europeans and their descendants, and a considerable region further north thoroughly explored. This whole country was originally occupied by the Hottentots, the Kafirs, the Bosjemens, (Bushmen,) and the Bechuanas, large and once powerful negroid races, having many points in common with the genuine negro, but in others clearly distinguished from that race. They are partially civilized nomads, proverbially filthy and improvident, and less warlike than more energetic savages usually are. To the north of the Orange river, toward the west, is the Desert of Kalahari, which for a long time limited explorations from the south as effectually as Sahara from the north; but more recently it has been found to be not a desert but a dry prairie, neither barren nor uninhabited, though destitute of running water. To the west and north-west of this is a belt of land with Walfish Bay on the coast, the country of the Damaras, among whom English and German missionaries, the former chiefly Wesleyans, have stations, and are laboring not without good results. Toward the eastern coast is a broad and rather irregular region, inclining eastward and drained into the Indian Ocean by the rivers Limpopo, Maputi, and Unyinzati, and traversed from north-east to south-west by the Drakenberg Mountains, with Port Natal and Dolgoa Bay on the coast. It was in the north of this region, chiefly along the Limpopo river, that Gordon Cummings performed his more than Nimrodic feats of huntsmanship, "bagging" elephants and giraffes by the hundred, and small game, as he accounted ostriches, elands, and lions, in uncounted masses. Northward from the Kalahari desert is Lake Ngama, for a long time an object of great interest among South African explorers. It was first discovered (by Europeans) by Messrs. Livingstone, Murray, and Oswell in 1849, and visited a second time by Livingstone the next year. A few years later the region lying from Walfish Bay to this lake, and thence across the desert to the Orange river and the Cape Colony, was the scene of the somewhat celebrated "Wanderings," first of Messrs. Galt and Anderson, and afterward of the latter alone, of which he has given an interesting account in his "Journey to Lake Ngama."

The work of exploration was well started when, in 1851, Dr. Livingstone, accompanied by Mr. Oswell, entered upon a wider field by striking directly northward from the colony, and penetrating far toward the equator, into parts hitherto unknown. Leaving Lake Ngama to his left he crossed the Zouga, the effluent of that lake, by which in the rainy season it discharges its surplus waters in the vast marshes of Kumaihahu, and thence proceeding up the Chobe, a principal affluent of the former river, flowing from the north, till at about the fifteenth degree of south latitude, in the country of the Makololo, he discovered the river Lambeye, or Leembye, or as it is called nearer the coast, Zambezi. This discovery was of the highest interest. It was then near the end of the dry season, and yet the river was more than three hundred yards wide, and deep and flowing. A perennially navigable river in the heart of Southern Africa was now a demonstrated fact, draining a country of undoubted fertility, with healthy localities, and a peaceful, active, and slightly civilized people. Dr. Livingstone at once appreciated the importance of his discovery, and began to devise measures for its further prosecution, and for ultimately opening its trade to the world, and for speedily subjecting it to systematic Christianizing influences. He therefore returned to the Cape, and sending his family to England, where he promised, Providence permitting, to join them at the end of two years, he began to prepare for a great journey into the interior. With a very scanty outfit, and unattended by any European associate, he returned to the country of the Makololo and there made arrangements for further proceedings. As the river flowed from the north-west, he hoped, by ascending it as far as navigable for canoes, to approach pretty nearly to the head waters of the Coanza, which, according to a Portuguese map upon which he relied and was deceived by it, had its rise far in the interior, and at a point from near which the former river seemed to proceed. By this route he hoped to make a not very difficult passage to Loando on the Atlantic, and so to open an outlet from the valley of the Leembye to the ocean, and to the commerce and civilization of Europe.

Having pretty nearly perfected his arrangements, on the 11th of November, 1853, Dr. Livingstone set out from Linyanti on the Chobe, and passed over to Sesheke on the "great river," up which, through the aid of Sekeletu, king of the Makalolo, with a fleet of thirty canoes and a hundred and sixty men, he began his perilous journey. His route lay through a most beautiful and picturesque country, that of the Barotsi, which he describes with the evidently glowing enthusiasm which animated him.

After passing north-westerly over about four degrees of latitude and two of longitude, the river was given up, and pack oxen took the place of the canoes. A little further the natural water-shed between the north and south rivers was passed, and as the hoped for Coanza did not appear as the map promised, and when found did not run in the desired direction, that mode of conveyance was continued to the end of the journey at Loanda, and resumed in like manner on the return route. To the northwest of the country of the Makololo is that of the Balonda, or people of Londa, a much more savage and intractable race than the Makololo, whose territories border to the west on those of the Portuguese. They are true negroes and gross idolators, addicted to human sacrifices and other cruel rites of paganism. They are also much addicted to the slave-trade, which among them, as everywhere, is the fruitful source of every species of cruelty. On the fourth of April, 1854, Dr. Livingstone and his Makololo entered the Portuguese territory, and on the last day of May arrived at Loando, the decaying capital of the decaying Portuguese power in Western Africa.

After a three months' residence at the Portuguese African capital, during which time he suffered most terrible sickness, attended with protracted delirium, and was treated with very great kindness by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, he and his companions, the faithful Makololo, set out on their return journey, which lasted through a full year, and was attended with peculiar hardships. The generous reception with which they met from Sekeletu and his people was at least some little compensation for their toils and privations; but to Dr. Livingstone himself the results of the journey could not fail to be in a high degree satisfactory. He had traversed more than one thousand miles of hitherto unexplored African territory, all of which, instead of arid and uninhabitable deserts, had proved to be a region of wonderful fertility and of untold capabilities, and already occupied by a population somewhat advanced in material civilization. A large contribution had also been made by him to the science of physical geography from a region the most unknown in the world.

Though highly successful as a journey of exploration, the trip to Loanda proved the unsuitableness of that route as an outlet to the sea from the great and fertile valley of the Leembye; another was therefore to be looked for. After recruiting himself, Dr. Livingstone therefore turned his thoughts toward the eastern ocean, in the hope that the noble river which seemed tending thitherward might prove to be identical with some of those known along the coast, and so open a passage to the Indian Ocean. In his design to explore the lower country he was heartily seconded and generously assisted by Sekeletu, though as yet the services rendered for the former journey had not been recompensed. It would seem that the traveler somehow gained a wonderful influence over that chief as well as his subjects, and the case tends to prove that uprightness and the absence of all finesse are the surest methods in dealing with untutored savages, and that they, if not disciplined in the arts of deception by intercourse with civilized foreigners, will justify by their fidelity such a course of treatment. However this may be, the story of Dr. Livingstone's dealings with the Makalolo is greatly honorable to all the parties, and it helps one to a more favorable estimate of human nature. Under the patronage of this negro prince the expedition toward the eastern sea set out from Linyanti on the third of November, 1855, two years after the departure of the former one westward, accompanied on the first part of the journey by Sekeletu in person, and a retinue of nearly two hundred persons. Not very far below Sesheke the river passes through the barrier of basaltic rocks, which walls in the interior basin of the continent from the coast region, causing rapids and cataracts which entirely interrupt navigation. To visit these falls, called by natives "the smoke that sounds," was of course a commendable curiosity on the part of the sturdy traveler, and therefore, accompanied by a part of the company in boats, he passed down to the neighborhood of the cataract, and thence passed on foot to the point where the vast volume of the river sinks into the broad fissures of the precipitous basalt. The description of the visit and of the scene visited, indicates the marked and pleasing excitement produced on the mind of the beholder.

From this point the caravan struck across the country in a north-easterly direction toward the junction of the Kafue river with the Zambezi, following the ridge which makes the falls, a fine healthy region, and a favorite one with the dominant Makololo. Below this range the country has long been somewhat known to Europeans, for the Portuguese long occupied it, and they still have a feeble hold upon some portions of it, but only to do it harm. Over the intervening region to the coast Dr. Livingstone made his way in safety, after the usual amount of vexatious delays, till overtaken by the coast fever, from which he suffered severely. He reached Quilemane on the 20th of May, 1856, nearly four years after he last set out from the Colony of the Cape. Here he was detained six weeks, when he embarked for England by way of Mauritius and the Red Sea, and arrived in London on the 12th of December, 1856, thus terminating one of the most important journeys of exploration on record.

The value of the discoveries made by Dr. Livingstone cannot be readily estimated, and probably remote ages will alone be sufficient to develop all their worth. The theory of a great central basin in the interior had been before suggested by Sir Roderic Murchison, but only as a theory to account for such facts of African physical geography as were well known. But in physical science speculation is often an unsafe and always an unsatisfactory basis of procedure. Dr. Livingstone replaced speculations by facts, ascertaining enough respecting the great features of the continent to enable him to solve the hitherto inexplicable enigma of African geography. He was the first to ascertain by actual examination that only a few hundred miles from both the east and the west coast are ranges of hills higher than the more interior portions, dividing the whole continent into broad littoral slopes and a vast inland basin, made up of wide plateaus interspersed with immense lagoons, some permanent and others periodical, into which most of the rivers of the interior discharge their waters and are lost. The southernmost of these inland estuaries is Lake Ngama, first discovered by Dr. Livingstone and his associates and afterward visited by Anderson. North of this, and a very little more elevated, is the country drained by the Leeambye or Zambezi and its affluents, which almost alone of the rivers of inner Southern Africa finds its way to the sea. This river and its branches, constituting the Zambezi at the coast, appear to drain almost the whole of the great southern interior basin of Africa, as none of the rivers on the Atlantic side, from the equator to the Orange river, reach far into the interior; and whether there is or is not a mountain range across the continent along the equator, it is quite certain that no considerable river cuts that line from either north or south. North-eastwardly from the great cataract of the Zambezi, in latitude 11° south, on the extreme eastward side of the great basin, is Lake Nyassa, the old Maravi or Moravim of the Portuguese, a basin of no great depth, into which the surplus waters of the surrounding uplands are gathered during the rainy seasons; but whether or not it ever overflows, forming an effluent toward the Zambezi, is an unsettled geographical problem. The Loangwa river, which enters the Zambezi from the north, half way between the falls and the ocean, seems to be the outlet of the waters of a very large portion of this inland region. From the information gathered by Dr. Livingstone from the most intelligent natives with whom he met, and from partial accounts given by half-breed Portuguese and Arabs who have wandered through that region, it appeared to be a fertile and wooded country, with abundant animal and vegetable resources, and inhabited by a sturdy race of man-eating pagan negroes, the Balonda, who are divided into a great number of tribes and sub-nationalities, but all acknowledge a remote allegiance to a common chief. Among these people Dr. Livingstone is now pressing his explorations, the account of which when published will doubtless open a new chapter in our authentic information respecting this hitherto unknown land. But little influence from the outside world has ever reached these secluded regions, though the ubiquitous slave-trade even here produces its bitter fruits.

The expedition of Captain Burton, extending from June, 1857, to March, 1859, of which a full and highly valuable account is given in the work named at the head of this paper, is one of the most important ever made into the interior of Africa. His military education and his experience in East Indian affairs, added to a mind naturally acute and observing, fitted him eminently for his work. He went out, having Lieutenant Speke for companion, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, with the specific purpose "of ascertaining the limits of the 'Sea of Ujiji' or Unyamwezi Lake;" and secondarily, "to determine the exportable produce of the interior, and the ethnography of its tribes." After infinite trouble and vexatious hinderances, for which our military traveler seems not to have been the best adapted, the expedition finally set out from Zanzibar on the 27th of June, 1857.

The whole route from the coast to the lake he distributes into five natural divisions. Of these the first extends over the lowland region between the ocean and the first range of mountains, from Kaole to Zungomero, distant in a right line about one hundred and fifty miles, but not less than once and a half that distance by the road. At Zungomero the final arrangements for the expedition were perfected; the goods to be used for barter were prepared, and the persons who were to compose the caravan were brought together, and each assigned his proper place and duties. The route was that usually traversed by the caravans of the Arab traders, and as a military escort was deemed essential to safety fourteen "Baloch," with their "jemadar," were granted by the Arab governor of Zanzibar. Besides these the whole caravan was under the direction of an Arab, Said bin Salim, while the travelers, who were the only ones either really interested or responsible, appeared rather in the character of passengers. Probably such an arrangement was necessary else it would not have been made, for certainly it proved to the last degree irksome and inconvenient. The vexations naturally arising from this divided sovereignty evidently affected the temper of the whole narrative, which is throughout anything but cheerful. In this particular Captain Burton's narrative is in marked contrast with the genial hopefulness of Livingstone and the imperturbable *sang froid* of Barth.

On the seventh of August the expedition left Zungomero with all its discomforts, and began to ascend the Usugara Mountains. The effect of the change of place and circumstances upon the tone of the narrative is wonderful, and the writer's graphic picture of the scene illustrates the influence of climate upon the temper, and affords a specimen of his style when in a happy vein.

The travelers were now in the second region, Usugara, the coast mountain range, extending from Zungomero, on the east, to Ugogo, at the western base of the "Ghauts," a distance of two hundred miles, as traversed by the caravan in twenty-three days, though the rectilinear distance is little more than one hundred miles. These hills run north and south, separating the coast levels from an interior basin whose surplus waters find their way by openings through them further southward and thence to the Indian Ocean. The climate did not always present the same charms as when the caravan first emerged from the lowland miasmas, for it is afterward described as cold and damp; the upper ranges being salubrious, and the lower ones, with the deep intervening gorges, damp and unhealthy; though, as compared with other neighboring localities, these mountains are a sanatorium, especially for Europeans.

The third division, Ugogo, is an elevated table land nearly two hundred miles wide east and west, and of an undetermined extent north and south, and nearly three-quarters of a mile above the sea level. Removed alike from the sea and the great reservoirs of the interior, this region is relatively dry and unproductive, resembling in this particular, though not equaling it, the great Kalahari desert of South Africa. The air of this region was so dry when the expedition passed through it "that the best water-colors faded and hardened in their pans; India Rubber became viscid, like half-dried bird-lime; Mackintosh was sticking plaster, and the best vulcanized elastic bands tore like brown paper." This region is the favorite haunt of many African animals, the rhinoceros, lions, and ostriches.

The fourth division is Unyamwezi, "the Land of the Moon," (so the name is translated,) and by some happy coincidence it occupies nearly the place assigned by geographers to the mythical "Mountains of the Moon." The distance across it is rather less than two hundred miles, and the land is yet more elevated than the preceding region, being over four thousand feet high. Yet this writer speaks well of it, and, as compared with that just passed over, calls it a "Land of Promise." This region is rather thickly peopled with two principal races of negroes, sturdy and well-formed, not remarkably warlike, and having some little civilization.

The fifth division extends across the descent from the heights of Unyamwezi to the Lake Tanganyika, distant about one hundred miles, chiefly along the river Malagurazi, which rises in the elevated region of the "Mountains of the Moon" and runs south-westwardly nearly two hundred miles to the lake. The soil is fertile, and the country has been, till quite lately, thickly peopled and well cultivated; but recent wars, stimulated by the slave-trade, have reduced it to a wilderness of luxuriant weeds and jungle. On the thirteenth of February, 1858, the travelers first "sighted" the great inland "Sea of Ujiji," which at first view fell greatly below expectation, but for which, as subsequently seen, it fully compensated. The full view of the lake as first seen by the expedition, "as it lay in the lap of the mountains, basking in the gorgeous tropical sunshine," seems to have thoroughly impressed every one of the company, and as usual on such occasions the writer's muse received the inspiration, and proceeded to depict a highly colored description of the gorgeous landscape. But all the poetry was taken out of him by the further journey to the lake shore and a little intercourse with the miserable population. The lake, however, and the country about it justified the most glowing accounts that had been received concerning them. The narrative of affairs among the people of this wonderful region is to the last degree uncomfortable—more truthful probably than many more agreeable ones, but if so most painfully correct. The descriptions of the country and its inhabitants are highly valuable, as they are at once intelligible and trustworthy.

The people of this whole region are a race of pagan negroes, divided into a great number of inferior tribes and sub-nationalities, among whom is a considerable variety of complexion and other physical characteristics, each governed by its own chief or "sultan." An infusion of the Arabic element made at a remote period, and probably in other regions, is evident in both their physical and mental characters; but no traces of a traditional Islamism were found among them. Arab merchants from Zanzibar have comparatively recently come among them; but faithful rather to their calling as traders than to their religion, they seem not to be solicitous to make proselytes, probably fearing that their conversions might interfere with the traffic in slaves, for, unlike Christians, Moslems do not enslave their co-religionists. The exports of the country are slaves and ivory, for both of which, as brought from all the region bordering on the lake, Ujiji is the great *entrepot*, whence they are conveyed overland to Zanzibar. Beads, brass wire, cloths, and a few iron tools are the articles received from the coast, which serve at once as luxuries and a circulating medium. Of their wardrobe our author writes succinctly:

> The chiefs wear expensive stuffs, checks and cottons, which they extract from passing caravans. Women of wealth affect the tobe

or coat-dress, and some were seen wearing red and blue broadcloths. The male costume of the lower orders is confined to softened goat, sheep, deer, leopard, or monkey skins, tied at two corners over either shoulder, with the flaps open at one side, and with tail and legs dangling in the wind. Women who cannot afford cloth use a narrow kilt of fiber or skin, and some content themselves with a tassel of fiber, or a leafy twig depending from a string bound round the waist and displaying the nearest approach to the original fig leaf.—P. 320.

To explore the lake and its surroundings proved to be a task more difficult to accomplish than its discovery. After long and most perplexing efforts the travelers succeeded in making up an expedition of two great canoes, each manned by about forty persons, by which they were enabled to examine the northern and north-western portion of the lake and its shores, and a single great island in its midst. The southern portion they failed to visit, and so were content to gather from the natives and such Arab traders as had visited those parts whatever information they could render.

Though Captain Burton and his companion were the first Europeans who had ever visited Lake Tanganyaki, yet the existence of a great body of fresh water in the interior of Africa somewhere to the south of the equator had been heard of ever since the occupation of the coast by the Portuguese. Old, and even recent maps of Africa usually have a large leech-shaped blot upon them, somewhere between the equator and the southern tropic, and to the eastward of the longitudinal line midway of the continent, which is sometimes called Zembere or Zambri, probably after the river Zambezi, which it was fancied might be its effluent; sometimes Maravi or Morava, which is pretty nearly the name of a race of warlike savages residing in the country of Lake Nyassa, while by some the Ngami, the Nyassa, the Tanganyika, and the Nyanza have been confounded and interchanged, although these are not only wholly distinct bodies of water, but also many hundreds of miles from each other. This fine body of water lies between the third and eighth degree of south latitude, and is cut by the meridian of thirty degrees of east longitude at a point about one-third of the distance across the continent from the Indian Ocean. Its whole length appears to be about three hundred miles, and its greatest breadth less than forty, with a very irregular coast line. It is estimated to cover about five thousand square miles. Its level is about one thousand eight hundred and fifty feet above the sea, and two thousand below the neighboring heights of Unyamwezi. Its bed is a narrow trough in the mountain range, which appears to extend from Abyssinia to a considerable distance beyond the equator; a kind of volcanic depression into which the surplus waters of the surrounding mountains are gathered. The lake pretty certainly has no effluent, and owing to the nature of its bed its depth is very considerable, while on account of the moderate volume of its affluents, and the inconsiderableness of its evaporation, its level is nearly the same at all seasons. The water is fresh and well-tasted, and so transparent that the bottom could be seen at a great depth.

The expedition left Ujiji on the 26th of May, 1858, to return as far as Kazeh in Unyamwezi, whence it was contemplated to make a hasty excursion to the north with the design to discover and locate the famous lake Nyanza. Of this lake, hitherto so little heard of by Europeans, our travelers received glowing accounts from some of the Arab merchants who had either seen it or heard of it from others, and who described it as much more extensive than Tanganyika. To see it for themselves became therefore a very natural ambition, but the forlorn condition of the expedition seemed almost to forbid it.

Captain Burton had become pretty effectually "knocked up" by his past labors and sickness, it was therefore arranged that he should remain at Kazeh, the guest of an Arab merchant, while Lieutenant Speke, with a portion of the expedition, should attempt to reach Kibuga, the capital of the emperor of Ugonda, near Lake Nyanza, distant nearly two hundred miles northward. In this he was partially successful, reaching the imperial capital, and approaching the most southern portion of the great water, which however he was not permitted to explore. Lake Nyanza, which is described as the largest of African lakes, seems to lie directly under the equator, at about the thirty-third degree of east longitude, its southern extremity where seen by Lieut. Speke being about one and a half degrees south. An elevated region of primitive formation extends southwestwardly from Abyssinia into the unknown interior, in whose basin-shaped depressions are found collections of water made by the drainage of the surrounding hill-sides. The northern lake lies much higher (thirty-seven hundred and fifty feet above sea-level) than the more southern one, though evidently it belongs to the same geological range, and probably it receives its affluents from a greater area. Lieutenant Speke, judging only from the position of the lake, and the fact that he could obtain no satisfactory information as to its northern limits, concluded that it extended to the fourth or fifth degree of north latitude, and was actually the source of the White Nile; both of which conclusions Captain Burton, for apparently good reasons, rejects. The exploration of that river made under the auspices of Ali Pacha some twenty years ago reached about 3° 20′ of north latitude, which, had it been an effluent of that lake, and the lake as extensive as supposed, would have placed them far into the interior of this African Superior. It is quite evident, however, that the White Nile lies further east, and beyond the crest of the separating mountains. Lieutenant Speke's narrative may be seen in Blackwood's Magazine for 1859, and in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society for that year. He differs in his conclusions in several important particulars from those of his fellow-traveler, but we must still confess a decided inclination to prefer the opinions of Captain Burton as given in the following:

> The Nyanza is an elevated basin or reservoir, the recipient of the surplus monsoon-rain which falls in the extensive region of the Wamasai and their kinsmen to the east, the Karagwah line of the Lunar Mountains to the west, and to the south Usukuma or Northern Unyamwezi. Extending to the equator in the central length of the African peninsula, and elevated above the limits of the depression in the heart of the continent, it appears to be a gap in the irregular chain which, running from Usumbara and Kilimangao to Karagwah, represents the formation anciently termed the Mountains of the Moon. . . . The lake lies open and elevated, rather like the drainage and the temporary deposit of extensive floods than a volcanic creation like the Tanganyika, a long, narrow, mountain-girt basin. The waters are said to be deep, and the extent of the inundation about the southern creek proves that they receive during the season an important accession.—Pp. 414, 415.

Of the expedition's "down-march" to the coast and its further history no account need be given, further than to say that it left Unyangembe late in September, 1858, and reached the coast at Konduchi early in February, and Zanzibar a month later, most thoroughly used-up, yet having accomplished much for science and human progress. As a scientific explorer, Captain Burton combines many valuable qualifications, and as an annotator of his own observations he stands deservedly high as a man of science and of letters; had he been less ambitious of the name of a fine writer, his productions would have appeared in a style better adapted to the matter-of-fact character of the subject. The relations between himself and Lieutenant Speke, whom he never calls by name nor alludes to pleasantly, were anomalous, not to use a harsher term. It would seem that a perpetual quarrel raged between them while in Africa, which has been transferred to the literature of the times since their return, certainly an unseemly and regretable state of things. His book, however, is invaluable, a fitting companion for those of Livingstone and Barth, and in some important particulars superior to both of them. It makes a solid addition to geographical and ethnological science, and opens a wide and highly available field for commercial and missionary enterprises.

The latest contribution to our stock of literature of African travel is the third work named at the head of this paper, which we were permitted to read from the proof sheets. The writer, notwithstanding his French name, is an American in fact and in feeling, though we see that he is sometimes written down *M. Du Chaillu.* His father for many years kept a trading factory on the African coast, near the Gaboon river, where he himself spent several years of his youth, during which time he acquired a knowledge of the languages, habits, and peculiarities of the coast tribes, which was afterward brought into use in his travels into the interior. He at the same time became somewhat acclimated, and also learned what are the best methods by which to preserve the system from the deadly influences of the malaria of the intertropical African coast. It at length grew into a deeply cherished purpose of his heart to penetrate into the interior along the line of the equator, to investigate the geography, zoology, and ethnology of that most unknown portion of even Africa. The opening paragraph of his narrative sets forth the designs and plans of his journey comprehensively and with characteristic modesty:

> I left America for the western coast of Africa in the month of October, 1855. My purpose was to spend some years in the ex-

> ploration of a region of territory lying between latitudes 2° north and 2° south, and stretching back from the coast to the mountain range called the *Sierra del Crystal*, and beyond as far as I should be able to penetrate.—P. 25.

At this point of the coast the power of the white man has been but very partially felt, and at scarcely any other place does the great unknown of the interior approach so near to tide-water. The interior tribes seldom come to the coast, and were generally reputed to be a most ferocious and superstitious race of cannibals; while the natural history was almost entirely unknown, though it seemed to promise a rich reward to the adventurous explorer that should dare to invade its seclusion—if indeed he should return without scath. The period occupied in making these explorations extended over four years, 1856–1859, inclusive, during which years he made three several journeys into the interior, varying in extent from one hundred to four hundred miles. The last was made in the year 1859, extending farthest eastward, and resulting in the most remarkable discoveries, especially respecting the physical geography of this part of the African continent.

A large share of this volume relates to the coast, its trade and people, and to the form of the land, and the system of rivers and deltas near the coast, with which, however interesting and valuable, we now have nothing to do. We write only of the interior. The coast range of lowlands along the Atlantic is not very broad, from thirty to one hundred miles, except in the neighborhood of the Bight of Benin, and about the mouth or rather mouths of the Niger; and as the coast tribes about the Gaboon never go above the first falls of the river, and those higher up never come below them, there is very little known at the coast of the interior. The Crystal Mountain is seen dimly in the distance, but to all the dwellers on the coast it is all as mysterious as the unapproachable regions of cloud-land.

These coast Africans are almost passionately devoted to trading, and they therefore presume that trade is the sole object of every white man who visits them. Many of those also to whom Mr. Du Chaillu presented himself after his arrival abroad had known his father as a merchant, and of course the conclusion at once was formed that he had come to establish a "factory" among them, nor were they willing to be convinced that such was not the case. He at length persuaded them to believe that he was not a merchant but a hunter, and with this they were satisfied, though they seemed to think that the calling of a merchant was much more suitable for a white man. Had he attempted to convince them his purpose was simply to gain a knowledge of the country they would not have believed him, and suspecting some secret design against themselves they would have become his enemies. Recognizing him as a great hunter, the people of the coast, the Mwonge, readily aided him in his efforts to go inland to the foot of the mountain, which was to them the outskirts of the known world, to the tribe of the Muni, who reside at the base of the *Sierra del Crystal.* But when he proposed to pass beyond these into the *Fan* (called on the coast Paouen, or Pa-wàn) country, he was informed that the design was simply impossible. Just why this was so King Doyoko was not àble to tell definitely, though many reasons deemed to be most formidable were given against it. He would die on the way, and then his death would be on the king's soul; or he would be murdered and eaten by cannibals; or there was war on the river, and the up-river tribes would not allow him to pass; or the country above was very sick; and, lastly, there was no reason why he should go since the king's country was full of game, which he might hunt to his heart's content. Such is the usual policy of African kings whose political economy is entirely on the protective system. But when all these arguments failed of their purpose, and the traveler showed his determination to go forward, even if he had to go alone, a royal escort was granted to him. By this he was brought to Mbene, king of the Mbondemo, whence the route lay up the rather rugged ascent of the *Sierra*, along which he was conducted by an escort led by one of Mbene's sons. When the ascent was made the wayfarers looked back upon the scene below them, which the writer photographs on this wise:

> From this elevation, about five thousand feet above the ocean level, I enjoyed an unobstructed view as far as the eye could reach. The hills we had surmounted the day before lay quietly at our feet seeming mere mole-hills. On all sides stretched the immense virgin forests, with here and there the sheen of a watercourse. And far away in the east loomed the blue tops of the farthest range of the Sierra del Crystal, the goal of my desires. The murmur of the rapids below filled my ears, and as I strained my eyes

> toward those distant mountains which I hoped to reach, I began to think how this wilderness would look if only the light of Christian civilization could once be fairly introduced among the black children of Africa. I dreamed of forest giving way to plantations of coffee, cotton, and spices; of peaceful negroes going to their constant daily tasks; of farming and manufactures; of churches and schools; and luckily raising my eyes heavenward at this stage of my thoughts, I saw pendent from a branch of a tree beneath which I was sitting *an immense serpent*, evidently preparing to gobble up this dreaming intruder on his domains. . . . Luckily my gun was at hand. . . . And now that Christian civilization of which I had mused so pleasantly a few minutes before received another shock. My men cut off the head of the snake, and dividing the body into proper pieces, roasted it and eat it on the spot, and I, poor, starved, but *civilized* mortal, stood by, longing for a meal, but unable to stomach this. So much for civilization, which is a very good thing in its way, but has no business in an African forest when food is scarce.—P. 83.

Not far from this place the traveler came upon one of the great objects of his curiosity, the gorilla, a creature which figures largely in these pages, but whose existence was previously known only from the stories of the wild Africans. But the hunt at this time was not successful. Another day's journey brought them into the country of the *Fan* people, a hardy and powerful nation of cannibal warriors, located some one hundred and fifty miles from the coast, upon one of the elevated plateaus of the Crystal Mountains.

A few days' rest at a deserted village a short distance from the "capital" served to recruit the travelers after their toilsome journey, and also afforded an opportunity for the much-coveted gorilla hunt. These animals dwell in the deep forests of these equatorial regions, running chiefly upon all-fours upon the ground, though they can also walk erect, and they are expert climbers. The writer shall be allowed to tell his own story of his first encounter with this "man of the woods." Having gone out for the purpose of hunting the gorilla, they had detected signs of his presence by the noise he made in passing through the jungle, and were endeavoring to get sight of him when—

> Suddenly, as we were creeping along in a silence which made a heavy breath seem loud and distinct, the woods were at once filled with the tremendous barking roar of the gorilla. Then the underbrush swayed rapidly just ahead, and presently before us stood an

> immense male gorilla. He had gone through the jungle on all-fours, but when he saw our party he erected himself and looked us boldly in the face. He stood about a dozen yards from us, and was a sight I think never to forget. Nearly six feet high, with immense body, huge chest, and great muscular arms, with fiercely-glaring, large deep-gray eyes, and a hellish expression of face, which seemed to me like some nightmare vision, thus stood before us the king of the African forest. . . . His eyes began to flash fiercer as we stood motionless on the defensive, and the crest of short hair which stands on his forehead began to twitch rapidly up and down, while his powerful fangs were shown as he again sent forth a thunderous roar. And now truly he reminded me of nothing but some hellish dream-creature, a being of that hideous order, half man, half beast, which we find pictured by old artists in some representation of the infernal regions. He advanced a few steps, then stopped to utter that hideous roar again, advanced again, and finally stopped when at a distance of about six yards from us. And here, as he began another of his roars, beating his breast in rage, we fired and killed him.—Pp. 98–101.

Next day the traveler and his party were brought forward to the *Fan* village, and passing along the principal thoroughfare, among unmistakable evidences of the prevalent cannibalism, the women and children along the route evincing great consternation at the sight of a white man, they came to the "palaver house," where they waited for some time the appearance of "his majesty." It appeared afterward that the delay on the part of the king was caused by a demand for his authoritative presence at the dividing of a human body, of which the head is by custom a "royalty." At length King Ndiayai appeared, "a ferocious looking fellow, naked with the exception of the cloth, painted red and tattooed, covered with charms and fully armed," and yet evidently not a little troubled at the sight of the white man on account of a superstitious apprehension that he would not long survive it. Still the old cannibal acquitted himself honorably on the score of hospitality.

The coming of the white man among these mountain savages, who seem to have really believed him to be a spirit, was of course a great occasion, and one to be duly celebrated. The people of the surrounding villages flocked in to see the prodigy, and in due time an all-night dance, the wildest imaginable, was given in honor of the arrival of the spirit among them. A few days later an elephant hunt was had, when five hundred armed warriors went out to beat the bush for the gigantic game, which is killed by striking their bodies with javelins till the huge backs of the poor beasts resemble immense porcupines.

Except as to the horrid practice of cannibalism, which seems to be a kind of passion with them, the traveler appears to have been favorably impressed respecting the character of the *Fan* tribe. They are not so black as the coast tribes, and they are taller and straighter. As a general rule, mountain negroes are lighter colored and better formed than those of lowland regions. They have some little skill in the arts, especially in working iron, of which they make a great variety of warlike instruments, a fact which no doubt largely affects their character and relations as warriors. They have also some skill in pottery and in agriculture. Slavery exists among them only to a limited extent and in a modified form, but a great many of this tribe are yearly sold to the coast traders, ostensibly as a punishment for crime, or witchcraft, or for debts. But where the wish and the opportunity to sell exist the occasion will not long be wanting. Like all other Africans they are polygamists, and they even excel most other tribes in their superstitious regard for their fetiches and their belief in witchcraft.

Finding it impossible to proceed farther eastward from this point, our traveler reluctantly turned his face toward the ocean, and so terminated for the present his attempts to explore the interior.

Of the journeyings and explorations and famous huntings along the coast and rivers below the mountains, which occupied our traveler during the next year, no notice need be taken, as their field lies outside of our design. His last and great journey into the interior was undertaken early in October, 1858. It was his purpose to push out directly eastward, and to penetrate as far as possible in order to gain a knowledge of the face of the country and of its people and productions. Having formed a kind of alliance with Obindji, chief of a tribe of the ubiquitous Hakalai, whose settlements are scattered along the equator from the coast to the farthest explored points of the interior, the traveler and his companions were forwarded by escorts and "safe-conducts" to the more inland kindred tribes. A journey of two weeks, with the inevitable African delays, brought them to Ashira-land, which though only two hundred and forty miles from the coast, is really one of the most secluded places in the world. A white man had never before visited it, and as these tribes never visit the coast, not one of them had ever seen a European, though such beings had often been heard of, and were regarded as a superior order of intelligences or "spirits," which make the wonderful things brought to them by their traders. The Bakalai chief, who acted as his guide and protector, willing to make the most of the opportunity, sent a herald in advance to announce his advent, and then proceeded in solemn state, "proclaiming in the most magniloquent manner the many virtues of the great white man or *spirit* whom he had brought to see his countrymen."

At first all was awe and alarm at his presence. Then followed great rejoicings among all the people, because "the white man who makes the guns, the cloth, the beads, the brass rods, and the copper rings" had come among them, and at length he was escorted into the royal residence, and was presented with the "kendo," or ensign of royalty, and so became joint king of Ashira. And then, that he might feast right royally, a young and fat slave was brought to him to be killed and served up for his supper. These people fully believed that the white man was a veritable spirit come to them from another world, and his clock and music-box, which he allowed to be in sight, were supposed to be his attendant spirits; and the steady ticking of the clock by night proved to be the best possible protection for his goods against the universally prevalent theivishness of the Africans. Of the country and people the writer gives a glowing account, which we have not room for.

A terrible up-hill journey of more than a hundred miles, through tangled woods, among rocks and over swollen mountain streams, (it was the rainy season,) with an occasional encounter with gorillas, brought the traveler and his escort after a journey of ten days to the country of Remandji, king of the Apingi, where he was received as a spirit, and a young slave was brought him to be used for his supper, which when he declined all were greatly amazed, as they had always supposed that white men were especially fond of human flesh, and that the slave-trade was carried on for the purpose of supplying the tables of white men with the flesh of young negroes. Nor could they be made to comprehend what other use could be made of them. The Apingi were no less gratified at the idea of having a spirit among them than had been the Ashira, and hoping to profit by his presence they presented him a formal request that he would make them "a pile of beads as high as a tree," and also "cloth and brass kettles, and copper rods, and guns and powder." This request was presented by the king in person, after a full consultation with the tribe, who were gathered by thousands, and who seconded the request by a vociferous Yo! yo! and it was with much difficulty that he could persuade them that he could not do as they desired. The failure of that purpose did not however cost him the loss of their favor.

The Apingi are an athletic race of negroes, much lighter colored than those nearer the coast, not especially addicted to war, and more industrious than most of their neighbors, for even the men do some work. They are skillful in the manufacture of a cloth made from the bark of a species of palm. They dwell permanently in one place, but have no flock or herds. Slavery exists among them, but only in a mitigated form.

On the twenty-eighth of December, 1858, our traveler left Remandji's village determined to proceed as far eastward as practicable, and if possible to reach the tribes of which he had been told residing three days' journey in that direction. Twenty-five miles were made the first day. The next day the traveling was excessively severe, and the weather stormy; they traveled due east by the compass, but made less headway than on the first day. The third day the country continued to be rough, and an almost total absence of animal life was noticeable. "The gloom of the woods," he writes, "was something quite appalling to the spirits. It seemed a fit place for the haunts of some sylvan monster, delighting in silence and the shades of night." Another day, the last of the year, brought them nothing new. The country was still an awful solitude. On New Year's day, 1859, they pushed forward with light burdens and a desperate purpose to reach the looked-for country and people, but in vain. The traveler's last pair of shoes entirely gave out, and his feet were terribly lacerated. Their provisions were all spent, and on every side appeared only solitude and desolation. To proceed was impossible, and the hope of being able to return not flattering.

> Then finding it impossible to advance further, I sent two men to climb the highest tree in sight and fasten the American flag at the

top. When it floated on the breeze I made my men give three cheers for the star-spangled banner, and divided the remainder of my brandy among them.

"Having eaten our dinner and breakfast and supper, all in one, I drank a glass of wine to the health of friends at home, then carefully bandaged my feet with the sleeves of my shirt, forced them gently into the ragged shoes, and we set out on our way back. It was a sorry day for me. It seemed too great a disappointment to stand as I did just here, to have within my grasp almost the solution of an important geographical problem, and to have to leave it unsolved."—Pp. 513, 514.

The retreat was not sounded any too soon for the safety of the poor overdone wayfarers, who scarcely found strength to carry themselves back to their friends, where they arrived more dead than alive. Du Chaillu himself was completely prostrated by a fever attended with delirium, and only by the most careful nursing was kept alive and brought back to consciousness and at length to health. His explorations were ended, and he set his face, first toward the coast, and then toward home.

His suggestions as to the geography of equatorial Africa are at least worthy of consideration, though it is yet too soon to speak confidently on those questions.

The mountain range which I explored on my last journey, and which is laid down on the map as far as my extreme point or terminus, seems to me, beyond doubt, to be a part of a great chain extending nearly across the continent without ever leaving the line of the equator more than two degrees. Not only were the appearances such, as far as I was able to penetrate, but all accounts of the natives and of their slaves tend to make this certain. Some of the slaves of the Apingi are brought from a distance to the eastward, which they counted as twenty days' journey, and they invariably protested that the mountains in sight of their present home continue in an uninterrupted chain far beyond their own country, in fact as far as they knew.

Judging, therefore, from my own examination, and from the most careful inquiries among the people of the far interior, I think *there is good reason to believe that an important mountain range divides the continent of Africa nearly along the lines of the equator, starting on the west from the range which runs along the coast north and south, and ending in the east probably in the southern mountains of Abyssinia, or perhaps terminating abruptly to the north of Captain Burton's Lake Tanganyika.—Preface.*

It is pretty certain that the water-shed between the basin of the Tsad and the Niger on the north, and the great southern basin drained in part by the Zambezi, is nearly coincident with the equator; nor is it improbable, as this writer suggests, that the impenetrable forests of this mountain range and its savage inhabitants together put a stop to the victorious southward course of the Mohammedan conquest.

His closing estimate of his own exploits is at once comprehensive and satisfactory, an allowable claim upon the great world for a just recognition of what he has done, as a contributor to its stock of valuable knowledge:

> . . . I traveled, always on foot, and unaccompanied by other white men, about eight thousand miles. I shot, stuffed, and brought home over two thousand birds, of which more than sixty are new species, and I killed upward of one thousand quadrupeds, of which two hundred were stuffed and brought home, with more than eighty skeletons. Not less than twenty of these quadrupeds are species hitherto unknown to science. I suffered fifty attacks of the African fever, taking to cure myself over *fourteen ounces of quinine.* Of famine, long-continued exposures to heavy tropical rains, and attacks of ferocious ants and venomous flies, it is not worth while to speak.

The later explorations of Dr. Livingstone and those of Lieutenant Speke are still unfinished, and are proper matter for the newspaper rather than the review. Doubtless further valuable contributions to geographical and ethnological science will be made by them. Events seem to indicate that the next great movement in the drama of the world's affairs will be in Africa, which indeed presents a broad and hopeful field for the exercise of the giant energies of the age.

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ART. V.—THE EMOTIONAL ELEMENT IN HEBREW TRANSLATION.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

A PERFECT translation is one that conveys to the mind of the reader, without either excess or deficiency, the thought as it lay in the mind of the writer. The two constituent elements of every thought thus expressed are the *idea* and the *emotion.* Both must be transferred, the one neither enlarged nor diminished, the other neither strengthened nor weakened. They are addressed to two departments of the soul, the one to the intellect as something to be *known*, the other to the affections as something to be *felt*. They are logically separable, though indivisible in fact. The idea can never be clearly given without the emotion; the emotion can never be felt in its spiritual heartiness without accuracy in the accompanying idea. When the first element predominates translation is comparatively easy. It is in such case mainly the transfer of the force of single equivalent words from one language to another. Such equivalents may always be found, or periphrases that do not change the sense; since what would affect the strength may not impair the fullness or clearness of a sentence. When the second element, of emotion, so prevails as to give character to the passage, translation becomes far more difficult; a perfect translation is sometimes impossible. The reason of this is that the *emotion* of a sentence, as distinguished from the fact or knowledge conveyed, rests mainly in some peculiar collocation of the words, giving rise to emphasis and surprise, or in some peculiar effect of those parts of speech we style the particles. It resides, sometimes, in the very absence of words, paradoxical as such an assertion may at first appear. It may dwell in an ellipsis, from which it would be driven out by any attempt at filling up. The tender breath of its being is conveyed in the delicate implication of some connective particle, and it perishes the moment we attempt to reduce that particle to a thought, or to render it by any word containing a distinct logical statement. These little words are the emotional germs of a sentence. They are called particles (*particulæ*) merely in reference .to the diminutive space they occupy; but this mere quantitative term is far wide of their spiritual significance. They are rather *articles*, the articulations or joints of a sentence, without which all its bone and muscle of nouns and verbs would have no power of moving or of being moved. Without these, or idiomatic constructions having a similar power, there would be nothing in language but a *siccum lumen*, a dry intelligence. They are the nerves, the nervous pulsations; they are the cells of life, yea, the very life itself.

Hence we say it is very difficult, sometimes impossible, to convey these germinal elements of emotion from one language to another. It has been maintained that there is always to be found some method of exact translation. When there is a failure of equivalent words, it has been said, or even of equivalent idioms, there is always some mode of expression which will indicate precisely what is meant. But this assertion, so far as it is true at all, is true only of what we have called the *idea* or *thought*, as mostly *knowledge* or *fact* for the intellect. Even here it becomes false so far as the idea (as is often the case) is inseparable from and dependent on the emotion; but when the latter element is predominant, and becomes the great thing in a sentence, then these expedients fail through overdoing or deficiency. The life of the passage is almost sure to receive some hurt. The periphrasis buries it, the loss of a figure obscures it, the change of idiom destroys it. Take away its conciseness and its strength is gone; add words for the clearance of the conception and the emotion dies. That conciseness, that peculiar collocation of words, belong as much to the true spiritual utterance as the very words and grammatical forms themselves. Sometimes there may be happy substitutions that will approach the same effect; but in general, unless something like the original form is preserved, the *thought* may indeed survive, though marred and mutilated, but the subtle spiritual aroma, the emotional essence, perishes in the transmission. We may, indeed, logically describe it, or attempt to describe it, but it is like the dissection of a dead form. We only see where life was; we behold not the life itself. If we cannot imitate this essential conciseness, then must we preserve what we can of the thought in some other mode of expression, trusting that the reader may catch the emotion, even as a good ear may catch the modulation, and even take pleasure in it, though the chords be badly played, and the instrument be out of tune. If he have music in his own soul the emotion may revive again, though so greatly weakened in the passage from one spirit to another. The only effectual remedy, however, is such a familiarity with the original, such a constant reading without any construing medium, that at last a person begins to think in it, and what is more to feel in it, as he does in his native tongue.

There are many cases, however, when this essential conciseness, or this essentiality of form, in the original, may be imitated, (sometimes with immediate happy effect,) although such form may be strange, abrupt, or perhaps wholly unknown in the language to which the transfer is made. A translator is sometimes justified in thus transplanting idioms just as they stand. Instead of deserving condemnation as an innovator, he may, if he does it carefully and intelligently, be the means of enriching his own native tongue. He may introduce into it exotics which not only live but grow luxuriantly in the new soil, though far away, it may be, both in space and time, from their ancient fatherland. Much was done in this way in the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into English. It has brought in orientalisms, giving new beauty as well as strength to the language. These were unknown to the older Saxon and Norman. Some of them doubtless sounded strange and harsh at first; but now that they have become naturalized, they are our richest gems of speech, the very life, if not of our common, at least of our sacred or devotional language.

A careful examination of many passages of the Hebrew Scriptures has convinced us that this transplanting process might have been carried much farther with great advantage to philology as well as religion. In other words, there are many cases where the Hebrew might have been rendered into English with an exact literalness, which, although sounding strange at first, two hundred years' use would have so naturalized that, along with the exotic forms, would have come all that strength and fullness of emotion now lost in the *italics* and attempted paraphrases through which, it was thought, the strangeness would be disguised.

General remarks of this kind are imperfectly understood without direct application. Not to make, therefore, our introductory argument too long, we would refer the reader to some of those numerous examples in the Bible where there is an attempt to help out the translation by means of italics. These, it is commonly said, are not additions, nor even modifications, but only the expression of what is virtually in the sense, though absent from the form of the ancient language. This is true, and doubtless necessary, in regard to the majority of what may be called the minor instances, such as the supply of an English particle, an English preposition, or an English substantive verb, when they are supposed to be virtually included in some peculiar position or change of form in the original words to whose rendering they are attached. It may be a question, however, whether even in cases of this kind, or in those that are seemingly such, there has not been a too frequent use of this method, often to the weakening of the emotion, and, in many instances, to the obscuring of the thought. There is a vast difference between the logical assertion of a fact, and an exclamation of musing wonder in the subjective contemplation of such a fact or truth, taken as undisputed. It is all the difference, oftentimes, between devotional and didactic language; and yet it is this difference, or the want of this difference, which the translators have sometimes made to depend on the insertion in italics of an *is* or an *and*, or the putting in an article or a preposition when they are not wanted, or the leaving them out when the original, either in its direct words or its idiomatic forms, demanded them as its indispensable representatives.

"From everlasting unto everlasting thou *art* God," Psalm xc, 2; or, "From everlasting unto everlasting thou, O God." In the first there is given in italics the word supplied by our translators, doubtless because they deemed it indispensable to the sense, and therefore virtually contained in the original. Of this, however, there may be a question. Let the reader compare the two versions—one the exact Hebrew without addition or diminution, only thrown into the vocative form which requires no outward aid; the other helped, as it is supposed, by the assertive copula. This latter is a logical or didactic assertion of God's eternity as a fact; the other assumes it as the ground of a devotional or strictly subjective address. The emotion is prominent in the one, the mere idea in the other. Or rather, we may say, the one contains the *thought* alone; the other the thought equally clear, if not more clear, because seen through the clarifying medium of the heavenly *emotion* it carries with it.

Compare with this the perfectly similar place, Psalm xlv, 7. Had the translators rendered here as they have done in the ninetieth Psalm it would have been, "Thy throne *is* God forever and ever," as the antitrinitarians contend it should be rendered here and in Hebrew i, 8, although they would in reality gain nothing doctrinally by it. The great objection is that the useless filling up does equally, in both cases, destroy the subjective or emotional power of the language, besides giving a different aspect to the thought. "Thy throne, O God, forever and ever:" "From everlasting to everlasting, Thou." The substantive verb, which the translators have inserted in the one case and omitted in the other, is equally defensible, or equally objectionable, in both passages.

"From everlasting unto everlasting thou." Compare this expressive second person with a similar abrupt use of the third, in Psalm cii, 28, וְאַתָּה הוא, "Thou, He." "For thou *art* He, and of thy years there is no end." The translators have rendered it, "Thou art the same." In this they have been governed by the LXX, and their version as quoted Heb. i, 12: *Σὺ δε ὁ αὐτος εἰ*—*Tu autem idem ipse es.* The insertion of the substantive verb here has a stronger ground than usual, because of the fact that the Hebrew pronoun הוא has in itself, sometimes, something of an assertive or verbal nature, as in Psalm l, 5: "For God himself is judge;" שֹׁפֵט הוא. It would seem to be allied to היה, the verb of being, and thus to be in the root of the great name announced to Moses in Exod. iii, 14: "Thou art He;" Thou art Jehovah; 'O ΩN, "The same yesterday, to-day, and forever." The assertion "Thou art God" may have great force and solemnity according to the connection in which it is found; but it has the appearance of a tautology, a truism, or an identical proposition, and this thought, perhaps, led the LXX to avoid it by taking אַל, with a different vowel punctuation, for the negative particle of prohibition, and attaching it to the subsequent clause—*ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος συ εἰ—μὴ ἀποστρέψης κ. τ. λ.*: "From eternity unto eternity thou; O turn not man again, *εἰς ταπείνωσιν*, to his humiliation," to his lowly primal state of dust and dissolution. The form of earnest deprecating prayer thus given to it has an exceeding pathos from the contrast between the divine eternity, the divine unchangeableness, and our frail dissolving forms. The Septuagint version cannot be justified, and yet this touching contrast still remains in almost any version that can be made of the passage, only the more touching the more concise it is and antithetical. In any view we can take, the rendering which is most abrupt, nearest to the words and structure of the original Hebrew, is the one that carries the highest power of emotion with the greatest vividness of idea. It is the same thought, the same contrast, the same emotional utterance, Psalm cii, 27: *Ipsi pereunt tu* *autem permanes, tu ipse, et anni tui non deficient.* They perish but thou remainest ever—*permanes*—remainest through, surviving all change. "Thou art He, and thy years never end." All such passages are more or less soliloquizing. It is the soul talking to itself its thought of God. Knowing its own thought and its own deep feeling, it has no need of connective terms or logical formulæ to help it understand itself. It only needs that the reader should come into the same subjective state to feel that the words are sufficient, that there is a swelling significance in their very omissions, and that any filling up, unless the idiom of the translating language imperatively demand it, adds nothing to the thought, while it greatly weakens the emotional power.

"The fool hath said in his heart, *there is* no God." Psalm xiv, 1: "The fool says in his heart, no God." How slight the outward change, and yet how striking the difference of force and meaning! The soliloquizing character of the passage is determined by the first clause: "Hath said in his heart." It is a Hebraism equivalent to, "He thinks to himself;" just as *φημὶ* is often used in Greek, especially in Homer. See Iliad. 237. But we see the thing itself in the exact rendering of the second clause thus stripped of the form of an outward logical judgment, and presented as a thought or musing of the mind. It is the fool talking to himself, or rather, his foolish thoughts talking to one another. There is no need, therefore, of the logical copula. That is only wanted to bind it together when it is supposed to pass, as a formal didactic proposition, from one mind to another.

And so again, Psalm x, 4: "He will not seek; God *is* not *in* all his thoughts." There is in the Hebrew here no true substantive verb, although the negative אין is regarded as having something of an assertive force, and there is no preposition before "thoughts." The italics supplying it are not needed at all. The insertion of *in* changes the thought, while it greatly weakens its force and impressiveness. "No God, all his thoughts." The first rendering, we say, fails to give even the idea. It is not an occasional forgetfulness, or even an habitual mindlessness. His whole soul is Godless. His whole evil soul, we might say, since the Hebrew מְזִמּוֹת is generally taken of evil thoughts, *prava consilia.* His conceptions, his ideas, his emotions, as they are successively born of each other, or, to use that deep psychological scale, (Gen. vi, 5,) the *imaginations* of the *thoughts* of his *heart*, are all atheism, and atheism continually—כל היום, "every day, and all the day long." It is "his whole spirit," כל רוחו, Prov. xxix, 11, which "the fool is ever letting out." There is no translation which, in such cases as these, comes nearer the pith of the Hebrew than the old Scotch metrical version. It fills up the ellipses, but does it more happily than our common version.

"The wicked through his pride of face
On God he doth not call;
And in the counsels of his heart
The Lord is not at all."

He is "without God," even as he is without any true or rational "hope in the world."

"The heavens are telling the glory of God; day unto day uttereth speech; night unto night revealeth knowledge. *There is* no speech nor language *where* their voice is not heard." Psalm xix, 1–4. Here again in this last clause both the thought and the emotional wonder are weakened by the italics. Read it in its pure Hebrew literalness, and what can be more clear as well as more impressive? "No speech, no words, their voice is not heard," that is, there are no articulated words, there is no *audible* voice, and yet "their line hath gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." The Hebrew קו here evidently denotes a musical string or chord. This music of the spheres pervades the universe; the undulating line has gone forth to the ends of the world; its length is infinite, its tension is everlasting, its vibrations are everywhere in time and space, but they are only for rational souls, only for "those who have ears to hear." Addison paraphrases it, but it is with great clearness and beauty.

"What though no outward voice nor sound
Amid their radiant orbs be found,
In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice;
Forever singing, as they shine,
The hand that made us is divine."

"Thou wilt show me the path of life. In thy presence *is* fullness of joy; at thy right hand *there are* pleasures for evermore." Psalm xvi, 11. The thought is surpassingly rich in almost any form of expression. It is so full of sublimity and beauty that hardly any translation can destroy it. But there is one best mode, and we think that that is, in this case, the preservation of the most exact literalness, leaving out all italics and all assertive words that would convert the two latter clauses into mere declarative statements, such as the Hebrew does not make, and, as we think, does not intend. It is not easy to describe it by any technics, but the nearest thing to grammatical accuracy would be to say, that the nouns *joy* and *pleasures* are in syntactical apposition with the way of life in the first member. They *are* the life, or lives, חיים. As Psalm xxx, 6, "His favor is life;" or Psalm lxiii, 4, "Thy loving kindness is more than life." Thus viewed, the two latter clauses are not separate propositions, but intimately connected with the first as its necessary complement. It is the overflowing of the thought, the rising of the emotion, the swelling of the climax that reaches its height in the succeeding parallelism: "Thou wilt show me the way of life, fullness of bliss in thy presence, the joys at thy right hand for evermore," or, "in perfection," as the Hebrew נצח more truly means. Acts ii, 28, gives the paraphrase of the LXX, who took the Hebrew שבע for a verb, when it is a noun in the construct state. Venema's translation is perfect: *Notam mihi facies semitam vitæ, plenitudinis lætitiarum apud faciem tuam, jucunditatum dextræ tuæ in æternum.*

Silence may sometimes be more impressive than words. Ellipses are the most peculiar, and therefore the most significant and emotional forms in every language. The formula may be thus stated: The more elliptical (provided the thought is not lost) the more idiomatic, the more idiomatic the more powerful in its subjective or emotional effect. Beyond these, however, there is what may be called a *silence*, or as it is technically styled, an *aposiopesis*, in a sentence. Ordinary ellipses are more for convenience than rhetorical effect, although they often have so much of the latter. They are the economies of language, abbreviations by which words well known and easily supplied are left out of familiar sentences, or when a part is put for the whole, just as in verbal abbreviations a syllable or a letter or two may represent whole words. Even thus regarded they have emotional power, as all conciseness ever has when clearness is not sacrificed. The more distinct thought in the fewest words, the more condensation and energy in the utterance.

But there is a silence beyond this. It is to be found in the more impassioned modes of language. As emotion becomes predominant, especially if it be of the introspective or meditative style, the soul thinks aloud as it were, and what it leaves unuttered comes up with more force than any formal words could have given it. It has all the more power because it is left to spring up as the suggestion or response of the reader's own mind. "Let it alone this-year, and if it bear fruit—:" Our translators have followed this by the word "*well*" in italics; but there is no answer in the Greek, and could we accustom ourselves to think in this impassioned, abrupt style, we would not feel any need of one. The silence would be understood as well as the words. It would be felt to be, in fact, more eloquent than any voice. The scholarly reader will call to mind many examples of this figure, aposiopesis, in classical Greek.* Such silences, as well as the more unusual ellipses, are found in languages which have the most of impassioned utterance, whether scant or copious. The least emotional speech in the world, perhaps, is the Latin, and there almost everything is verbally or syntactically expressed. It is somewhere, either in the words, or in the order, as giving a certain meaning through a peculiar collocation of the words. Silences are comparatively few and unimportant. Virgil has them sometimes, as in the Æneid, I, 135; but in such cases they are mere forced imitations of Homer. In the Greek the *ἀποσιώπησις*, as their rhetoricians call it, is often met with. But in the Hebrew it becomes a still more prominent feature, especially in the subjective, soliloquizing utterances of the prophets. We have, among our memoranda, cases from Isaiah and Hosea, but one of the most striking examples presents itself for selection in Psalm xciv, 10, 11: "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that teacheth man knowledge, *shall he not know?*" So it stands in our translation, and correct enough so far as the mere *thought* is concerned. Nothing could excel it viewed simply as an argument for the divine existence. Nowhere is this argument from design presented in a more beautiful and convincing order.* The transition from the physical to the intellectual, from the *fact* of the sense in the creature to the *a priori idea* of the sense in the Creator, the still more sublime transition from the human to the divine thought, from the human to the divine knowledge, surpasses, in argumentative effect, anything to be gathered from the labored pages of Paley. Cicero only approaches it when he says, (*De Nat. Deorum*, II, 31,) Quumque sint in nobis *consilium*, *ratio*, *prudentia*, necesse est Deum hæc ipsa habere majora.—"Since we have counsel, reason, prudence, God must have them still more;" and again in words strikingly similar to those of the Psalmist: Aurium admirabile quoddam judicium; oculi tanquam speculatores altissimum locum obtinentes, jam vero animum ipsum, rationem, consilium, qui non divina cura perfecta esse perspicit? (*De Nat.*, II, 56)—"There is the admirable judgment of the ear; there is again the eye, holding the highest place as a watchman upon the tower; beyond all this, mind, reason, counsel, who can fail to see that it is all the work of a perfect divine care?" Or, as he says elsewhere, "Shall there be mind and reason in us, and shall there be nowhere else a higher mind or reason as the source whence the human mind (the human image of the divine) had its origin?"

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* See especially the Iliad, I, 135, where Cowper has filled up the silence, as our translators have done in Luke xiii, 9, while Pope has given the passage quite another turn, making Agamemnon talk in the calmest manner.

But striking as this is, when viewed as a mere intellectual argument for the divine existence, we may still doubt whether it is the design, at least the primary design, of the passage. The Bible nowhere undertakes to prove the existence of a God in the manner of our natural theology. Whatever is seemingly such is ever intended by way of illustration of some human duty of reverence, or as a magnifying of some divine attribute, while the existence of the attribute and the existence of the

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* Not to interrupt the argument, we would remark here that there is great beauty in the selection of words, all favoring the great idea of skill and design. The ear is said to be *planted* (Heb. נטע) because of its appearance as a spreading vegetable growth. For the eye there is used the verb יצר, ever employed for curious and elaborate workmanship. Venema well says: Qui plantat aurem (apta phrasi, quum alte sit radicata) nonne audiret? qui format oculum (apte rursus, cum oculus sit artificiosissimum organon) nonne intueretur?

Deity are everywhere assumed. And thus when God's "works" are mentioned as studied or "sought out by those who take pleasure therein," it is not so much that skill-exhibiting, design-displaying work in nature, which would be the first thought in this age of the world, as it is the great dealings of God in history, and especially that history of his people to which all things else are subservient. In the passage before us the object is the impressive declaration of the divine omniscience. It is to produce emotion rather than to impart knowledge, and so it assumes the form of wondering interrogation. It is to make the thought a *living thought;* not merely truth, but truth alive, quickened and quickening in the soul. To this end all these impassioned questions are subservient. All that precedes is intended to have its bearing on the close, and this, as the reader will understand by the italics in our translation, is not given in any *words* of the original. It is *there*, however; there potentially, there spiritually. It is in that sublime silence which follows the last appeal. The questions are carried to their climax, and then the answer is left to the conscience. There is thus given to it a spiritual utterance more powerful than any words could have made. "He that teacheth man knowledge"—"He that reveals unto him his thought," (compare Amos iv, 13,) surely with him must be the fountain of all intelligence; "in His light we see light," (Psa. xxxvi, 10,) in His thought we think, in his knowledge we know.* The very effort to express it sends us back to the voiceless witness as more eloquent than any speech, as more convincing than any syllogistic show of reasoning.

In the didactic style the mind demands fullness, or, if it take the sententious form, precision of expression; but this is the introverted thinking. The author is getting himself to *feel*, and, through this, getting others to feel, the thought. It is indeed addressed to ears without; "understand ye brutish among the people;" but the train of ideas and the order of language are of the meditative, self-questioning kind. And here is the very essence of poetry: the soul turned inward, subjectively truthful, removed the farthest from the outward and the deceptive, communing with itself, talking to itself, and so shaping its interrogations that the answer needs no words. It comes like one of those solemn pauses in music that affect us more than any bars of sound, or strains of vocal harmony, with which the intervals could be filled. It is through such subjective utterances as these, through human spirits, human organs thus attuned, that God comes nighest to us in his wondrous revelation. It is to be found in every part; but nowhere is there so much of this soul-utterance as in the devotional portions of the holy writings.

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* To some this may sound pantheistically. If it be pantheism, however, it is the Bible pantheism, (compare Acts xvii, 28,) and we need not be afraid of it. To represent the human intelligence as thus lying in the divine; to say that we *think*, and *know*, and even are *conscious*, through God, is very different from maintaining that Deity "comes to consciousness" through us; which is the odious and impious form of pantheism. The first is consistent with a true personality in both parties.

There is a very frequent Hebrew mode of assertion that derives all its force from this very figure. It becomes so common in the Arabic that it loses its higher rhetorical power, and takes the rank of an ordinary ellipsis. It is the mode of asserting by the simple use of the particle אם, *if*, as making in itself, and without any expressed apodosis, the strongest form of affirmation. See 2 Samuel ii, 11. "As thy soul liveth, IF I shall do this thing," אם אעשה. Hence it becomes a mode of swearing, especially in the negative or abjuring form. Sometimes it is filled up, "The Lord do so to me and more also." At other times the imprecated penalty is left to the imagination, like a blank to be filled with the highest conceivable expression of the divine displeasure.

An expressive silence is created by certain particles. We have a striking example made by the particle לולא, (*nisi*, *unless*,) Psalm xxvii, 13. "I *had fainted*," says our translation in italics, "unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." But there is no need of these italics: They destroy the effect of the passage, which may be given in English nearly as it stands in the Hebrew. Its abruptness is unusual, and this, by the surprise it occasions, diminishes for us its force; yet still is the bare particle with its implied silence better than any filling up. "False witnesses had risen up against me; there was one who was breathing out cruelty; O had I not believed!" The thought is perfect, the emotion is full, the conceiving faculty is trusted to take the place of language; there is left to the imagination the fearful consequences, the inexpressible perdition, which without such faith the speaker felt must have been his certain doom. "O had I not believed, had it not been for my firm trust that I should see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living!" It is often the rightly managed silence at the close of the bar, or at the end of a modulation, that makes the overflowing richness of the music; giving too to the chords that follow a power of tone and movement they could never have had without it. So is it here with the spiritual modulation. The emotional pause has not merely a deep pathos in itself; it is powerfully felt in what succeeds. The resolution of the seeming discord prepares for that higher and calmer strain, that placid flow of hope, which is immediately resumed: "Wait upon the Lord, be firm my soul, still wait upon the Lord." It may seem abrupt and unusual, we say; but had it stood thus for two hundred years in our own familiar English—had such an idiom been allowed to become naturalized among us, it would, doubtless, be now a choice phraseology, a deeply felt ejaculation of our devotional language. If we have any filling up at all, "I had fainted" is too weak. We need the strongest answer or none at all. "O had I not believed, then had I been lost, then had I been utterly undone; there would have been an end of all hope;" or as it might be expressed in Latin with more terseness than elegance, *actum esset de me meisque.* Certainly nothing less is admissible than what we have, Psalm cxix, 92, where a similar לולי has its apodosis expressed in the Hebrew: "Had not thy law been my delight, then had I perished in mine affliction."

The Hebrew reader will find in his Bible an unusual pointing over the לולא of Psalm xxvii, 13. The Jewish commentators tell us that this is done to intimate that the word is not in some copies, although it is found in the most ancient ones. Its falling out, in some cases, may be more easily accounted for than its interpolation. The idiom had grown unfamiliar to the unimpassioned Masoritic or later Rabbinical Hebrew. They did not know what to make of it, and thus may it have been left out; while still the rule of criticism would hold, that the more difficult and unusual reading is the one most likely to be true. Others, and the greater part, preserved it, from reverence for the ancient copies. The LXX and the Syriac seem to have omitted it, because they could give it, in their languages, no corresponding idiomatic form of expression. They have, therefore, while losing the emotion, preserved the bare thought in the direct style of affirmation: "I believed that I should see, etc." Jarchi says that the unusual punctuation over לולא denotes a *mid-rash* or mystical sense. He represents David as being certain that there was blessedness for the righteous in the Olam habba, or "world to come," although doubting whether he, personally, should have any portion therein. It is to the removal of this doubt he regards him as referring in the לולא, besides expressing his assurance of the divine favor in the present life, or "the land of the living."

A similar aposiopesis is made by the particles עד מתי, "*how long.*" There is a very touching example of it, Psalm vi, 3: "Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I am very wretched; O heal me for my bones are sore pained; my soul is in great distress, but thou Jehovah——how long!" The translators wisely left this without any filling up. No reader of taste or feeling would wish it now supplied, although it is in itself as abrupt as the case preceding. Use has transferred this impassioned orientalism to our own sacred scriptural language. It has become naturalized in our much read translation, and we would now be very reluctant to part with it, or to have it marred by any paraphrastic rendering.

We find it in a similar connection, though still more abrupt and soliloquizing, Psalm xc, 13: "Return, O Lord—how long—and let it repent thee concerning thy servants." It is again the same affecting contrast between the divine eternity, the olams, or great days of God's lifetime, if we may so speak, and the apparently slow movements of the divine government as measured by our swift passing human years. In the midst of its earnest appeal to Deity, the soul returns to itself and asks itself, "how long?" It may be regarded as addressed to God; but besides having a deeper pathos, it is also more consistent with the style of those abrupt transitions which are so common in the Hebrew, to take it as a passionate soliloquizing query, a groan, an ejaculation, that belongs not strictly to the prayer, but suddenly rises up in the midst of its impassioned utterance. It is as when the dying Jacob interrupts his benedictions (Genesis xlix, 17) with that irrepressible subjective breathing: "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord." Let the reader see how strangely it there comes in. The soul, for the moment, casts off the outward business to attend to the pressing inward want. There is a thought, a feeling rather, that cannot be repressed. The close of the long earthly pilgrimage, the nearness of the eternal rest! Joyful, yet strange and startling, it must have utterance though it suspend the earthly blessing, and interrupt the prophetic vision that is gazing so intently and so far down the stream of his descendants' worldly history. There would seem to be a similar interruption here in the prayer of Moses, though differing in the mournfulness of its strain from the ejaculation of the patriarch: "Return, Jehovah—O how long—and let it repent thee concerning thy servants. O fill us in the morning with thy mercy, make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, the years wherein we have seen evil."

In Habakkuk ii, 6, there is the same use of this particle interrupting the thought, and giving it the soliloquizing form; but it is there rather an expression of impatience at the human injustice, and the seemingly long delay of its retribution. "Yea, he transgresseth by wine; he is a proud man, he keepeth not at home, he enlargeth his desire as hell, he is as death, he cannot be satisfied: shall not all these take up a parable against him, and say, Woe to the man that increaseth that which is not his—how long—and to him that ladeth himself with thick clay." The reader will see that there is a sudden transition. There is a change from the supposed address of the third person to what seems an irrepressible utterance of the prophet himself, drawn out by the vividness of his own picture. How long shall this be? It is one of those bold expostulations of the ancient men of God, that seem to our colder religionism to be almost on the borders of impiety; as where this same prophet says, (Habakkuk i, 2,) "How long, O Lord, shall I cry and thou not hear? Yea, cry out unto thee of injustice, and thou wilt not save?"

In Jeremiah xiii, 27, the particles are inverted, מתי עד—"until when;" but it is the same style of speech, expressive of the same idea and the same emotion. It is to be noted here, however, that by the boldest anthropopathism, the soliloquizing language is placed in the mouth of Deity himself. It is the conclusion of that most touching address to the wayward, wanton, backsliding Israel, under the figure of the faithless wife: "Thine adulteries on the hills, in the fields; everywhere have I seen thine abominations. Woe to thee, Jerusalem! Wilt thou not be pure? How long?" *till when, usque quo?* "When shall it once be?" says our translation, but the simplest and shortest rendering is the best. Every addition of a word is a diminution of the pathos. We have called it a bold anthropopathism; but it is this very figure which gives it its exceeding tenderness. It is the impatience of the Infinite One. The odiousness of sin (of such sin as Israel commits) makes the time seem long even to Him "who inhabits eternity." The effect of the passage is greatly enhanced by the soliloquizing style. The direct address to the faithless wife, the backsliding Church, the wandering sinner, is closed with the previous expostulation, "Wilt thou not be pure?" and then the particles that follow are an outburst of emotion, spoken aside, as it were, or addressed by the speaker to himself: "O how long!" It is like one dwelling on his own thought, carried away by the enormity presented in his own picture. Object to the anthropopathism! Not only every emotion of piety, but every sentiment of taste for the eloquent, cries out against the miserable cavil. Language is performing its truest office when making its greatest effort to express the inexpressible. We cannot ascend to God, but God can come down to us, and in this way give us a better and more humbling conception of the distance between us and himself. It is the infinity of height as seen in the infinity of condescension; it is the sublimest aspect of the holy heavens, ever loftier, purer, more serene, as we gaze upon them from the lowest valley of our humiliation.

There are, perhaps, no portions of the Bible to which the caviling unbeliever, or the fastidious religionist, more strongly object than to those from which this and similar passages are taken. It is so human, so very human, so indelicately human, they would say, this imagery of the faithless wife, these offensive descriptions of the adulterous woman. And yet for the purer soul, humbled by a sense of its own sins, what a power of emotion do they possess! What other language, by its contrasting power, can so set forth the divine compassion, the divine forbearance, or, as it is expressed in that exhaustless Anglo-Saxonism, "God's long-suffering, loving-kindness, and tender mercy." Thus a similar passage, Jeremiah iii, 1, may be the scorn of the witling, it may be a stumbling-block in the way of the halting; even the professedly devout may pass it over in the public reading of the Scriptures; there is, indeed, in it that which offends the fastidious, but what a power of love and tenderness does it all impart to that deeply touching close: "And yet come back to me saith the Lord." Shall we render any homage to this false taste by declining to repeat the whole passage? "Lift up thine eyes to the high places and see where thou hast not been polluted: in the ways hast thou sat for them like the Arabian in the wilderness; thou hast filled the land with thy whoredoms and thy wickedness,"—all this hast thou done, "yet come back to me saith the Lord." "If a man put away his wife and she go from him and become another man's, will he return unto her again? but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, and yet come back to me again saith the Lord." We may regard the touching refrain as coming after every rebuke, or as holding back its power of suppressed emotion to the finale of this impassioned complaint. And then the assurance of peace and restoration that immediately follows, how is it heightened by that sharp language, that very plain speaking, as some would call it, that went before: "Will thou not from this time cry unto me, My Father, thou art the guide of my youth."

As an effect of the same false delicacy, that long chapter, the sixteenth of Ezekiel, has become almost a sealed blank in our Bibles. It is not read in the public exercises of the sanctuary, it is not heard in the family worship, it is, perhaps, avoided often in the private perusal of the Scriptures. But what a loss would be its expurgation! It is regarded, perhaps, as unsuited to our day, as having become obsolete, and therefore unedifying; but we hesitate not to say again, this is all a false religionism. Is there that in the language that offends us? Is there something revolting even in this minute picture of the adulterous woman and her vile adulterous ways? It may be so, especially to the man who is all unconscious how perfect a representation there is here given of his own false wandering heart; but even as eloquence, even as rhetorical imagery, how it adds again to the power of that appeal with which the chapter terminates; and who that has the least hope that he is a forgiven Christian would lose this pathetic close, or aught that adds to its deep tenderness? "For thus saith the Lord God, I could* deal with thee even as thou hast done, who hast despised the oath in breaking the covenant; nevertheless I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish with thee a covenant of eternity. Then shalt thou remember thy ways, and be ashamed, when thou shalt receive thy sisters, thine elder and thy younger. And I will establish my covenant with thee, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; that thou mayest remember and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, when I have made atonement for thee, (בכפרי לך,) when I have made a *covering* for thy sins, after all that thou hast done, saith the Lord."

How pure, how holy the air that breathes throughout this passage! Surely, O Lord, "thy ways are not as our ways." Such love, such forgiveness, "is not after the manner of men." No human affection, no human forgiveness can measure the intensity of the divine. This is "the love which many waters cannot quench, which the floods cannot drown—"

Higher than the heights above,
Deeper than the depths beneath,
Free and faithful, strong as death.

"Thy thoughts are not as our thoughts." So says philosophy, and the Scripture transcends philosophy in the sublimity with which it makes the same announcement. God's thinking is not our thinking. He must have a mode of intelligence which altogether transcends the human, in kind as well as in degree; and yet he has our thinking too. Dwelling in the world of immutable truth, he yet knows and notes our changing ways, even as we know and note them. He draws from them, in his language to us, his holiest and most loving comparisons. Abiding evermore in the sphere of the fixed eternal ideas, he can yet think our finite flowing thoughts even as we think them. "He inhabits eternity," and yet he dwells too with us in time. He is infinite, yet because he is infinite can he take the aspect of the finite, and commune with the finite in their finiteness. He can *know* as we know, yea, he can *feel* as we feel. He can come down to that which is most human in our humanity. He can employ our language as we employ it. It is thus he can "speak comfortably to us," or "talk to our heart," as the Hebrew has it. Blessed be his name, that there is thus a mode of communication from heaven to earth, from the eternal intelligence to the lowly human mind. It is through these telegraphic signals, this far writing, that we learn what otherwise we could have never known. It is the message of the Divine love; it is the announcement that his mercy, too, is infinite, that "his righteousness is like the great mountains, his judgments are as the mighty deep, his covenant standeth sure forever." "His counsels of old are faithfulness and truth."

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* An interrogative sense might seem to be demanded here, "Shall I deal with thee as thou hast done, etc.;" but there is an absence in the Hebrew of any particle, or of any order of words that would exegetically justify it. An equivalent force, however, is given to the translation of the passage by taking it hypothetically, and this is justified, not only by the *exigentia loci*, but by good grammatical reasons. So Rosenmüller: *Ego quidem agerem tecum sicut tu fecisti, etc., sed recordabor, etc.*

The emotional power of the Hebrew poetry is exhibited in its sudden transitions; whether from the stormy to the calm, or in the opposite direction. The former is the more frequent. Sometimes it is in the thought alone; the language maintaining its regularity of construction, and even flow of style. Of this we have a striking example in Nahum i, 2–6: "The Lord is jealous and avengeth; his way is in the whirlwind and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet. The mountains tremble before him, the hills are melted, the earth is burned at his presence, yea, the world, and they that dwell therein. Before his anger who may stand, and who may abide the fierceness of his wrath? Its heat is poured forth like fire, and the rocks are kindled beneath it." How striking the change that immediately follows: "Jehovah is good; he is a stronghold in the day of trouble; he knoweth them that put their trust in him."

Again, this transition is produced, or, we may say, greatly heightened, by an abrupt change of construction, demanding a sudden pause, as it were, preparatory to the change of thought and emotion. One of the best examples of this kind we have in Psalm xlvi, 5. The transition there is one of the most remarkable in the Scriptures: "God is our refuge and strength, a help in trouble ever near. Therefore we will not fear though earth pass away,* and though the mountains be tossed into the heart of the seas. Let the waves thereof roar and surge; let the mountains rock in the swelling thereof." Thus far all is commotion, turbulence, tempest-wild, upheaving storm. From this surging of the elements we are let down, or to use a better figure perhaps, out of it we are elevated by a single word. The musical term *selah* is preparatory to it, but that is no part of the sacred writing, except, perhaps, as denoting something well known in the ancient accentuation of the songs of the temple. It represents an emotional power that was truly there, and such mode of representation was probably the beginning of that invaluable system of sacred rhetoric which the Masoretic accents afterward rendered so complete.† But this emotional power itself is in the words, in the style, in the structure of the language, aside from any rhetorical marks. It may come into the soul through the eye, as it takes in the bare words, though unaccompanied by any of those suggestive signs that would make it more perfect through the ear. In this passage then, we may say, it is all done by a single word, in a singular position, and with a singular destitution of accompaniment. It is a mere name without an article, without a suffix, without an epithet, without any visible trace of assertive significance, expressed or implied. It is a single yet most vivid picture, simply presented to the eye, or ear, and through it to the imagining faculty of the soul. It is one of nature's most majestic objects, combining, beyond almost anything else, the ideas of beauty, calmness, placid motion, and, at the same time, irresistible power. It is the single Hebrew word נָהָר, denoting a large, full-flowing, majestically, yet gently-moving river. The primary sense of the root makes the term applicable to light as well as to flowing water. Hence, in the Arabic, it is used for the oft-mentioned river of Paradise, and, in another form, for *day* regarded as a flowing stream of light. The two related ideas are beautifully united in the lines of Lucretius, V, 282:

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* The Hebrew verb here means to *change*. There is the same idea although it is a different word, Psalm cii, 17: "Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed." It represents nature undergoing her great transformation in the final catastrophe.

† We cannot help thinking that *Selah* was simply a stronger *Silluk*. This latter is the accent which in the later system of the Masorites is used for the close of verses, or to denote the fullest and strongest pause. *Selah* was probably something still more uncommon, and having perhaps some mark in the temple music, for which, in the other and more common copies of the Scriptures, there was employed the name itself. *Selah* and *Silluk* (סלה סלוק) both denote *elevation*, *ascension*.

> Largus item liquidi *fons luminis*, ætherius sol
> Irrigat assidue cœlum candore recenti.

In the Hebrew the verb has also the secondary sense of calm and joyful emotion. As in Psalm xxxiv, 6: "They looked unto him, ונהרו, and flowed with joy." So also Isaiah lx, 5: "Then shall thou see and flow, נהר נהרת; thy face shall shine with exhilaration." Here it is taken, as a noun, in its primary import. It is a pity that we have no English word exactly corresponding to it. The term *river* has too much of the diminutive sense, and rapid, restless movement of the Latin *rivus*, which is generally applied to the smaller and swifter streams. *Fluvius*, if we had the word, would be far better, not only as keeping the radical image of *fullness*, but also that sense of *easy flowing* which accompanies it; the Latin *fluo*, the Greek πλέω, and our Saxon *full* being etymologically the same radix in all. It denotes a large stream with full banks, unaffected by rapids, freshet, or decline, but moving smoothly, silently, majestically, and ever onward. It is the prophet's image and the prophet's word when he says, Isaiah lxvi, 12: "Peace like a river;" or Isaiah xlviii, 18: "Then had thy peace been like a river, and thy righteousness like the waves of the sea"—Sicut fluvius pax tua, et justitia tua sicut undæ maris.

It is by this single word, thus standing separate and alone, that the whole effect is sought to be produced in the Hebrew. Everything of an assertive or qualifying kind is left out, that there may be nothing to detract from the beauty of the single picture thus presented to the mind's eye, and forming the most perfect contrast to the mingled storm and uproar that immediately precede. We are hurting it, perhaps, by the very attempt to explain; but there is no other method to be taken. As we cannot reach the simplicity of the Hebrew, and perfectly imitate that beautiful conciseness in which so much of the charm lies, we might be tempted to come as near as possible by giving the word in the vocative. O river! O gently flowing river! but this would make a discord with the third person pronominal suffix in the following word. Such a change of person, however, it may be remarked, is not an uncommon thing in this sacred language. We might, perhaps, keep near the conciseness, and yet get an assertive force, by emphasizing the pronoun *its*. "A river, *its* streams make glad the city of our God." But, after all, there is probably no bettering our translation. The poverty of our language in the emotional element renders the italics nécessary; and, conceding this, nothing can be happier than our common version. No translation can be so poor as to destroy the sublime and beautiful idea —this river of the Church, coming out of eternity, flowing into eternity, carrying eternity with it, the calm, immutable truth of eternity, the steady flowing light of eternity, through all the changes and turbulent darkness of time.

And here we cannot help remarking again upon the exquisite rhetoric there is in the Hebrew accents, from whatever ancient source, inspired or uninspired, they may have come. After the great preparatory pause, which must have been anciently denoted by *selah*, the Masorite interpreters have put a strong distinctive accent, or a *rhbia* as it is called, both on נהר and on the suffix of the word for streams, thus making a pause on each, and separating them both from each other and from what follows. It is as though we read: "A river—its streams—they make glad the city of our God." In this manner each is made an object of contemplation, as though we were stopping to gaze upon a picture, while a new subject is found for the verb in the contained pronoun. This is warranted by the principle of Hebrew grammar, that in ordinary propositions, or where the logical assertion is the chief thing, the noun subject comes after the verb. When it comes before it must ever be regarded as emphatic, or as something on which the mind is to dwell as a thing by itself; in which case the verb following shows its severance from it by oftentimes disregarding its gender and number.

We need only say here, that the effect of this may be felt by one accustomed to the Hebrew, but it is impossible to transfer it fully into the English and yet preserve the conciseness. There was doubtless some provision for this in David's grand system of musical accentuation. How far the present scheme of accents represents that is a question that cannot be decided. Some who have been the most pious in the Church, and at the same time among its noblest scholars, have not thought it extravagant to believe that in wholly rejecting these we may lose no unimportant part in the inspiration of that text they have contributed so wonderfully to preserve.

We cannot conclude this example without adverting to the fact that the Hebrew word here rendered *streams* denotes, rather, irrigating canals drawn from the mighty-flowing river for the purpose of fertilizing the surrounding fields. It is the "river of the water of life," and these are the channels through which its healing powers are conveyed to all things that dwell upon its blessed banks. Watts has paraphrased it in a manner that cannot be surpassed:

> There is a stream whose gentle flow
>   Supplies the city of our God;
> Life, love, and joy *still* gliding through,
>   And watering our divine abode.

It also strongly calls up the enrapturing images of Numbers xxiv, 5: "How fair are thy tents, O Jacob, thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the *river's* side, as the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters." The great beauty of such images, and the important place they hold in the sacred language, is our excuse for dwelling so minutely upon them.

ART. VI.—HENGSTENBERG AND HIS INFLUENCE ON GERMAN PROTESTANTISM.

THE development of German Protestantism during the first half of the nineteenth century forms one of the most interesting and eventful chapters in modern Church history. At the beginning of this period rationalism reigned supreme in literature as well as in the Church. It was in possession of the universities and colleges, of the high Church offices, of the churches, of the book-market. The defenders of the supernatural origin and character of Christianity were few; and these few were so timid, and occupied so doubtful a position, that the historian finds it difficult to state in what points the "supernaturalist" theologians of this time differed from the rationalist.

Contrary to general expectation, the predominance of rationalism was of short duration. From a feeble beginning a new evangelical school slowly but steadily arose, and after a hot and long-protracted contest dislodged rationalism from all its strongholds—from the schools, the churches, the offices, from literature. Evangelical literature in particular attained to a prosperity which benefited all Protestant countries and challenged the admiration of the entire world.

Unfortunately, this return of a great people to the principles of evangelical Christianity was soon followed by another movement less gratifying. That fatal error of High Churchism, which had in England deluded so many men of great talent and high social position, took root also in the national Church of Germany. The High Church Lutherans rebuilt a wall of separation between themselves and their Protestant brethren of other denominations, and, rather than consent to the tearing down of this barrier, they showed themselves ready to make an advance toward the archfoe of Protestantism, the Church of Rome. It cannot be doubted that the High Church movement has already become in Germany a great power and a serious danger to Protestantism. It counts among its leaders some of the ablest theologians and laymen of the country, and some of the very men who led in the overthrow of Rationalism. The most prominent representative of this latter class is Professor Hengstenberg, of Berlin, a man who has had a greater influence on the recent history of German theology and the German Churches than any other theologian living, and whose life and labors therefore well deserve to enlist the special interest of foreign Protestant Churches.

Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg was born October 20, 1802, at a village in Westphalia. After passing through his gymnasial course, he went, for the sake of further pursuing theological and philological studies, to the University of Bonn, which the Prussian government had recently reorganized for the benefit of the western provinces of the kingdom, Westphalia and the Rhine provinces. At Bonn Hengstenberg joined an association of students, which at that time extended its ramifications throughout Germany, and already began to exert a powerful influence on the religious life of the country no less than on the political. It was the so-called *Burschenschaft*, an association originally (in 1815) founded for the purpose of opposing to the hereditary carousing and dueling habits of the German student an earnest devotion to study, and substituting a symbol of German unity to the old *Landmanschaften*, which by their very names reminded of and actually perpetuated the political dismemberment of the fatherland. The fire of patriotism, strengthened by the successful termination of a glorious war of independence, at that time animated, with purifying and vivifying power, the hearts of the nation. It soon communicated itself, with the greatest intensity, to the glowing imagination of the young students' association, and inspired them with the boldest and grandest, though often visionary projects of a reconstitution of the old German empire.

The movement was characterized from the beginning by its profoundly religious character. During the years of suffering, when the yoke of the haughty French had been heavily weighing on the neck of the suppressed people, the conviction spread widely through all classes that the much-boasted-of age of "enlightenment" and rationalism had sapped the firmest basis of national prosperity, and laid the people, prostrate and nerveless, at the feet of the conqueror. The greatest and most respected among the reformers of Germany, the Prussian minister, Baron von Stein, had spoken noble words of censure and of exhortation to his countrymen, and they fell everywhere on fertile soil. The *Burschenschaft*, in particular, proclaimed with youthful enthusiasm the necessity of returning to practical religion, and made the concurrence with these views a term of membership. Two years after its foundation, on October 18, 1817, about five hundred students, representing twelve universities, celebrated with patriotic devotion the third centennial jubilee of the German Reformation in the same castle in which, three hundred years before, Luther had translated the New Testament and cast his inkstand at the devil. In the next year the Burschenschaft adopted a national organization, and explicitly stated its object to be the "Christian German development of every spiritual and physical faculty for the service of the fatherland." The prospect of the speedy regeneration of the people seemed to be promising indeed. The *Burschenschaft* rapidly obtained a controlling power among the students of most German universities, and a few years would have sufficed to fill all the influential posts of the country with men who, in the prime of life, had deeply imbibed the principles of civil liberty and of a moral and religious reformation. But ere the blossom could ripen into fruit, it was nipped by the selfish and Machiavelistic policy of the German princes, who showed themselves little concerned about moral reforms as soon as they perceived that the re-establishment of a united German empire would entail the loss of a part of their sovereign rights. They were too short-sighted (as despots always are) to see that by preventing the moral and religious efforts for the removal of great political and social evils, they would call forth another kind of opposition, more radical in the extent of its demands and more unscrupulous in the selection of its means. The red republicanism which spoiled the rising of the European peoples in 1848, and which still vitiates the liberal cause in Europe, drew much of its strength from the immoral measures of the governments of that period.

The political reform was for a long time interrupted; the religious movement increased in strength. The *Burschenschaft*, as a patriotic and political organization, did not identify itself with any particular theological school, and its leading members, in subsequent years, occupied very different positions with regard to the religious question. The name and the tenets of the old rationalism fell generally into disrepute, yet many remained satisfied with views to which the standpoint of the more positive school among the American Unitarians, in the main, corresponds. Charles Follen, the gifted teacher of the unfortunate Sand, afterward (since 1830) professor of German literature in Harvard University, and later a prominent Unitarian minister, is an example of this class. But a large portion of the *Burschenschaft* became early convinced that their hopes for a spiritual transformation of their people would never be crowned with success, unless a sounder and more substantial religious basis could be secured than the prevalent theology of Germany was able to afford. We have to acquaint ourselves more fully with the condition of German theology at that time in order to understand the causes which prepared the way for a powerful religious reaction, and for the establishment of what is now generally called the Evangelical and the Lutheran schools.

Soon after the principles of English deism had been sown broadcast in the German soil by the celebrated Wolfenbüttel "Fragments," Lessing used his great literary celebrity to open the war of modern philosophy against the Christian revelation. He advocated with more than common keenness the impossibility of a universal revelation, to which all men might yield a rational faith. The path marked out by him was further pursued by Kant, who denied that we can know things in themselves, or things above the reach of the senses, and insisted that the only thing certain in itself is the moral law, which conducts us to a practical faith in God and in immortality. The contest of this new phase of philosophy with the orthodox theology of Germany ended for a time in a complete defeat of the latter. The Kantians took almost complete possession of the theological as well as the philosophical chairs of the universities, and their influence even extended into the Roman Church. Other philosophical systems were opposed to that of Kant, as the philosophy of faith by Jacobì, to which the names of Hamann and Herder gained some popularity among the theologians, although the cause of biblical Christianity gained nothing by this, for Jacobì himself rejected a part of the positive doctrines of Christianity as superstition. The philosophical controversy absorbed the interest of the literary world, and induced the educated classes generally to overestimate the importance of philosophy or even to despise religion.

It is the great merit of Schleiermacher—whatever may have been the faults of his system—that he pointed an age absorbed in philosophical speculation to a religion which must be practically experienced. He marks the beginning of a new era in the science of religion, and the venerable names of a Neander, Twesten, Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Ullmann, Umbreit, Olshausen, and many others, who gratefully acknowledged themselves his pupils and cherished his memory, are a sufficient guarantee that his great influence was instrumental in producing a healthful change. This change, however, extended but little beyond the region of theological science; it barely affected the condition of religious life. It was a great scientific movement among theological scholars, but not a revival of religion among the people. Many professed to have received from the teaching of Schleiermacher good impulses, but few to have been led by it to conversion. There was nothing in it to be compared with the electric effect of the reformation of the sixteenth century, the first appearance of the Pietists, or the wonderful rise of Methodism. The insufficiency of such a theology was felt by many who had grown up under irreligious influences, and who had become seekers of a soul-converting religion, capable of giving the assurance of their own salvation and of promising them a religious regeneration of their nation. They diverted their inquiries to other quarters.

The Bible Christianity which had been restored in the sixteenth century, had not yet died out altogether. The old Lutheran orthodoxy had but few representatives; but among those few was Claus Harms, who on the tercentenary of the Reformation thundered his ninety-five new theses against the religious and moral degeneracy of his times, with such earnest piety and such indisputable sincerity, in the ears of his cotemporaries, that even the haughty overbearing of the self-conceited philosophers did not deny him profound respect. More numerous were the descendants of the Pietists and of the Moravians, who, in small congregations and conventicles, had preserved in Westphalia, in the Wupperthal, on the Rhine, in Switzerland, and in Würtemberg, separate organizations of awakened Christians. It was they who laid hold with enthusiasm of the missionary enterprises, in which but a short time before the Churches of England and America had commenced to show such a lively interest. To their schools, meetings, and conventicles many of the most promising members of the *Burschenschaften* turned for religious training. We need only mention the names of a Krummacher, Harless, Guericke, Heinrich Ranke, Karl von Raumer, and Leo, all of whom belong to this class, to characterize the movement which then spread among the German students.

Similar circumstances were instrumental in the conversion of Hengstenberg. After having been for several years at Bonn a close student and an active member of the *Burschenschaft*, he went to the University of Basel, and there, at first, pursued his studies in intimate alliance with a number of friends from Northern Germany. But gradually he isolated himself from the students' associations. He found himself attracted by the missionary institutes of Basel, with which he cultivated an intimate intercourse, and from that time we find him determined to devote his whole energy to a combat against the rationalistic theology of his country. In literary circles he had already established his reputation as a scholar of decided ability and of great promise. He had published at Bonn, at the age of twenty-two years, a translation of the "Metaphysics of Aristotle," and an edition of the "Muallaka" of Amrulkais, one of the so-called seven prize poems of the ante-Mohammedan period of Arabic literature. His conversion drew on him the attention of a circle of distinguished and influential Christian statesmen in Berlin, who hoped to find in him the right man for breaking the power of the rationalistic professors at the universities, and for educating, in the metropolis of German Protestantism, a new generation of orthodox scholars, authors, and professors. As early as 1824 he was licensed to give theological lectures at the University of Berlin, and in rapid succession he was promoted, in 1826, to an extraordinary, and in 1828 to an ordinary professorship. He fully justified the expectations of his patrons and friends. He greatly aided in perfecting the organization of the new Christian school, and then raised the banner of an uncompromising biblical orthodoxy with boldness and vigor. The new party wanted a central organ, and Hengstenberg was, of course, the chosen editor. The "Evangelical Church Gazette" was established in 1827, a momentous event, and the beginning of a new era in the history of the German Evangelical Church.

The new paper was from the beginning a complete success. As to ability, few new papers have ever mustered a more brilliant array of literary names among their contributors. Among them were the two brothers Gerlach—Otto von Gerlach, the author of a popular Bible work, and Ludwig von Gerlach, who afterward distinguished himself as the spokesman of the conservative party in the Prussian parliament; Professor Leo, of Halle, one of the ablest German historians; Professor Huber, of Marburg, a learned and prolific writer on the social condition of our times; Dr. Göschel, who long labored with great talent to prove his favorite and paradox idea of a full harmony of the spirit of Goethe and the philosophy of Hegel with orthodox Lutheranism; Dr. Vilmar, the brilliant historian of German literature, though the most unpopular man of the whole school; Dr. Stahl, who, in point of talent and dialectic skill, excelled all his friends, and was, in later years, to divide with Hengstenberg the onerous honor of being the leader of the High Church conservative party in Germany; Dr. Rudelbach, afterward a leader of the Old School Lutherans, both in Denmark, his native country, and in Germany, the land of his adoption. Tholuck and Lange also contributed for many years a number of spicy articles, and Neander allowed his name to be used in connection with it.

The Church Gazette was not only ably conducted, but, in point of vivacity, spiciness, and freshness, it had no superior among the periodical journals. Most of the contributors and the editor in chief wrote with the ardor and vehemence of new converts. They neither asked nor showed indulgence or mercy. They wrote as men who were fully convinced that they had engaged in a war of life and death, in which the salvation of millions of souls and the very existence of society were at stake. The Church Gazette enlisted, during this first period of its existence, the sympathy and co-operation of all who wished and prayed for a restoration of living Christianity. The difference between High and Low Church, between Lutherans and Pietists, between Confessionalists and Unionists, had not come up yet to disturb the harmony of the united orthodox school. Its progress was marked; it was felt in the congregation, in the ranks of the clergy, in the increasing number of orthodox authors and professors, and, not least, in the patronage which the sympathizing statesmen and aristocracy gained for it from the government.

There was, however, in this Berlin circle, from which proceeded the appointment of Hengstenberg as professor, and the establishment of the Church Gazette, a most dangerous element. The circle consisted of statesmen who not only discussed the progress of the religious revival, but also, and more prominently, the means for crushing out the political and social ideas which had gained currency in consequence of the

French Revolution, and which they identified with the spirit of the antichrist. They were aware that the mass of the population had practically placed itself outside of the Christian Church, and for bringing them back they not only relied on the inner converting power of Christianity, but still more on the immense influence of the government on Church and State. They fell back on that unfortunate phantom of a Christian State, which began to deceive the Christian Churches at the time of Constantine, was developed as a system during the worst period of the Roman Church, furnished to cruel inquisitors the pretext for murdering thousands of the best Christians, became a drawback to the development of a pure Christianity, the cause of incalculable mischief to the best interests of Protestantism and the bane of every Protestant nation, until the Declaration of American Independence inaugurated for the first time the beginning of a new, third period in the history of the relation between Church and State. Theology, history, and even philosophy, were called upon to furnish arguments for a theory which promised such great results, and Stahl, who, while professor at Erlangen, had commenced to devote to this subject his special attention, was called to Berlin, there to earn the questionable reputation of having produced the most exhaustive and, in every respect, finished work in favor of a proposition so radically un-Protestant and un-Christian. Most of the co-laborers of Hengstenberg cordially indorsed these schemes, and followed Stahl through thick and thin, as he in a series of lectures and articles set forth the consequences which he derived from the principles of the party.

The first false step entailed a second, still more fatal in its results. The advocates of an ecclesiastical State could not fail to discover how steadfastly the Roman Church had labored for centuries to attain the same end. Her theology furnished the most valuable weapons both for defense and for aggression. In Germany, in particular, the Roman Catholics at this time were engaged in the same work of restoration. Why, then, not associate their labors to attain the common end the more speedily? The Berlin circle started with the belief in the possibility of such an alliance. They even admitted to their society Roman Catholic members, among whom General von

Radowitz was the most celebrated, and ere long a number of the Protestant members imbibed at the meetings the most Romanizing tendencies.

Hengstenberg himself was, at least at the beginning of his career, less infected by these views than many of his lay friends and contributors. The first volumes of his Church Gazette, in general, showed it but little. With the postponement of all side-issues, the Gazette concentrated its attacks on the rationalism of the State Churches. In the manner of the warfare, the first germ of future dissensions among the orthodox schools might be easily discerned, though no strict boundary lines were yet drawn. The one had more recourse to carnal weapons and to the secular arm; the other had a greater confidence in the converting power of evangelical agencies. In 1830 the assault of Hengstenberg on two chief representatives of rationalism, Gesenius and Wegscheider, at Halle, led to an open rupture with Neander, who formally renounced all connection with the Evangelical Church Gazette, and entered an energetical protest against the "new popedom" which was to be established at Berlin. A similar declaration was issued by another distinguished theologian of evangelical sentiments, Professor Steudel, of Tübingen.

The movements which at this time agitated the Prussian state Church widened the breach between the friends of the evangelical Church Gazette. All of them had accepted the "union," which, by royal decree of 1817, had been formed between the formerly separated Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and were members of the United Evangelical Church. But they began to interpret the character of the union and its relation to the symbolical books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in a different manner. Hengstenberg, Gerlach, Stahl, Goeschen, and others, regarded Lutheranism as being more conservative and churchly than the Reformed Church, and therefore as a fitter and more reliable ally of the absolutistic Christian State; they therefore sought either to Lutheranize the United Church or to preserve, and, when necessary, to restore to the formerly Lutheran congregations, which formed an overwhelming majority in the new United Church, all the peculiar features of strict Lutheranism, by making the union a mere external confederacy of two independent Churches. Those who disapproved of the High Church Lutheran views generally advocated the acknowledgment of the doctrines common to both Churches (the "consensus") as the doctrinal basis of the new Church.

Free Churches cannot fully sympathize in this controversy with either party, as both admitted the right of a secular government to interfere authoritatively in the determination of doctrinal points; yet it could not be, and was not overlooked, that the one party was straining those points in which it differed from other Protestant denominations, that its relation to other Protestant bodies became less friendly, and its sympathies with Rome more open; while the other party, though not overcoming altogether the spirit of exclusiveness which adheres to every State Church, has displayed from year to year a livelier interest in the common mission of Protestantism. The former, as they regard the Union as a mere confederation, are sometimes called the Confederalists; more generally they are, on account of their obvious tendencies, designated as the High Church or High Lutheran party. The latter constitute the "consensus," or evangelical party, whose further history does not fall within the scope of this article, while the High Church Lutherans will claim our attention a little longer on account of their connection with Hengstenberg.

The agitation in the Prussian Church about the true meaning of the union called forth, in 1834, a royal decree, which, much to the gratification of the High Church Confederalists, reduced it to a spirit of mutual moderation and kindness. From that time the party lines were drawn more distinctly, and the High Church tendencies of the Confederalists rapidly developed. We have a faithful and complete record of the entire subsequent history of the party in the opening numbers of each volume of the Church Gazette, which contain a retrospect of the Church history of Germany during the preceding year from the standpoint of the party. This Hengstenbergian retrospect has gained great celebrity in the ecclesiastical annals of modern Germany, and his adherents, who are accustomed to shape their views of current events after it, are used to call it Hengstenberg's *thronrede*, (that is, king's speech on the opening of Parliament.)

The increasing gravitation toward High Church principles found a decided expression in the preface to the volume of the Church Gazette for 1840, in which Hengstenberg renounced Pietism, and unreservedly censured what he regarded its weaknesses. He acknowledges that he, at the beginning of his career, had expected from Pietism the fulfillment of a great mission, and that he had regarded it as a sound development of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Only in proportion as he began to lay undue stress on external Church organization, and to identify the kingdom of Christ with a single denomination, did he withdraw his esteem from the Pietists, who insisted on experimental piety as the first and principal point in the life of the Christian.

A question in which the High Church tendencies of Hengstenberg and his friends showed themselves very clearly, was the introduction of a presbyterial constitution into the Prussian State Church. The Prussian Church had been for a long time under the almost absolute dominion of the state. The king claimed the dignity and all the rights of *summus episcopus* (the supreme bishop) of the Church. As such he claimed in the government of the Church the same unlimited power as in the government of the state. Only the two western provinces, Westphalia and the Rhine province, had preserved a synodal constitution; in the six eastern provinces a royal consistory, all of whose members were appointed by the government, administered the ecclesiastical affairs, the Church having no power of making her voice heard through any ecclesiastical assembly. The pastor of the congregation was regarded as a royal officer; and in the eastern provinces nearly all the congregations were without any representative council. As the highest tribunal, the state ministry had finally to decide on all ecclesiastical matters. The Church had become to be regarded by the politicians, chiefly or entirely, as an efficient instrument for keeping the political machinery in good order.

This state of things was too glaringly unbiblical and unchristian to be long acquiesced in. As soon as indifferentism commenced to lose its hold on public opinion, and larger and larger masses repentingly acknowledged the paramount necessity of a living religion for the happiness of the individual and for the salvation of society, all ecclesiastical parties agreed that the Church was held by the State in an unworthy servitude. Even the rationalists, to whose influence the system of territorialism undoubtedly owed the highest stage of its development, acknowledged the necessity of a radical change, and, under the influence of the principles of the French Revolution of 1789, drifted toward an ideal of an ecclesiastical democracy, whose creed would change, and, in their opinion, improve, with the steady intellectual progress of the human race. The Pietists, when from their retirement into a separate organization of believers within the State Church they had rallied sufficient strength to hope for a regeneration of the entire State Churches, advised the introduction of the presbyterian constitution, with some admixture of the consistorial element, but, as the history of the State Church in the provinces of Westphalia and the Rhine province (the best organized and most evangelical Church of Germany) clearly shows, with a tendency to reduce gradually the rights of the State government. Both parties, it will be seen, agreed in favoring a reconstruction of the Church on the basis of greater ecclesiastical self-government, and they hoped to reach their aim in Prussia the sooner, as King Frederick William IV., whatever may have been his weaknesses, felt a warm sympathy for the necessities of the Evangelical Church. Repeatedly, and on solemn occasions, he declared his conviction that the submission of the Church to the State was not her normal condition, and his willingness to divest himself of a part of his inherited rights, and to aid in restoring to the Church a more independent organization.

It has been the sad mission of Hengstenberg and his "Evangelical Church Gazette" to present to these schemes of reorganization an unflinching and, unfortunately, so successful an opposition, that the Church of Prussia has remained behind nearly every other State Church of Germany, and is, up to this day, without the right of convening a general synod. As early as 1846 a National Conference, consisting of prominent members (thirty-seven clerical and thirty-eight lay) of the State Church, was called by Frederick William IV., in order to deliberate, among other points, on the reconstruction of the Church constitution. Only a single one among the seventy-five members openly advocated the standpoint of the rationalistic party; the great majority responded to the views of the king by recommending to combine in the future ecclesiastical constitution the consistorial administration, proceeding directly from the crown, with a system of synods, (district, provincial, and national,) proceeding directly from the congregations in regularly ascending circles. A minority of fourteen members, led by Hengstenberg, regarded the resolutions of the conference on the relation of the Lutheran Confession to the Union as dangerous to the purity of the former, and made to the organization of synods a most decided opposition. They expected that their party would be likely to be at the synods in a minority, and that thus any greater consolidation of the United Evangelical Church would strip her more of her Lutheran character. Though beaten at the general synod, they succeeded in bringing a political influence so strongly to bear on the Prussian government that no beginning had yet been made with the organization of the synods, when the revolution of the memorable year 1848 threatened to sweep away the old landmarks of the Church no less than those of the State. The new constitution of the Prussian State admitted the principle of the self-government of the evangelical State Church,* and the rationalistic Minister of Public Worship, the Count of Schwerin, made preparations for carrying the organization of the several classes of synods into immediate effect. At the first national synod the Church was then to complete her reconstruction for herself. But ere the national synod met the revolution was overthrown, and the administration of the State, and with it of the State Church, placed again in the hands of a conservative ministry. Hengstenberg seized on this occasion in order to prevent, if possible, the organization of the Church on a synodical basis. He denounced the clamor for a synodical constitution as an ill-concealed enmity to Christ, and the whole scheme of an election by the people as a denial of God. This time his thunders alarmed not only his own party, but also quite a number of prominent members of the evangelical party, who apprehended a victory of the rationalistic party, and therefore pronounced the immediate convocation of a synod which might be chosen by the people, to form a constitution, inexpedient. A step was, however, taken in behalf of a greater liberty of the Church, which pleased both the evangelical and the High Church parties. The administration of Church affairs was taken out of the hands of the State ministry and intrusted to a strictly ecclesiastical board called the *Oberkirchenrath*, (Supreme Ecclesiastical Council.) Stahl was the only member of this board who fully sympathized with the views of Professor Hengstenberg; yet so great was the influence which these men were able to exercise on the government that gradually all of the seven superintendentships general in the six eastern provinces, save one, were filled by men of their party. Yet the want of self-government in the Prussian Church, as compared with the Churches of other German States, was too apparent to be long overlooked. Another general conference of distinguished members of the Church was called by the king in 1856; once more a large majority declared, in opposition to the views of Hengstenberg, the gradual completion of the Church constitution desirable; but once more outside influences prevented the taking of energetic and efficient measures for carrying the resolution into effect. With the abdication of the well-meaning but vacillating Frederick William IV. ended the influence of Hengstenberg. The Regent, now King William I., appointed, on Nov. 8, 1858, Herr von Bethman Hollweg, the most distinguished lay member of the evangelical school, and the esteemed president of every German Church Diet since 1848, Minister of Public Worship; and one of the first acts of the new minister was a provision for the general introduction of local Church councils in every congregation of the eastern provinces, as the necessary prerequisite for the organization of district (or diocesan) provincial and national synods. Hengstenberg and Stahl once more made a strenuous but inefficient opposition to the whole scheme; they condemned the principle of placing chosen Church councils by the side of the pastor, and the application of the name elder to the councilors as based on a wrong interpretation of the Bible; and they warned against the organization of synods in the Prussian Church as tending to impair the purity of the Lutheran Confession. Yet this time their and their friends' protests were little heeded. Professor Stahl, finding it impossible to prevail with his opinion in the supreme Church council, resigned; and two of the superintendships general, (of Saxony and of eastern Prussia,) which had become vacant by the resignation of Dr. Möller and the death of Dr. Sartorius, were filled by two distinguished theologians of the evangelical school, Dr. Lehnerdt and Dr. Moll.

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* The outline of an electoral law for the convocation of a General Prussian Synod was drawn up by L. A. Richter, (*Vortrag über die Berufung einer evangelischen Landes-Synode.* Berlin, 1848,) the highest authority of Protestant Germany in all matters of Church law, and the author of the best German manual of Church law.

Nothing is more surprising in the long history of this controversy, than the fact that Hengstenberg employed his great talent only for thwarting the endeavors of the evangelical and rationalistic parties to give to the State Church a definite constitution, without ever stating with clearness and precision what constitution, in his opinion, the Lutheran Church ought to aim at. He admitted that the Prussian Church found herself in a provisional and transitory position; he claimed it as a principle of Lutheranism to shape the ecclesiastical constitution according to expediency; but he eagerly strove to make the new constitution radically distinct from that of the Reformed Churches, for, according to the opinion of Hengstenberg, the Lutheran Church must hold in this, as in other respects, an intermediate position between the Roman and the Reformed Churches. Some of the intimate friends of Hengstenberg were more explicit on this subject. They boldly averred that the German Reformers of the sixteenth century had made a mistake in breaking off the connection with the œcumenical episcopate of the ancient Church; they declared their full sympathy with the position taken by the High Churchmen and Puseyites of England. Dr. Vilmar attempted to introduce into the modern Lutheran theology the doctrine of the sacramental character of the priestly ordination, and Dr. Leo went still further, calling Jansenism the model reformation in the Church of Christ, and pointing to a future reunion of the Lutheran Church with that of Rome after a transition through a High Church episcopalianism. Hengstenberg has expressed himself on this question with greater reserve, though he agrees with his friends in the warm sympathy with the High Church tendencies of England. Yet, under the circumstances in which the Prussian Church finds herself at present situated, he prefers the rule of Church boards appointed by the king to any kind of elective synods, principally on the ground that such a constitution offers at present the best chance of expelling the powerful rationalistic element altogether from the Church, and of thus saving to orthodox Protestantism one of the most numerous denominational organizations of the Protestant world.

The growing attachment of Hengstenberg to the principles of an exclusive Lutheranism brought him early into conflict with the fundamental principle on which the State Church, of which he is so ardent an admirer, was founded. A fusion of the Lutheran and the Reformed denominations into one United Evangelical Church could certainly be conceived only by men who regarded both denominations as constituting, to an equal extent, branches of the universal Church of Christ. Some of the strict Lutheran clergymen and congregations, rather than allow themselves to be placed on a level with the Reformed, seceded from the State Church, and formed an independent organization. Hengstenberg, when the development of his doctrinal views identified him more and more with this old Lutheran party, made an attempt to reduce the union to a mere confederacy, in which every Lutheran congregation would enjoy the right of strictly adhering to the old landmarks of the Church. The history of this contest about the character of the union is closely interwoven with that respecting the constitution of the Church, only that in the former question Hengstenberg came repeatedly very near attaining his object. Of late, as has already been indicated, the scales have decidedly turned against him. The Church is now being consolidated by means of district, provincial, and national synods; and it is self-evident that this organization can be carried through only on the condition that the Lutherans recognize the Reformed in the fullest sense as a true Church of Christ, and admit them, in particular, to the participation of the Lord's Supper in the originally Lutheran Churches. Hengstenberg himself has but faint hopes of averting this result. He has already indicated that the time may arrive when it will become for the true Lutherans in the Prussian Church an imperative necessity to secede and to return to a strictly Lutheran organization. But incessantly and most earnestly he enjoins to all the Lutheran party in the State Church to keep together, and either to remain or to go together.

It is at this stage of the great agitation pervading the Prussian Church that the influence of Hengstenberg as a party leader became especially apparent. His recommendation has been strictly complied with. Only a few have left the State Church and joined the Lutheran seceders. The majority, well organized in a number of associations, express their concurrence with the ground taken by Hengstenberg, and wait for the further development of affairs. The Pastoral Conference of Berlin passed in 1860, with immense majority, a resolution to sign a protest against the new Church constitution; and one of the oldest and most influential associations of Prussian clergymen, the Pastoral Conference of Gnadau, in the Province of Saxony, received Hengstenberg in the same year with significant marks of respect, expressive both of their acknowledgment of his leadership and of firm attachment to his position. The so-called "Lutheran Societies" among the clergy of each of the six eastern Prussian provinces have always been somewhat ahead of Hengstenberg in their demands for the purity of the Lutheran Confession, and therefore cordially approve every advance step in this direction.

The exalted opinion of the Lutheran Church, as occupying an intermediate position between the Roman and the Reformed Churches, has naturally led Hengstenberg into an unfriendly attitude toward other Protestant denominations in general. Though he has not gone so far yet as that fraction of German Lutherans which regards the Lutheran Church as *the* Church of Christ, and which views the Reformed and all other denominations as heretics, his teaching has a strong leaning in that direction. He has rarely a word of commendation for what is done by other Churches; he dissuades religious communion with them, and warns the readers of his Gazette to look with distrust at everything that is not sound Lutheranism. Nowhere this tendency of Hengstenberg has shown itself more clearly than in his relation to the Evangelical Alliance. Besides the High Churchmen of England, he and his followers are the only parties in the Protestant world who have made an open and unqualified opposition to this first grand attempt of allying all denominations of evangelical Protestantism. When the third General Assembly of the Alliance was to be held in Berlin the Evangelical Church Gazette warned against any participation in the proceedings. The Alliance was called a false union with sectarians of all kinds, and with despisers of the sacraments; and its tendency was said to be to break up the State Churches and to undermine sound Church principles. According to Hengstenberg, the extreme Low Church organizations, such as the Independent and Baptist, were to derive the greatest advantage from it, and finally it would prepare the way for a new victory of rationalism and revolutionary liberalism. To these views Hengstenberg still adheres, and the High Lutheran party of Germany was therefore again unrepresented at the late General Assembly of the Alliance at Geneva.

In one instance Hengstenberg and his friends were found willing to give up their isolation and join hands with the German Reformed Church for a common combat. It was in 1848, when many timid Christians of both the orthodox parties feared the speedy inauguration of a reign of atheism. Then the leading men of both parties agreed on the establishment of annual German Church Diets, which were to deliberate on the best means of strengthening in Germany the cause of Christianity. For several years the Diets were entirely harmonious, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, of the evangelical party, acting as first president, and Stahl as the representative of the High Lutherans, being annually elected vice-president. But since the meeting of the Alliance at Berlin, in 1857, the parties became more and more estranged; and in 1859, when the executive committee refused to bring up for discussion some propositions of Dr. Stahl on which the two parties differed, Hengstenberg, Stahl, and most of their friends withdrew, and the Church Diet became one of the assemblies of the evangelical party and of the more moderate Lutherans.

It is admitted by Hengstenberg that he holds, with regard to the Church of Rome, a far more conciliatory position than the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century. Yet in this question many of his friends and a large portion of his party have run ahead of him. Stahl assigned as one of the reasons why he could not join the Evangelical Alliance, its aggressive policy toward the Church of Rome. Professor Leo, of Halle, with a few other leading men of the party, even held, in September, 1860, a conference with a number of prominent Roman Catholics in order to devise means, if possible, for uniting the Roman Catholics and the conservative and High Church Protestants of Germany in a common combat against the democratic and progressive tendencies of the age. In determining the platform of the conference, the Protestants participating in it went so far in their concessions as to declare the temporal power of the pope the most legitimate sovereignty of Europe, and to call the "division of the Church" in the sixteenth century a national calamity. With this step Hengstenberg has gently remonstrated in the preface to his Church Gazette for 1861; but while rebuking his friends, he declares himself that he has no sympathies whatever for the national movements in Italy, for Cavour and Garibaldi; that the modern attacks on the papacy appear to him to involve an attack on our common Christianity, and that he finds the antichrist more in the opponents of the papacy than in the papacy itself, and that in this point he differs from the Protestants of former centuries who lived in other circumstances. He even expresses his belief that the fall of the Roman Church would not be advantageous to the evangelical Church, but in many respects injurious. These views are fully shared by the majority of the party, and seem to be spreading, as the large circulation of Roman Catholic books in Protestant districts, their frequent recommendation by Protestant ministers, the favor with which the project of a political union between the High Church Protestants and the Roman Catholics is received, and other signs of the times indicate.

We therefore fully share the opinion of those who fear that the High Lutherans of Prussia, under the able leadership of Hengstenberg, are drifting in an un-Protestant and Romeward direction. Whether this tendency will finally result in as severe losses to Protestantism as those brought about in England by the Tractarian movement, or whether a counter current will set in, in time, to lead the bulk of the party back to a more consistent Protestant basis, the future alone can determine. But while deploring the fatal influence which the ill-guided course of Professor Hengstenberg has already exercised on German Protestantism, we cannot but acknowledge the many noble features in his character. He is not, as has often been charged upon him, especially by the rationalists, a vacillating flatterer of the secular government. He has attacked several provisions of the Prussian law which appeared to him to be at variance with the doctrine of the Bible, with the utmost severity, and called on the clergy to disobey them; he has denounced the Freemasons and other secret societies, which he considers as unchristian, with unparalleled violence, although it was generally known in Prussia that the prince of Prussia (the present king) was the grand master of the Freemasons; he has demanded the most stringent legislation of Church and State against dueling, although it is the favorite practice of the high aristocracy. He has, we believe, misled the Protestant Church of a great nation, and thereby done great injury to the cause of evangelical Protestantism; yet this course has been prompted by no impure motives, but only by the belief that he was laboring for the re-establishment of true Christianity.

In the preceding article we have only discussed the great influence of Hengstenberg on the religious life and the ecclesiastical organization of the German Churches. He is equally distinguished as the author of many excellent exegetical writings, and on this field he has gained the applause and the admiration of the evangelical denominations in general. We may have occasion to discuss his achievements in biblical literature, and his influence on the scientific theology of Germany, in another article.

ART. VII.—WESLEYANISM AND TAYLORISM—SECOND REPLY TO THE NEW ENGLANDER.

Wesley's Sermons. On Rom. v, 15, and on Gen. iii, 19.
New Englander. November, 1859. Art. IV. Dr. Taylor on Moral Government.
Methodist Quarterly Review. January, 1860. Synopsis of the Quarterlies.
New Englander. May, 1860. Art. X. Reply to the Methodist Quarterly Review.
Methodist Quarterly Review. October, 1860. Art. IX. Wesleyanism and Taylorism—Reply to the New Englander.
New Englander. July, 1861. Art. III. Theology of Wesley—Reply to the Methodist Quarterly Review.

THE singular attempt perseveringly prosecuted in the pages of the New Englander, to interpolate into the theology of Methodism one of the obsolescent dogmas of ultra-Calvinism, forces upon us the task of discussing one of the highest points of human speculation. It were to be wished that such a discussion should be pure from any alloy of malign feeling. But it comes upon us in the shape of so strange an imputation, and is urged with so resolute a pertinacity, that it necessarily contracts some personal elements. The reviewer complains of our want of candor, of our imputing ignorance and claiming superiority. But the article to which our last was a reply was anything but amiable. It was written in a tone of sullen assumption, and with so little appreciation of the hazard the writer was encountering, that there seemed a demand for some wholesome severity. His articles present from end to end not one touch of personal courtesy to reciprocate; yet the diminution of some unpleasant traits renders asperity less unavoidable. We, therefore, shall now perform what, as we announced in our last number to be our apparent duty, namely, place on record the complete and easy refutation of the entire attempt.

Never in all our experience have we known an outcry so excessive and so irrational about an opponent's not making verbatim quotations. These complaints, in order to be satisfied, would require us to quote the whole of Mr. Wesley's two sermons and the large share of his own first article of sixty-three solid pages. They are false in point of fact, for *the proportion of our quoted matter to our original is far greater than his own.* Our synoptical notice of his article was full one quarter quotation, and our reply, full four in fourteen pages. With regard to Mr. Wesley's sermons we had a fair right to assume that nearly every one of our readers had a copy in his possession; and not being able to quote the whole, we did the next best thing, gave a condensation, after specifying the particular sermons, and inviting our readers, as our check, to verify our accuracy. Besides, of the five points we made upon Mr. Wesley's sermons, three are expressly founded upon what *he did not say,;* and how shall we quote a man's silence? But how pedantic the notion that verbatim quotations are any test or security of fairness! A dishonest disputant can as easily misrepresent in quoting as in omitting to quote. Our reviewer, as every one else, necessarily bases a large share of his remarks on unquoted passages, otherwise an article would have to fill a Quarterly. Fairness consists not in furnishing an opponent's express terms, but in stating with a truthful spirit his exact positions and giving the full force of his argument. *That to the best of our power we have done.* Our opponent most self-complacently errs in imagining that he can say anything that we are not ready to face before any audience. Happy, indeed, should we be if both Reviews presented the entire discussion; for so clear and conscious is our own mastery of our opponent upon every point, that nothing would gratify us more than that the readers of either should be the readers of both.

Near two pages and a half does our reviewer take at the close of his article in exposing to the readers of the New Englander how great an ignoramus is the writer of this article. It seems there are in the history of past New England theology two Dr. Wests, one of Newport, and the other of latitude to us unknown; one being Stephen and the other Samuel. Now these two Wests, in our reply, we blended into one, making "a mythical personage;" and as one was Calvinistic and the other Arminian, we made him out a decidedly self-contradictory and self-explosive character. At this, our masterpiece of ignorance of matters and persons so conspicuous in the universe, our reviewer naturally falls into a catalepsy of overwhelming wonder and pity. Can it be possible that a man should discuss theology and not know how (as Hudibras almost prophetically hath it)

> "to divide
> Between the West and north West side?"

Recovering from his swoon, so does he compassionate our "awkwardness," our "attitude so painful," our "embarrassment," that in a fervor of benevolence he professedly strikes from his article every "sarcasm" and "epithet" that may inflict upon us a "pang." All this he says of an article which repeatedly questions our temper, honor, and honesty. Using, perhaps we might say abusing, the pages of a Quarterly of eminent standing, embracing among its readers a large share of the ablest divines and most accomplished scholars of our country, to exhibit the ignorance of the editor of this Review, he *lets out*, as a revelation and a surprise, the ambushed fact that we had plainly never "seen the writings of either of these divines," and only knew them by "rumor!" And yet he very well knows that we repeated again and again, almost to an ostentation, *the positive profession of our unacquaintance with the body of old New England Calvinistic divines.* Of Edwards alone did we speak with peremptory self-commitment; and we knew a Dr. West, not by "rumor," but solely from the pages of the younger Edwards. In our Synopsis we reported the views of Edwards, West, and Hopkins professedly as specific *information* to ourself and readers, from our learned opponent's first article; near one quarter of a page of our reply (page 666) is a continued implication that we had never read their pages; of Dr. Taylor, whom we *have* cursorily examined, we were careful to speak merely "*as represented by the reviewer;*" and even in the few lines regarding Dr. West we cautiously entered two caveats, "*we believe*" and "*if we mistake not;*" so that all the affair amounts to is, that we were mistaken in a matter of historic fact touching two obscure New England divines, just where we apprehended, and expressed the apprehension, that we *might* mistake. All this the reviewer had before his eyes. And yet, amid eulogies upon his own scrupulous fairness in quotation, blended into this very passage, he not only omits to quote these our *words*, (except the phrase "we believe,") but excludes the essential *facts* before him that *constitute the true case*. Our friend commits a *suppressio veri* no less flagrant, if purposed, than a *crimen falsi*. For ignorance is no dishonor to us or to any other finite intelligence, unless there is either an *obligation* or a *pretense* to know. There was here no *obligation*, for the discussion did not concern but incidentally these divines, but "Wesleyan theology;" there was no *pretense*, for we not only did not profess to *know*, but we plentifully professed *not* to know. On the whole if, on a reconsideration of this well-executed, but very superfluous *harlequinade*, our unfortunate friend's self-respect retains an unvarying maximum, ours feels no reason for decline. We feel the compliment of its requiring so disastrous an expense to fix upon us so shadowy an imputation.

Our learned friend complains that we make not "one candid admission that there is anything in Wesley's writings to give plausibility to our [his] statement." Candor, we reply, requires us to make such an admission only in behalf of a theologian who confounds two very distinct propositions. And very able theologians have done so. Whether any perspicacious thinker ought to confound them our readers may decide when they are seen placed in visible issue, thus:

Proposition which Wesley affirms.	*Proposition which Wesley does not affirm.*
The sin of Adam was a necessary condition to the atonement, which constitutes the highest joy of saints and noblest theme of angels, archangels, and the whole company of heaven.	Sin is a necessary condition to the best good of the universe; or, Sin is a necessary condition to the best kind of a universe.

Let the full import of the maxim which we hold to be falsely attributed to Wesley be fairly appreciated. It means that a *universe of free agents, even of the most transcendent nature*, voluntarily remaining holy from eternity to eternity, would be inferior to and less desirable than a universe with sin in it. *Sin is a condition for a best universe.* This is a truly comprehensive proposition! It sweeps through eternity and over immensity, covering not only all the worlds that are, but all the worlds of worlds that God can conceive. And surely the thinker who makes Wesléy's proposition commensurate with it must either be very obtuse or very acute.

Our reviewer's errors are based upon three classes of passages in Wesley: Those describing, I. The results of the atonement to our race; II. The sympathies of higher orders; III. A Christless probation of man without the fall.

Much as it extends our article, we refute our friend's impeachment of our motives for omitting verbatim quotations, by adducing every passage on which he strongly relies.

I. *Passages touching the results of the atonement.*

Mankind have gained a capacity, first, of being more holy and happy on earth; and, secondly, of being more happy in heaven *than otherwise they could have been.*

Of this language of Wesley our reviewer affirms, "Now it is impossible to distinguish this view from that of Hopkins, Edwards, and West, which we discussed and opposed." For, argues he, as "the remedial system cannot exist" without sin, and "the remedial system involves higher degrees of holiness and blessedness than were otherwise possible, it is *clear as anything can be that sin is an indispensable condition of the highest results in the* UNIVERSE *of God.* No form of language, therefore, which the New England divines *did*, or COULD, employ, COULD *more* decisively express the doctrine which Dr. Taylor so earnestly repelled."

Our unfortunate reviewer here, as before noted, (p. 657,) actually mistakes "this little speck of earth" for the whole "UNIVERSE," and infers that the placing the human race in a position of higher good "than otherwise they could have been," is identical with securing the highest good of "the universe of God!" But Satan, sin, and hell were in the *universe* perhaps myriads of ages before the "human race" existed; the question about a possible sinless universe was long and forever past at the creation of the human race; and the higher good of the human race secured by the atonement was simply a higher good "than otherwise could have been" for this one species of being in a universe already dark with hell. This is saying nothing about sin as the "indispensable condition of the highest results in the universe of God." It is simply affirming, as we before stated,

(p. 658,) "that a particular sin is the necessary means, in a given state of things, to a particular highest good." That is, to the highest good of a particular race in a particular sin-cursed universe. Whether, originally, a universe of the noblest free agents freely choosing the highest holiness would not have been better; whether a free and holy universe might not have been best even if the man had retained but a capacity for a lower holiness; or whether in a universe of nobly free and holy agents there would not have been a blessedness for our race far higher than even in a remedial system—all these varied contingencies it enters not into Mr. Wesley's argument to discuss.

> If Adam had not sinned the Son of God had not died. Consequently that amazing instance of the love of God to man had never existed, which has in all ages excited the highest joy, and love, and gratitude from his children. We may now attain both higher degrees of holiness and higher degrees of glory than it would have been possible for us to attain.
>
> God permitted sin in order to a fuller manifestation of his wisdom, justice, and mercy, by bestowing on all who would receive it an infinitely greater happiness than they could possibly have attained if Adam had not fallen.

And again:

> He permitted all men to be made sinners by the disobedience of this one man, that by the obedience of one, all who receive the gift may be infinitely holier and happier to all eternity.

Our reviewer has nowhere found in his "reading of the New England divines" such "breadth and intensity of language." We are but poorly read in the New England divines; but, through our learned friend, we derive from them language of much greater "breadth;" breadth that covers the universe, and all universes possible to God's power. "That *sin is*, through divine interposition, '*an advantage to the* UNIVERSE,' is the very fact that all these writers so abundantly affirm." (P. 951.)* Such are our opponent's words touching "the New England divines;" and when he can find language of Wesley's as broad as this, this discussion is closed.

All these four quotations embody substantially a single proposition, of which *the finally redeemed* is the subject, *attain an infinite increase of blessedness* is the predicate. But neither term of the proposition comes near to covering the extent of the entire universe. Adam's sin may have resulted in an infinite increase of bliss to some billions of men, and yet the universe may still have been the worse for any sin.

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* Our references to the New Englander between pages 930 and 960 are to the volume for 1859. The others are for 1860. Our references to our own Quarterly are of course for 1860.

II. *Passages touching the sympathies of higher orders of beings.*

If God had prevented the fall of man, the Word had never been made flesh; nor had we ever seen his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father. Those mysteries had never been displayed which the very angels desire to look into. Methinks this consideration swallows up all the rest, and should never be out of our thoughts. Unless by one man judgment had come upon all men to condemnation neither angels or men could ever have known the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Where, then, is the man who presumes to blame God for permitting Adam's sin? Should we not rather bless him from the ground of the heart for therein laying the grand scheme of man's redemption, and making way for that glorious manifestation of his wisdom, holiness, justice, and mercy.

This could have had no being. The highest glory and joy of saints on earth and saints in heaven, Christ crucified, had been wanting. We could not, then, have praised him that, thinking it no robbery to be equal with God, yet emptied himself, took upon him the form of a servant and was obedient to death, even the death of the cross! This is now the noblest theme of all the children of God on earth: *Yea, we need not scruple to affirm even of angels and of archangels, and of all the company of heaven.*

All the proofs that Wesley extends the redemptive results beyond man are concentrated in the last three lines. And, note, Wesley limits the "joy" to the human race; to higher orders results only "*the noblest theme.*" Our reviewer's exaggerating paraphrases, "the highest joy of heaven," "highest ground of joy to the most exalted spirits of the celestial world," and others, have no equivalent in Wesley's words. The whole of our opponent's argument then hangs upon this single peg, the phrase, "the noblest theme." We snap the peg and his argument drops.

1. The reviewer's *method of interpretation is unscientific as well as unjust.* In an article from which he has professed to expurgate every "epithet" or "sarcasm" calculated to inflict a

"pang," he is pleased to say, "It is always easy for *a partisan, whose delicacy is not too scrupulous*, to meet the force of distinct and specific proofs with the allegation that they do not mean what they seem intended to mean." Undoubtedly. And it is just as easy for an unscrupulous assailant to force the imputation of a "monstrous dogma" upon a writer by expanding his words into a meaning which his mind never meant. He expatiates much upon our "limitations" of Wesley's language, and copiously and repeatedly contrasts Wesley's "earnest and warm statements" with "the feeble and narrow line of thought to which his critic would confine him;" but indulges himself in the largest expansions of Wesley's hyperboles. What then is the true exegetical principle? Not but that we mean to allow Wesley's words their utmost literal stretch and then drive our opponent from the field; but we wish to put this simple question of method to the test. When a bold flight of rhetoric, a passage of oratorical amplification sounding much like a strain of poetry, is to be transmuted into abstract maxim, must we exaggerate the strain to its highest pitch of possible meaning? Or should we reduce the foliage and lay bare the solid limbs and trunk of the tree, and take its much diminished but solid bulk? Shall poetry be resolved into metaphysics by expansion or reduction? Our reviewer fills and doubtless adorns a high scholastic chair, and surely he should know. The true exegete, we take it, receives warning when he arrives among metaphor, parable, and hyperbole, lest he mistake a part of the figure for proposition and overstretch the literal sense. Transubstantiation became a dogma of the Church by mistaking rhetoric for logic.

There are two points of caution which a true exegete will observe. He will *enter into the mind of his author;* and he will be careful how he *imputes his own inferences* from his author's words as being *by his author intended* or accepted. Now, is it probable that *there was in Wesley's mind*, at the moment of these grand flights, any thought of the abstract maxim about the best good of the universe? We apprehend that the whole body of his works will not furnish the slightest allusion to that phrase. His feelings here were alive to that one topic—the atonement—and he exalted it in the highest strain without the slightest idea that he was anywhere in the neighborhood, or in the hemisphere, of any proposition touching the "greatest good of the greatest number."

Again, our reviewer *infers* that this *poetry* amounts to that *maxim;* but even if his *inference* is sound, is he sure that Wesley, writing upon a topic altogether different, saw it, meant it, would have accepted it? He has no right to impute to Wesley the adoption of his own inferences.* To the reviewer's eye the identity between the rhetorical flight and the metaphysical maxim may be self-evident; but he has no right to say that Wesley saw and meant, or would not have modified any seen implication of that maxim. Between the *rhetoric* and the *maxim* there is a chasm which the reviewer can neither bridge nor leap.

2. Wesley's emotional language is not in its utmost extent equivalent to the reviewer's abstract maxim. The words of Wesley are not only emotional, but *suppose emotional excitement of rapture and admiration* among even the angels; and that these excitements are not to be held as *true intellectual measures* of the exact comparative amount of good in their subjects. The joy of angels is not to be estimated by a Hopkinsian dogma. Their finite hearts are supposed to be roused by the present object, and are touched by peculiar points ot sympathy which have no commensuration with more distant and less touching, though perhaps really greater, sum totals of value to the universe. Even had Wesley ascribed, as he does not, the highest "JOY" to angels for the good of man, he would not have thereby affirmed that such *joy* was for the greatest good of the greatest number. Our Saviour clearly illustrates and asserts this position in the parable of the Lost Sheep. As the human owner rejoiced over the recovery of the wanderer more than over all the rest, so there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine unsinning ones. But surely the recovery of one was not a good greater than the safety of all the rest. This parallel is perfect and, we submit, conclusive. It shows that the emotions of men are a suitable parallel to the emotions of angels. It shows that the excitement of angelic emotions is no mathematical and utilitarian

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* "If an absurd consequence be fairly deducible from any doctrine, it is rightly concluded that the doctrine itself is false; but it is not rightly concluded that he who advances it supports the absurd consequences."—*Hodge's Logic*, p. 162.

measure of the good by which they are excited as compared with all other good. It shows that it is the present striking event that constitutes the "noblest theme," without any regard to the vast totality of distant and less exciting utility.

3. "The noblest theme" of angelic admiration is not the highest good of the universe. "The noblest theme" of a community is little likely to be the greatest amount of well-being intellectually measured; but some one stroke of lofty heroism, or some special masterpiece of mind, or some unique display of magnanimity, condescension, or self-sacrifice. The highest theme of Homer was the "godlike Achilles," with his wrath, his relenting, and his victory. The "noblest theme" of the classic student is Homer himself, with his immortal song; but these "noblest themes" may not be the greatest amount of good to either. The "noblest theme" of ancient Syracuse was the devotion of Damon and Pythias, and the salvation of both by its impression on the tyrant's heart; but the *greatest good* of that entire city was the sum total of its common prosperity. And so this bold poetical image of Wesley is to be interpreted of the denizens of heaven. Their "noblest theme" was that one transcendent deed of condescension in the gift and the death of God's dear Son for the happiness of man. That one master-stroke of the Son of God, whether or not it involve the best good of the universe at large, rouses the highest note of wonder and admiration of any one event in the history of eternity.

4. The *noblest theme* of angels does not even include the idea of their *own greatest benefit.* We said in our first reply, that the good of the atonement described by Wesley was circumscribed to "a particular sphere." The reviewer replies that by becoming "the noblest theme" of heaven it extends to all spheres and merges into the highest universal good. Our first statement stands. The *good* to our species of the atonement as a redemption is one thing; the benevolent admiration felt by other orders for that good to our species is another thing. My neighbor suddenly inherits a fortune, and that is his good; my high congratulation presented him upon *his* good is another thing. A reflex happiness I no doubt enjoy arising from my sympathy with his good. But it would be in a very peculiar sense that I could consider myself as sharing with him the

avails of his fortune. In that same sense we may, indeed, admit that angels enjoy by sympathy a reflex happiness in contemplating the good of mortals derived from the atonement. But sympathy and admiration for the good is hardly a sharing in the good itself.

It cannot at any rate be said that "the noblest theme" of angels is their own greatest good; far less that of the universe at large. *Their* greatest good is their own essential well-being; nor is there any proof from Wesley's words that he considered the well-being of angels or of any superhuman part of the universe as increased by the atonement. What he ascribes to them is not their good at all, but their lofty appreciation of the good accruing "to a particular sphere."

5. *A single "noblest theme" of admiration* does not necessarily outrival and *overbalance the total of all other themes.* It may surpass any other one without surpassing the entire residual whole. It may be, therefore, a rapture over something far less than the "greatest good of the greater number." One mountain peak may shoot to thrice the altitude of any other in the world; but its altitude is immeasurably less than all the other altitudes put together. So one brilliant "noblest theme" shoots up highest in the empyrean heaven, brighter, loftier than any other; but it does not outmeasure in the magnitude of its rapture the totality of the rest. In the grand sum total of universal good there may be some one element, some one object or event, some one manifestation or display, which is the bright particular gem in the whole, more excellent than any other one thing in the entire, and yet not to be compared with the residual of the entire. It might, perhaps, be removed or annihilated, and still the residue be the best possible. The occasion of its existence might be so removed that it need not exist; and by the removal of its occasion such defect may be removed, as even by sparing that particular gem the value of the whole might be enhanced. Redemption's being the one highest theme of angels does not prove the necessity of its existence to the best good of the divine system.

6. But were we even to grant that "the noblest theme" is a phrase equivalent to *greatest universal good*, the extent of the phraseology does not reach the demands of the reviewer's theory. Wesley then merely admits, as before shown, that

from Adam's sin results the *greatest good possible in the present* SIN-CURSED SYSTEM. Whether the good equals the amount of good in the best system of perfectly holy free agents is not affirmed. Wesley limits himself from saying that. Such a position would contradict "Wesleyan theology," as stated by his own authorized expositor, Fletcher, who affirms, in the most express and eloquent language, as quoted by us on page 664, that as a system of free agents is more glorious than of the most splendid machines, so a universe of the noblest free moral agents, all choosing to be freely holy, would be an immeasurably still more glorious universe. "For before the Lawgiver and Judge of all the earth," says he, in a sentence of rare beauty, "the unnecessitated voluntary goodness of one angel or one man is more excellent than the necessary goodness of a world of creatures as unavoidably and passively virtuous as a diamond is unavoidably and passively bright." And while this is truth, Fletcher remarks with equal truth, "The wrath of man and the rage of the devil will turn to God's praise, but only to his inferior praise." P. 663. From which it follows that a universe, in which man's fall occurs, may turn man's fall to its own highest good; but that highest good is only an inferior good; inferior, namely, to the good of a universe of holy free moral agents. And *that* Wesley limits himself from denying. Wesley and Fletcher occupy adjacent territories, divided but by a mathematical line, and supplementing each other in the most perfect harmony. Were the actual system a universe of mechanical agents, "as unavoidably and passively virtuous as a diamond is unavoidably and passively bright," it would be a pure, a sinless, a beautiful universe, and in the sense of sinless it would be a holy universe. Its excellence would then be the "highest theme" of the highest hierarchy of heaven; that is, the *highest in the then existing system.* But it would not be "the highest" possible in a system of free moral agents, even though those agents sin; far less as high as the highest in a system of the noblest free and perfectly holy agents.

We cannot say from our reviewer's representation, and have no time to inquire, whether the New England divines he quotes do, like him, involve themselves in a certain confusion and disorganization of thought, from neglecting to distinguish between the introduction of sin by Adam into our race and the primordial origination of sin in the universe. This is a very important distinction. They would do well to adopt it with the other good things from Arminian sources. Let us suppose that the standard and best universe is a perfectly holy universe, namely, a universe of the most excellent system of free moral agents. The exalted good of such a universe is the standard good; all other good (except God) is secondary and *particular* good. Any highest good anyhow produced in anything less than this standard universe of the noblest free agents choosing to be holy, would be "*a particular highest good.*" That is, it would be the *particular highest good* attainable in that system. It is a highest good in a supposed special state of surrounding circumstances. That such a particular highest good may have for its necessary condition, in the circumstances, a particular evil, though neither Wesley nor we affirm, we presume neither Dr. Taylor nor our reviewer would deny. But that is the very thing we said: that a particular highest good, namely, a highest good to the human race, or a part of it; or at most a highest good in a universe shadowed with sin, might have a sin for its condition without obliging us to affirm that sin is in any case better than holiness instead. It would still be true that a holy free universe is best, and that it is sin which deprives us of that infinitely superior advantage. That is, we might admit that a certain sin is the indispensable condition of the highest good to a universe already deeply and forever sin-cursed, without admitting that sin is necessary in order to the existence of the best universe, or that even on the whole *sin* is for the best good of this universe. It would then reduce itself very much to the statement of Edwards. Since there will be sin in this universe, be that particular sin permitted which it is foreseen will be a condition to the best estate of the universe.

Plainly what was upon the whole Wesley's purpose in that sermon. He had heard, as he tells us in his first three paragraphs, a large amount of talk, blaming Adam, and even impinging against the Creator; and his purpose now is to justify God to man in permitting that fall. How does he perform it? By showing that we may be holier here and happier hereafter than without the atonement we should be; and so wonderful a fact indeed is the atonement, that it is the highest topic of heavenly admiration. The topics of the best possible universe; the necessity of sin to its existence; the superiority of a holy to an unholy universe; and the superiority of a free to a mechanical universe, all these, according to the theological map, may lie near and conterminous; but of them all Wesley has not one present thought. He has approached his climax from another route; he goes just as far as his argument needs, but stops just short of what our reviewer needs. Our ingenious and scholarly opponent comes from an altogether different starting point. He has been in the lofty eyrie of New England theology where sublimated topics are handled. What sort of a universe God shall make, and under what conditions he may admit sin, are points there wisely and magnanimously discussed and settled for the Divine Ruler. Until Dr. Taylor's advent the dogma there reigns, though with some confusion and contradiction, that "sin is for the best good of the universe." As the reviewer descends earthward, he descries Wesley making an attempt to soar a little from the surface; and catches him at the top of his climax, where he is declaring that the atonement, consequent upon Adam's sin, is for man's highest good, and heaven's highest wonder. "Aha," says he, "that is just what they say up in the eyrie: 'Sin is for the best good of the universe.'"

And in their true sense Wesley's words are true. Even Dr. Taylor must admit that without a sin there could be no atonement. For, analytically, atonement contains in its essential idea the fact of an antecedent sin to be atoned for. Letting Adam and Christ then stand universally for the factors of sin and atonement, both Dr. Taylor and our learned friend must admit the formula: "If Adam had not sinned Christ had not died." Even of the monkish verse quoted by Leibnitz, the absurdity does not lie in the assertion of the necessary antecedency of sin to atonement. Taylor then can differ from Wesley only in depreciating the illustrious character of the Redeemer's work. He does not believe that the atonement is the "noblest theme of angels and archangels and all the company of heaven." It will not do to say, that as young David, returning with Saul from victory over the Philistines, was the "noblest theme" in Israel, so the Son of God, returning from his redemptive mission, is the highest theme "of the company of heaven."

"Wherefore," says the apostle, that is, in consequence of his redemptive *κένωσις*, "God hath given him *a name which is above every name*," (Phil. ii, 1;) "and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world but also in that which is to come." Eph. i, 20, 21. Surely if the Son of God returning from his mission has, *on account* of that mission, wrought by his Godhead and his manhood a name above every name, then his redemptive glory may, nay, must be "*a theme*" above every theme, "the noblest theme of all the company of heaven." Dr. Taylor's learned pupil may deny that heaven concedes the highest name to the Divine Redeemer as redeemer; that is, consequently upon his redemptive work. That with him may be a "monstrous dogma," a "boundless extravagance of Wesleyan theology," outdoing "all that is obnoxious in the extreme Calvinistic view of this subject." Alas, alas! if he chooses to depreciate the glory of the dying love that redeems him, so cannot we. If this be a new improvement in divinity "the *old* is better," even if it be *old* Calvinism. If the apostle's words are justifiable, Wesley's words are justifiable; if the apostle's words may receive "limitations," Wesley's words may receive the same "limitations;" if the apostle does not affirm that sin is necessary to the best universe, when he affirms that the Redeemer's name is the highest name of heaven, then Wesley does not affirm that dogma when he affirms that the Redeemer's work is "the noblest theme" of heaven.

Our reviewer has omitted, we think, to give due weight to the statements of Fletcher in his *authorized character as expounder of Wesley's theology*. Fletcher and Wesley were not simply two independent theologians of the same school. Wesley was assailed as a heretic by the Calvinian Methodists, and Fletcher was by him CHOSEN as his personal *expositor and representative in the controversy*, and as such he wrote the Checks *containing the passages we quoted*. Fletcher represented not only "Wesleyan Theology" but "Wesley's Theology."* It is right therefore for us to assume that one explains the other, and that, unless there is explicit contradiction, the statements of Fletcher are the doctrines of Wesley. And were there any contradiction apparent to us, it is reasonable to assume that the harmony was clear to them, unless the reconciliation be either historically or exegetically impossible.

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* Stevens's History of Methodism, vol. ii, p. 55.

But in the present case, to a friendly but critical eye, who has placed their statements side by side, there is not even *apparent* contradiction. They mutually "limit" and explain each other. Wesley affirms the *justifiableness* of God's permission of Adam's sin; Fletcher denies its *necessity* to God's optimistic purpose. Wesley affirms that the subtraction of the fall and redemption from the earth would leave a residuum of lower holiness here and less happiness in heaven for man. Fletcher affirms that nevertheless God needs no man's sin; that if he cannot work the highest good by one interposition or method he can accomplish it by another. Wesley affirms that without the fall and the atonement, "the noblest theme of angels" in the present existing universe would be wanting. Fletcher replies that, however true that may be, still a universe of holy free moral agents, were it possible, might furnish still higher themes of angels' songs, and still broader good to the universe. So that sin, primordially, is not good for anything. Our friend the reviewer can, we believe, heartily subscribe in their *true* meaning to the statements of both.

Is it historically possible that upon so important a point of issue between the Wesleyan and Topladyan theology—a point where Wesley's chosen spokesman felt and boldly pushed his advantage—that Wesley was opposed to his own side? Even Toplady, bold as he was, did not dare freely to press the argument that Christ's death was *necessary* to the best divine plan. He only dared hint it as an advantageous point for Calvinism; and it was Fletcher, as our quotation (p. 660) shows, who drew it out into full dimensions as a truly "monstrous dogma." And yet, if our reviewer's construction of Wesley be correct, the Calvinism that Toplady dared not avow in terms, the Calvinism that Fletcher had to uncover to the abhorrence of all Arminian Methodism, that ultra unmitigated Calvinism, Wesley avowed and re-echoed with "earnest and warm statement," nay, with the most "boundless extravagance" against his own champion! Now we respectfully represent to our reviewer that the truth of such a statement is historically impossible.*

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* The only work by any American Methodist bearing the character of a Theodice, or clearly treating this point, is a volume of four hundred and twenty octavo pages, by Rev. Asa Shinn, entitled: "An Essay on the Plan of Salvation: in which the several Sources of Evidence are examined, and applied to the interesting Doctrine of Redemption, in its Relation to the Government and Moral Attributes of the Deity." This able work was for some time current in our theological literature, and has ever been accepted as orthodox Methodism. It has lost currency not from any heterodoxy in itself, but from the fact that the author became a leader of the secession of the "Protestant Methodists." Yet be it remarked, that *no division ever took place in Methodism, since the days of Toplady, on doctrinal grounds.* Doctrinally, every branch of the Wesleyan Methodist varieties throughout the world might unite, without a jar, into a single Church to-day. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales are the only "dissenters." We never saw a professedly *Calvinistic* Methodist.

Our copy of Mr. Shinn's work is print-marked, "Baltimore, published by Neal, Willis, & Cole. Benjamin Edes, printer. 1813." We note some points:

1. The following extract shows that American Methodism maintained that God designed the *possibility* of sin, (by moral agency,) not its *actuality*.

> If this be true, (and that it is so I hope to prove directly,) it clearly follows that the reason why God did not hinder the introduction of moral evil, by making it *impossible* for his creatures to sin, was because it could not be done without making it impossible for any creature to enjoy *holiness* or *moral happiness*. God left his creatures free, because *God is love;* and being love, he delights to see his creatures enjoy that sublime felicity which the chains of destiny would have deprived them of forever.—Pp. 214, 215.

2. The following extract shows that American Methodism taught the *non-necessity of sin to the best good of creation, and the worthlessness of sin any how.* The "*opponents*" mentioned, who would not concede this, are the American Calvinists. Our readers will observe how the "monstrous dogma" is seen by the writer as integrally incorporated with the cognate dogmas of predestination, etc., and as essentially repugnant to the entirety of Arminianism. Mr. Shinn, long before Dr. Taylor wrote, maintained the doctrine that *holiness is always preferable in the stead of sin.*

> It is a little remarkable that our opponents seem unwilling to own that the creature's free agency was essential to God's glory, and to the perfect happiness of his children, and chose rather to insist that sin was necessary to accomplish these ends! We see it is a lamentable matter of fact that moral and natural evil have entered into the creation: the question has long since been started, Why did not God prevent it? Some have answered that God predestinated or determined that sin should be introduced because it was necessary for the display of his glory; and therefore, "according to the council of his own will, he fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass." We answer that sin was never necessary, and God never predestinated it; and the reason why he did not make it impossible for his creatures to do wrong was, that the liberty of option was essential to the happiness and perfection of their nature. Had he deprived them of this, he would thereby have suspended the operations of his goodness, and prevented all that sublime and angelic felicity which results from a voluntary obedience to his commandments. This is the only conclusion that is worthy of God, or that can ever be made to accord with those perfections which are everywhere ascribed to him by the incontestible voice of revelation. Need we now produce particular passages to prove that God is holy, wise, and good? Every one knows the Bible must stand or fall with these essential truths; but if God either forced his creatures into sin, or gave them liberty for no end but to ensnare them, what holiness or justice, or hatred of sin, is herein manifested? If he gave them this power when it was not at all necessary to their happiness, it is ridiculous

III. *Passage touching the Christless system in case of no Adamic fall.*

In our former reply we said that Wesley maintained, that had not Adam fallen every man would stand upon his Christ-

> to say it resulted from kindness; it is equally so to say it resulted from wisdom if it was bestowed on them for nothing; or from truth and sincerity if he cautioned and warned them against evil, and at the same time secretly contrived or predestinated their apostacy. We must therefore give up the divine attributes, and contradict the leading principles of revelation, or admit that God bestowed the gift of moral freedom, from the principle of loving-kindness, to promote that progressive improvement and felicity which can never result from either a mechanical or a brutal nature.—Pp. 215, 216.

3. *The glory of the redemption.* Mr. Shinn (p. 152) asserts that "God was *glorified in the highest* in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ." He adds, p. 156:

> Rather than his apostate creature should die the dreadful death, the loving God himself comes down from heaven! He hangs between the heavens and the earth, a spectacle to angels and to men! What heart of stone, what frozen, savage heart, can remain unmoved and unconcerned at such melting love as this?
>
> Shame on the man that shall represent redemption as having its seat in the satisfaction and gratification of unrelenting vengeance, while *all heaven is astonished at the bleeding mercy it displays!* Prophets, apostles, and angels together are shouting and proclaiming the great love wherewith our heavenly Father hath loved us.

Our readers will here recognize rhetorical expressions quite parallel with those of Wesley, upon which our reviewer grounds his argument. Yet it is obvious that it entered not into Mr. Shinn's mind that these expressions stand in the way of his denial of the indispensableness of sin to the best universe.

4. Mr. Shinn has a section of about four octavo pages entitled, "The supposed necessity of sin to make redemption necessary." Mr. Shinn does not deny that sin is necessary to the occurence of a redemption. His ground is that redemption, requiring sin, is not necessary to the highest glory of God and the highest good of the universe. The highest glory of God is in the good of his creation; and the highest good of his universe necessitated no such one display of God's attributes. By other methods, interpositions, and processes of things could the best good and highest glory be attained without sin and redemption. We quote the Calvinian objection and Arminian answer.

> *Objection:*
>
> "If sin had never entered into the world, it may be said, the goodness of God in redemption would never have appeared, and neither his justice against sin nor his mercy to sinners could have possibly been manifested: therefore the nature of God essentially demanded the introduction of moral evil."
>
> *Answer:*
>
> 1. It is true, before sin entered into the creation, it was impossible for either justice or goodness to be manifested to sinners, because there were no such creatures in being; but if those attributes were exercised in behalf of the upright, and afforded them all the happiness of which their natures were capable, what more was necessary? Must God make sinners that he may have the opportunity of showing his mercy to them? There cannot be a more palpable contradiction in nature than to say it was good and just for God to forbid sin, and yet that his goodness and justice required it in order to display themselves! that his attributes required of his creatures not to sin, and at the same time required that they should sin!—Pp. 275, 276.

2. The display of God's attributes, being for his creatures' good, is unnecessary where their holiness already secures their good.

> The objection supposes that it is merely for his own sake, and not for the sake of his creatures, that God displays his attributes. For if goodness and justice support-

less probation, and thereby there would exist a fearful hazard of increased "sin and damnation."

Of this so-called "limitation" of Wesley's words, the reviewer is pleased to use this language: "Here again the critic is *very careful not to quote* the language on which so great a limitation depends." And he gives the following as Wesley's real argument: "He argues that *besides* the infinite advantages which accrue from the permission of the fall, *any alteration of the scheme in the important point of our connection with Adam* might have involved a universal sin without the benefit of the redemptive economy. But this is only a supplementary view thrown in to give completeness to an argument which has a far different foundation." After thus attributing to us a disingenuous omission of Wesley's words, the reviewer himself omits to quote what he so very peremptorily, though very mistakenly interprets. We quote:

> 12. There is one advantage more that we reap from Adam's fall, which is not unworthy our attention. Unless in Adam all had died, being in the loins of their first parent, every descendant of Adam, every child of man, must have personally answered for himself to God. It seems to be a necessary consequence of this, that if he had once fallen, once violated any command of God, there would have been no possibility of his rising again: there was no help, but he must have perished without remedy.

Now Wesley speaks not here of any alteration of our "connection" with Adam. He speaks of no "alteration" or variation, save of Adam's not falling, and so preventing our seminally dying

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ed and guarded innocent creatures in a state of perfect happiness, before the introduction of moral evil, then nothing more was necessary to be done for their sake, because they were already in possession of perfect and unobstructed happiness. For whose sake then did the Creator wish to display his attributes in any other way? Not for the sake of sinners, for there were none in being. Not for the sake of enlarging the happiness of his creatures, for I presume, *had they continued upright their obedience would, through divine beneficence, have regularly enlarged it, without the help of wickedness.*—P. 276.

3. God's attributes have never been fully revealed to creatures, and so their display in redemption was not so necessary as to require sin.

But what evidence have we that he ever has fully manifested the whole extent of his perfections to any creature?

If then he has made known but a little portion of his nature to us, it must be because he is perfectly free from a selfish ambition, and manifests his perfections so far only as the general good requires. Upon this principle it is evident, *had moral evil never been introduced, goodness would not have manifested itself in redemption,* because such a manifestation *would not be necessary;* but after there were sinners exposed to hopeless misery, the Almighty Father was pleased to make a new display of his benevolence, and to evince before all worlds that even rebels themselves should not finally perish while goodness could prevent it.—P. 278.

in him. The "advantage" is expressly derived from "*Adam's fall*" as antithesis to *Adam's standing.* No reference is made to the non-severance of the chain connecting us to the fall. "Unless in Adam all had died," as they could not had Adam stood. For this "unless" must include all cases of our existing and not dying in Adam. Had Adam by standing trial prevented our lineally dying in him—what then? There would have been, as Wesley says in the remainder of the paragraph, a probation without a redeemer for us. It would have been an undepraved, and so temporally a qualifiedly holy, but still a probationary world. The "hazard," he adds, would have been infinitely greater; and in the entire system, eternally produced, the blended "sin and damnation" would have been, in all probability, increased to an unknown amount.

Our imaginative opponent has entirely mistaken the structure of the sermon. According to the general division at paragraph marked with the first 4, Wesley employs from the second 1 to 10 inclusive, in proving that with the atonement we are *holier on earth;* and then he employs only paragraph 11 to show our *higher happiness in heaven.* His argument is then finished so far as *holiness* and *happiness* are concerned. It then occurs to him that there is a reverse view, of *sin* and *damnation* even in this undepraved and comparatively holy, yet probationary and peccable world. Yet, as it is of a more speculative character, he touches it briefly and supplementarily in 12, above quoted. Really, then, there are *three* heads. Without the atonement we should be, 1. Less holy on earth; 2. Less happy in heaven; and, 3. More liable to damnation. We submit, therefore, that the comparison is between a Christ-given system of redemption and a "Christless system of works." From this it will be seen that our statement still stands, "It is simply saying the less sin the better." We have then the equation—Adam's sin with its consequences is more abundant in good and less in evil than the naturalistic system and its consequences. God is justifiable in permitting that sin from which the greatest good and the least evil will arise.

It is as useless as it is reasonless for our opponent to deny that Wesley's whole argument is a comparison between this human world, *minus* the atonement, and this human world, *plus* the atonement. The persons Wesley argues with are those who find fault with God for permitting the latter; and he proves that it is far superior to the former. He leaves out of the account, but does not exclude, the possibility of myriads of other methods. And then Fletcher, his own chosen expositor, interposes his telling Arminian maxims to vindicate both the infinite versatility of God's inventiveness and his non-obligation to sin. "God has ten thousand strings to his providential bow, and ten thousand bridles in his providential hand," etc. (P. 661.) "God has no need of sinful man." "If things had not happened one way they might have happened another." "We ought to assert that God will get himself glory every way." Though he uses Judas, he needs him not for the atonement; though he uses Nebuchadnezzar, he needs him not for the punishment of Israel. Though he uses Adam he needs not him nor his sin for a redemptive manifestation. Though he use a redemptive manifestation, as better than the level of naturalism, yet he needs neither Adam nor the redemption in order to the highest good and glory.

By a curious apparent afterthought our reviewer adduces the fact that in his original treatment of Wesley, to which we first applied the word "*misrepresents*," he actually stated the "limitation" for which we contend; and he adduces this fact as proof of his "accuracy" and our unfairness. Why then, alas! did he not stay "accurate" and thus deprive us of all ground of controversy? And if he was then "accurate," then we are still accurate, and he is wrong and we are right in the whole discussion. He *was* accurate. Yet though he first stated Wesley with the true limitation, he even then, more than once, so brought Wesley in as *an instance* under the genus of maintainers of the "dogma," he so adduced Bledsoe as on the same ground with Wesley, that Wesley was huddled with the rest, and so misrepresented by classification. By the "limitation" he showed he *knew* the distinction; by association he obliterated it. And this apparently conscious wrong-doing called for a term that admitted though it did not *affirm* intention. We do not *express* more by the word *misrepresentation* than *representation amiss.*

The "accuracy" of his first article our reviewer bravely abjured in his second. "All that is most obnoxious in the extreme Calvinistic view of this subject is surpassed and outdone by the boundless extravagance of both the Romish and Wesleyan Theology." For this "boundless" assertion all the reviewer has thus far to show is some extracts from Bledsoe, who is not "Wesleyan," and from Wesley, where the task of making good his assertion is yet before him.

In very strong language our reviewer declares that this "monstrous dogma" is maintained by Arminian theological writers. In his first article he says, "It has pervaded alike all the theological schools, and was as readily recognized and accepted among the Arminian, and indeed the Catholic, as among the Calvinistic theologians." The doctrine of fore-ordination, we reply, renders this dogma convenient and acceptable to Calvinistic divines, but leaves it abhorrent to the Arminian. Toplady therefore could make it tally with his system; but Wesleyan theology, by its spokesman Fletcher, consigned it to the same repudiation with predestination and its cognate dogmas that were felt to indicate the divine volition in favor of sin. Will our reviewer please verify his statement that Arminian "theological schools" or teachers have accepted the "monstrous dogma?" We shall believe it when we see it. Let him take our old Hollandic Remonstrants, in their magnificent contest with the "dogmas" of Dort. Did Arminius? did Episcopius, or Limborgius, or Curcellæus, or any of that class accept this "monstrous dogma?" We would like to see the passage quoted from one of these eminent doctors endorsing the "dogma." Or take the old English Arminians: Did Cudworth, or Henry More, or John Goodwin, or Archbishop King, or Sherlock, or Whitby approve this dogma? Produce the passage. It is hazardous to posit a universal negative; but long, we suspect, will be his "novitiate of silence and study" before that passage dawns.

Quite important, however, it will be for our opponent to take new caution in his method of interpreting Arminian authors. He will find Archbishop King, for instance, saying that the existence of the sinning sphere may contribute, and be necessary to, the completeness and perfection of the universe. And this he may construe to mean that the existence of *sin in that sphere* is necessary to the best universe. As a mole, the archbishop tells us, though a defect in itself, may perfect the beauty of a whole person, so that planet in which the agents sin, may, since it was foreseen that those agents will sin, be made to perfect the resultant universe. Nevertheless, just as a diamond, instead of the mole, might raise the body to a higher character of perfection, so that one sinning sphere, as the archbishop denies not, freely choosing to be holy, might have raised the universe to a different grade and character of perfection. Our opponent will find few, if any, Arminian authors, we think, affirming that sin is aboriginally necessary to the existence of an absolutely optimistic universe.

We now trust that we have afforded our respected opponent's candor another occasion for exercise. A Dorian was expected to understand Doric,

Δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι,

and a Wesleyan is perhaps very likely to have some correct notions of Wesley's theology.

The issue between the consistent fatalism of Edwards and the uniform freedomism of Wesley will, we trust, be discussed in a future number.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

WE place at the head of our "Religious Intelligence" department an account of the Fourth General Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, as its grand results belong more to the Church history of Protestantism in general than to that of little Switzerland, within whose borders the meeting was held.

FOURTH GENERAL MEETING OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—The Fourth General Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance at Geneva seems to have been a great success. Such is the testimony of all who took part in it, and of the entire religious press of Europe. The large attendance, the interesting proceedings, the important resolutions, and the cordial reception of both by the Churches, show that the actual alliance of the Protestant Churches has now become a fact. The High Church Episcopalians of England, the High Lutherans of Germany, and the Rationalists of all countries still continue in their opposition; but their very isolated attacks only help to present the spiritual unity of the majority of Christian Churches in a stronger light. We select from the full account of the proceedings of the meeting at Geneva a few points which, in our opinion, are best calculated to show that the reunions of the Alliance have a fair title to being regarded as the most important religious meetings in the Protestant world, that they are already fulfilling a great mission, and that a still greater sphere of usefulness awaits them.

ŒCUMENICAL CHARACTER OF THE MEETING.—LARGE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES REPRESENTED.—NAMES OF DISTINGUISHED ATTENDANTS.—A distinguished Church historian of Germany, Professor Jacoby of Halle, has appropriately called the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance the œcumenical councils of Protestantism. The meeting at Geneva bore this œcumenical character as fully as its predecessors. Each of the great Protestant nations, and nearly each of the many communions into which Evangelical Christendom is now denominationally divided, was represented, and the utmost harmony characterized the proceedings from beginning to end.

England had sent the president of the British branch of the alliance, Sir Culling Eardley, who took a prominent part in the proceedings. The British nobility was represented by the Earls of Roden and Cavan; the House of Commons by Hon. A. Kinnaird and E. Baines, Esq.; the Church of England by Prebendary Burgess; the English dissenting clergy by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel and W. Arthur; the clergy of Scotland by Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Cairns; that of Ireland by Dr. Gibson. Among the many distinguished laymen were John Henderson, Esq., and Sheriff Jameson, the liberal benefactors of the Protestant congregations in Italy.

Among the French deputies we notice the names of E. de Pressensé, editor of the *Revue Chrétienne*, the able monthly of the French Independents; Pastor Fisch, whose recent visit to the United States will be still in the remembrance of our readers; J. Bost, the great philanthropist, whose works received last year so brilliant an acknowledgment from the French Academy; Professor Rosseew de St. Hilaire, the illustrious convert from the Roman Church, who uses his great literary reputation so zealously for the spreading of evangelical Christianity; Dr. Matter, the able Church historian; Pastor Puaux, the historian of the French Reformation. Frederic Monod and Count Gasparin were prevented by sickness from attending.

Germany was represented by Mr. von Bethman Hollweg, the minister of public worship in Prussia, and for many years president of the German Church Diets; by Professors Tholuck of Halle, Dorner of Goettingen, Herzog of Erlangen; by Dr. Krummacher of Potsdam; by Dr. Gelzer, Professor of History in the University of Berlin, and editor of one of the best German monthlies, the *Protestantische Monatsblaetter*; by Dr. Schenker of Vienna; Dr. Teutsch of Transylvania.

Among the deputies of Holland were Groen von Prinsterer, the ex-prime minister, and leader of the Free Reformed Church; two members of the legislature; Pastor Chantepie de la Saussaye, the leader of the evangelical party in the State Church; Dr. Capadose; Mr. Koenen, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences. The few Churches of Belgium had sent, besides a number of their pastors, General de Lassaraz.

Scandinavia was represented by Dr. Kalkar, one of the most distinguished pastors of Denmark, who several times addressed the assembly in German, and by a member of the Swedish Parliament. Russia had shown her interest by sending a large number of clergymen, noblemen, and state officers.

The representation from Italy embraced a number of the leading Waldensian ministers, as Revel, Geymonat, Malan; many influential members of the Italian Evangelical Church, as Professor Mazzarella of Bologna, and some of the English missionaries, as Gordon of Florence, and Dr. Stewart of Leghorn.

From America were present Dr. Baird of New York; Dr. Squire of Geneva, N. Y.; Dr. Kerr of Illinois; Dr. Sawtell; Revs. W. Fock, W. Morrison, J. A. Prest, G. C. Robinson.

Among the large number of Swiss members were Mr. Adrien Naville, the President of the Evangelical Alliance in countries speaking the French language; the distinguished Genevese writers, Dr. Malan, Dr. Gaussen, and Dr. Bungener; Professor Riggenbach of Basel.

THE ADDRESSES.—A considerable portion of the time of the assembly was taken up by addresses, most of which are of high value. They will be published in England in full, together with the other proceedings, under the auspices of the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and, thus united, will form one of the best and most reliable sources of information on the present religious condition of the Protestant world. They comprise an address of Mr. Rosseew de St. Hilaire, of Paris, upon the state of the working classes in France, a masterly picture of the state of French society; the great speech of Merle d'Aubigné on Calvin's character and mission, followed by remarks of Professor Herzog, of Erlangen, on Calvin as an Interpreter of the Scriptures; and by Dr. Bungener, of Geneva, on the works of Calvin in general; the speech of Mr. Cook, Wesleyan missionary at Calais, on Sunday-schools; the glowing advocacy of the Principle of

Religious Liberty, by Mr. E. de Pressensé, the learned and eloquent Independent minister of Paris; several interesting addresses on the Future of the Colonies of the Anglo-Saxon Race, in view of the dissemination of Evangelical Christianity in the entire world; an address on the Religious State of the Slavic and Magyar Churches by Mr. Rougemont of Neufchatel, the editor of one of the best religious papers in the French language; a learned speech by Professor Dorner of Goettingen, (the author of the great work on the History of the Doctrine of Christ,) on Individualism, its Rights and its Limitations in Evangelical Theology; an address on Rationalism in German Switzerland, by Professor Riggenbach of Basel, and many others.

Resolutions on the Extension of the Alliance.—The resolutions passed by the meeting were likewise of great importance. All of them were passed unanimously, a fact which shows that there is, on the whole, a greater spiritual unity between the Evangelical denominations than the Roman Catholic Church, with all her boasted external uniformity, has ever enjoyed. Neither the councils of the ancient Church, nor much less the assemblies of the Roman Catholic Church in later ages, have exhibited such a spirit of fraternal love and harmony as characterized the meeting of the Alliance at Geneva.

The first resolution referred to the extension of the Alliance. The ministers of every country and of all denominations, who were present at the Alliance, were invited, after their return, to preach sermons explanatory of the Alliance and the objects at which it aims, and to originate meetings, composed of members of different Churches, for the purpose of developing and strengthening the sentiment of brotherly love. The branches of the Alliance were requested to employ suitable agents in order to propagate its principles, and to employ the press for the purpose of making the Alliance universally known.

What the Alliance has done for the Principle of Religious Liberty.—A number of resolutions had reference to the principle of religious liberty. On this field the Alliance has won glorious triumphs. It has raised its voice in favor of religious liberty at each of its former General Assemblies, and it is certainly a remarkable fact, that never within the same space of time has religious liberty made greater progress. Only a few years ago the Alliance interceded in behalf of the Madiais imprisoned at Florence, and now the very city of Florence was represented by two native Italian ministers, who are in undisturbed exercise of their ministerial functions at the Italian Athens. The Alliance, some years ago, protested against the intolerant laws of Protestant Sweden, and this year it was permitted to "express its gratitude to God and its great satisfaction at the measures which have been taken by the government of Sweden in favor of religious liberty." It was resolved to continue these efforts in behalf of religious liberty. In one resolution the Alliance expressed a desire, that where in Protestant countries restrictions upon religious liberty are still maintained, these restrictions may be abolished, and that the Protestant ministers may take part in the effort for their abolition. With regard to Sweden, in particular, the hope was expressed that religious liberty would continue to progress in that country. It was further resolved to make earnest efforts for obtaining the liberty of the imprisoned Protestants of Spain. The various committees of the Evangelical Alliance will come to an understanding as to what measures should be adopted.

Resolution on a Special Week of Prayer.—The setting apart of a special week of prayer in January, 1862, was recommended to all the Christian Churches in the following resolution:

The fourth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, assembled at Geneva, having received the appeal for a week of prayer, from Sunday, January 5, to Sunday, January 12, 1862, begs earnestly to recommend the proposal to evangelical Christians of every tongue and every land. It believes that these concerts for prayer are one of the most remarkable signs of our time. We are arrived at a blessed period, when the Universal Church appears more and more in her power and beauty; the concerts for prayer are the breath and outbursts of adoration which, from all points of the earth, rise to heaven. Nothing glorifies our Lord more; nothing inspires the Church more with the sentiment of her unity. These concerts for prayer have been coincident with those abundant outpourings of the Spirit which have marked these last years, and we do not doubt but that still more abundant blessings will be the result of them. If all evangelical Christendom will but meet in prayer, in a spirit of humility and supplication, there is nothing which she may not be able to obtain.

The Christian Church and American Slavery.—The war in America enlisted the deep sympathy of the entire assembly. America has come to be looked upon in every European country as one of the leading standard-bearers of Protestant Christianity, and the European Churches therefore fully realize the words of the Scripture: "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." It was thought by the assembly that there is in this civil war a great Christian principle at stake, and a resolution was therefore adopted which contains three important declarations: (1.) That in the opinion of the assembly this war is to be traced to slavery; (2.) that the system of slavery is alike opposed to the spirit of the Gospel and to the peace, prosperity, and progress of the American people; and, (3.) that God's people in this country should use the means dictated by wisdom and Christian principle for the speedy and complete suppression of slavery.

The resolution was passed without a dissenting vote, and those who know anything of the European Churches need not be told, that none of the resolutions of the Alliance will meet throughout Europe with a more cordial indorsement. The religious journals of every country are a unit on that question; and if it were to be discussed in every Protestant pulpit of Europe, and be voted upon in every ecclesiastical assembly, we doubt if a single dissenting voice would be heard. Even those that are opposed to evangelical Christianity—the Roman Catholics, the High Churchmen, and the Rationalists, would in this question vie with evangelical Protestants as to which of them would denounce the spirit of American slavery, and especially the horrid doctrine of its being a divine institution, in the strongest terms.

The Evangelical Alliance, by her resolution, has announced to the American Churches that she is ready to lend them the whole moral weight which she already has acquired, or may acquire in future, to the fulfillment of the great mission intrusted by Divine Providence to the American people, the final and universal abolition of human bondage.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—The prospects of the "essayists" and their rationalistic friends in the Church of England are by no means bright. Few among the clergy have dared to declare themselves in their favor, and some of the bishops are adopting energetic steps for suppressing rationalism, at least within their dioceses. The Court of Arches, on November 2, found one rationalistic clergyman, Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath, Vicar of Brading, in the Isle of Wight, guilty of publishing that which is contrary to the Articles of Religion, and in depravation of the Book of Common Prayer. A similar judgment was soon expected against one of the essayists. A fund has been collected by some of the sympathizers with the essayists, in order to enable them to carry on the suits which either have already been or may be in future brought against them by the bishops; but even an influential organ of the Unitarians expresses the opinion that the members of that denomination ought not to contribute to the fund, because the essayists were not, like the Unitarians, honest advocates of a liberal theology.

The dioceses of the Church of England in the colonies and in countries outside of the British dominions are rapidly increasing in number. One new diocese will be established in New South Wales, another in the West Indies. Bishops for territories outside of the British dominions have already been consecrated for the islands of Polynesia, and for Western Africa. Another was recently to have been consecrated as Bishop of Honolulu, but shortly before the day appointed for the consecration legal objections were raised and the consecration postponed. The High Churchmen are in high glee at this increase of episcopal sees and the progress of a hierarchical organization; and their hope that a union between the Church of England and the Episcopalian Churches of the East may be effected is stronger than ever before. In order to perfect the ecclesiastical organization at home, the Irish prelates have addressed a memorial to the Home Secretary, praying that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, may be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland, and that the same doctrine, worship, discipline, and government be common to both. The Scotch Episcopal Church will memorialize Parliament for a repeal of what still remains of the penal laws, and for placing the clergy of Scotch ordination on a similar footing with those of English ordination. So sanguine are the hopes of the High Church Episcopalians, that one of their bishops, the Bishop of Salisbury, in his charge to the clergy of his diocese, expressed the hope that even the Bishop of Rome would be gained over to this union.

The foreign missionary societies of England are active in the cultivation of the important fields occupied by British missionaries. A distinguished missionary, Dr. Lockhard, intends to establish himself at the capital of China, and to open there the first Protestant mission. Another missionary of world-wide reputation, Dr. Ellis, will soon return to the important Island of Madagascar, whose new king has not only promised the greatest liberty to the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, but, according to one account, has even avowed himself a Protestant Christian. Dr. Krapf, the celebrated traveler and missionary of Eastern Africa, has arrived as a missionary of the United Methodist Free Churches in Abyssinia, where the good intentions of the king promise the evangelization of an entire country.

A remarkable feature in the meetings of the Wesleyan Conference this year was a report by Dr. Jobson on the state of the Churches in the Australian Colonies, to whose virgin soil Methodism has shown itself well adapted by the rapidity with which it has spread out its root in all directions—Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, the Gold Fields, and even the thinly populated districts of the large sheep-farms. The different Presbyterian denominations of England have taken the initiatory steps for effecting a union. The meeting of the Congregational Union at Birmingham proved one of the most important and interesting which has yet been held. It made some preparations for celebrating next year the bicentenary of the ejection of two thousand ministers from the Church of England under the provisions of the Act of Uniformity.

GERMANY.

The Protestant Churches.—The Gustavus Adolphus Society held this year its eighteenth General Assembly at Hanover, the capital of the kingdom of the same name. This kingdom had been hitherto the most lukewarm among the German States in contributing to the funds of the society, for a large number of the clergy are extreme High Churchmen, who decline to co-operate with any society which embraces others than Lutherans. The invitation extended by the King of Hanover to the society to meet this year in his capital was therefore gladly accepted. The participation of the clergy and people was better than had been anticipated, and from the favorable impression made on them by the proceedings, it was inferred that many new branch associations would soon be formed throughout the kingdom. The society still increases in prosperity, and its receipts this year amounted to 151,628 thalers, from which five hundred and twenty-nine poor congregations have been supplied. An event of particular importance in this year's assembly was the reception of the first branch associations established in Austria. A little more than a year ago the Austrian Protestants received from their government the permission to unite themselves with the Gustavus Adolphus Association of the other German States, and, eagerly availing themselves of this permission, they have since organized one central society in Vienna for the German and Sclavonian Provinces, and another at Hermanstadt for Transylvania, both of which sent their deputies to the General Assembly at Hanover, and were there received into the union. The Hungarians, from obvious reasons, have preferred to establish an independent organization, which, however, will work together in fraternal harmony with the German Societies, as is already the case with similar organizations in Switzerland and Holland.

The cause of religious liberty in Austria is making rapid progress. An immense majority of the people are, on every occasion, declaring themselves in favor of it, and it is hoped that soon the principle of religious liberty will be acknowledged as a state law. A committee, appointed by the Council of the Empire, has framed a new law for regulating the relations of the various religions to each other, which, practically at least, will annul the notorious concordat. Though it may not pass at once the Upper House, in which the bigoted party preponderates, there is no doubt that the people will vigorously sustain it. Among the articles of the bill are the following: Liberty of religion and conscience is fully guaranteed to everybody. Everybody is entitled, without hinderance, to domestic service, in accordance with his faith. Every Church and religious body acknowledged by the law has the right to practice its religion publicly, provided the necessary steps for preserving public order have been taken. All Churches and religious bodies have equal rights, and are entitled to equal protection from the state. There is no religion privileged by the state. Every Church and religious body regulates and administers its affairs independently, and remains in possession and enjoyment of all institutions, foundations, and funds destined for its worship, education, and charities, Churches and religious bodies being only subject to the general laws of the country. The intercommunication between the heads and subordinates of a Church or religious body is unrestricted. The publication of their regulations is subject to no other restrictions than other publications. The influence of a Church or religious body on the primary and middle schools is restricted to the instruction in the respective religion. The civil validity of a marriage only depends upon its conclusion in the presence of the official appointed by the government for the purpose. The ecclesiastical ceremony can only take place after the civil act. No censorship of a Church or religious body in regard to books and other publications is allowed. The general press law alone is the only guidance in all these points. The community is charged with the supervision of the place of burial, and the burial of the dead is incumbent upon the communities. But every Church or religious body has the right of observing its own religious practices and rites at the funerals of those belonging to its persuasion.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The annual meeting of the leading priests and laymen of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany took place this year in Munich, the capital of Bavaria. The meeting is still called the General Assembly of the Catholic Associations, although it has long ceased to be composed of regularly chosen deputies of the Pius or Catholic Societies, which were founded in 1848 in order to obtain from the state governments of Germany the recognition of the independence of the Catholic Church. Nearly all of these local associations have been discontinued, but the General Assemblies have survived, being now free gatherings of the most influential men of the Church. In some respects the meeting of the present year was more important than any of the preceding ones. It met, on the part of the government and the legislatures of Bavaria, with a reception which at the present time hardly any other European state would have accorded to it. Nearly all the state ministers, and the president and vice-president of the Diet, took part in the procession which inaugurated the meeting and in the most important proceedings. It is believed that this fraternization of the Bavarian statesmen with the ultramontane party was principally owing to their desire to organize throughout Germany, with the aid of the Pius or Catholic Associations, an efficient opposition to the "National Association," which endeavors to bring about a political union of all the German States under the leadership of Prussia. A motion to revive the Catholic Associations in all parts of Germany, and to unite with the conservative Protestants in combating the National Association, was made by a leading man of the ultramontane party of Prussia; but the General Assembly rejected it in this form as being altogether of a political character, and therefore not falling within the scope of the Catholic Associations. The first part of the motion, however, the reorganization of the Catholic Associations, was adopted. A remarkable incident in the proceedings of the General Assembly was a declaration of Döllinger, on the temporal power of the pope. The celebrated historian gave in his adhesion to a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly in favor of the temporal power, and even maintained that such had always been his views, and that his lecture, which both Catholics and Protestants had understood to favor an abolition of the temporal power, had been misunderstood. The General Assembly also exhibited its views on the question of religious toleration, by denouncing the government of a Protestant German State for subjecting the functions of Catholic priests to certain restrictions, while at the same time it fully approved the law of the Tyrol, which forbids the public profession of Protestantism altogether, and even denies to Protestants the right of acquiring landed property.

SCANDINAVIA.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The State Churches of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, held this year again a General Scandinavian Church Diet. The first of these Diets had been held, in 1857, at Copenhagen; the second, in 1859, at Lund, in Sweden; the third met this year at Christiania, the capital of Norway. The attendance was larger than at either of the two preceding meetings, and consisted of one hundred and thirty-seven Danes, thirty-nine Swedes, and two hundred and sixty-four Norsemen—in all four hundred and fifty clergymen and laymen, including many of the most prominent men of the three kingdoms. The reports on the state of religion in the three kingdoms contained many interesting facts. Rationalism was said to be almost extinct; in Norway, in particular, scarcely a single pastor of rationalistic sentiments can now be found. Church attendance is everywhere improving, and the interest in the missionary and Bible cause is becoming every year more general. A proposition for the establishment of a common Scandinavian Missionary Society was introduced by Dr. Kalkar, one of the theological professors in Copenhagen, who threw out the first suggestion of such a society at the Diet of 1859. The proposition was favorably received, and a committee appointed, which is to correspond to the local missionary societies already existing in the three kingdoms, and to make a report to the next Diet, which is to be held two years hence at Copenhagen.

The cause of foreign missions has, in general, made great progress among the Scandinavians during the past two years. The foreign missionary school recently founded at Stavanger, Norway, counts twelve pupils, who will soon enable the missionary society to extend their operations, which hitherto have been restricted to the Zulus in South Africa, the only foreign mission conducted by Scandinavians. In Denmark, the central missionary society, which had been organized last year, met this year, for the second time, at Aarthuus, on July 19, and resolved to reorganize the Danish missions on Greenland, and to establish as soon as possible a foreign missionary seminary.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Macmillan & Co. have issued the *Memoirs, Letters, and Remains of Alexis De Tocqueville.* It is translated, with large additions, from the French, by the translator of "Napoleon's Correspondence with King Joseph."

Thiers's History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon, vol. xix, is published by Willis & Sutherland. This highly interesting volume contains: The Island of Elba and Napoleon's Return to France, Flight of the Bourbons, Additional Act, Champ de Mai, and Napoleon's Departure for Waterloo.

Bell & Daldy issue *Dr. Steen's edition of Bishop Butler's Works,* which will contain some as yet unprinted matter.

The Complete Works of Spenser, with Life, Notes, and Glossary, edited by J. P. Collier, is announced for immediate appearance by Bell & Daldy, the publishers.

The *Athenæum* says: "*Mr. Mudie's* [*circulating*] *Library* is certainly one of our London marvels. The British Museum contains little more than half a million books. Mr. Mudie has added to his collection in three years upward of half a million volumes. The books consist chiefly of works of history, biography, travel, and the higher class of fiction. The following are the exact figures, and they are so remarkable as to deserve being put on record: History and Biography, 123,279; Travel and Adventure, 71,646; Fiction, 237,546; Miscellaneous, including works of Science and Religion, and the leading Reviews, 115,518. Total, 547,989. We suppose there is no instance in literary history of such a growth under either public or private enterprise. The rate of increase continues."

The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry, by Isaac Taylor, Esq., author of the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Ultimate Civilization," etc., has just been published.

In order to counteract the prevalent scepticism of the times, a volume has been issued of *Tracts for Priests and People*, by various writers. The tracts contained in the first series are sold separately as follows, price one shilling each: 1. "Religio Laici," by Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays." 2. "The Mote and the Beam: a Clergyman's Lessons from the Present Panic," by the Rev. F. D. Maurice. 3. "The Atonement, as a Fact and as a Theory," by the Rev. Francis Garden, Sub-Dean of her Majesty's Chapels Royal. 4. "The Signs of the Kingdom of Heaven, an Appeal to the Scripture on the Question of Miracles," by the Rev. John Llewelyn Davies, Rector of Christ's Church, St. Marylebone. 5. On Terms of Communion. 1st. "The Boundaries of the Church," by the Rev. C. K. P. 2d. "The Message of the Church," by J. V. Langley, M. A. 6. The Sermon of the Bishop of Oxford on Revelation and the Layman's Answer. 1st. "A Dialogue on Doubt," by J. M. Ludlow. 2d. "Morality and Divinity," by the Rev. F. D. Maurice. 7. "Two Lay Dialogues," by J. M. Ludlow. 1st. "On Laws of Nature and Faith therein." 2d. "On Positive Philosophy." A second series is to follow.

On the Reconciliation of Moses with Geology, we have the three following works:

"Some Notes on the First Chapter of Genesis, with Reference to Statements in Essays and Reviews," by the Rev. A. M'Caul, D. D., Rector of St. Magnus, St. Margaret, and St. Michael, Prebendary of St. Paul's, etc. "Creation in Plan and in Progress, being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis," by the Rev. James Challis, M. A., F. R. S., F. R. A. S., Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, and late Fellow of Trinity College. "The Genealogy of Creation," by Henry F. Pratt, M. D.

History of Wesleyan Methodism. Vol. iii: Modern Methodism. By George Smith, LL. D., F. A. S. Longman & Company.

Coheleth, commonly called the Book of Ecclesiastes. Translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical. By Christian D. Ginsburg. London: Longman & Company.

GERMANY.

The late Professor Baur, of Tübingen, announced in the preface to the last of his works, (the second edition of his History of the first three Centuries of the Christian Church,) that after exploring for more than thirty years the ancient history of the Christian Church, he had at length prepared the material for a work on the History of the Church during the Middle Ages. The celebrated author died (December, 1860) before the arrangements for the publication were completed; but as it was ready for the press, his son, F. F. Baur, Professor at the Gymnasium of Tübingen, has issued it soon after his father's death. (*Die Christliche Kirche des Mittelalters in den Hauptmomenten ihrer Entwicklung. Tüb.*, 1861.) As the other works of the author, it is a memorial of his immense learning and his critical acumen, but, at the same, also of his advanced rationalistic views.

The exegetical literature of the Old Testament has received during the past three months some valuable additions. Of the "Exegetical Manual," (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*,) which has been in the course of publication for a number of years, and has the reputation of being the ablest rationalistic contribution to modern exegetical literature, the thirteenth number has just been issued. It contains a commentary on the two last books of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, by Professor Knobel, of the University of Giessen.

A new Bible-work, which is to extend over the entire Old Testament, has been commenced, by Professor C. F. Keil, of the University of Dorpat, in Russia, and Professor Delitzsch, of Erlangen. Both authors have already won the highest reputation as learned and orthodox expounders of the text of the Old Testament, and the theological world therefore expects from them a work that will stand a comparison with the New Testament Bible-works of Olshausen, Lange, and Meyer. It may be safely assumed that they will furnish the best exegetical apology of the Old Testament theology against the numerous rationalistic literature of the present century. The first volume contains a commentary on the first two books of the Pentateuch, by Professor Keil.

A new work of Professor Kahnis, of Leipzic, is sure to command general attention among theologians. By his great erudition, and his remarkable clearness of style, even in the treatment of the most abstruse subjects, he has won for himself the reputation of being one of the ablest theologians of the modern High Lutheran school. His work on the inner development of German Protestantism is recognized by men of all parties as one of the best works on the history of German Protestantism. His new work on Lutheran Dogmatics, (*Die Lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt.* Leipzic, 1861,) the first volume of which has just been published, will no doubt increase his reputation and secure a conspicuous place in the annals of theological science.

Besides the large number of new commentaries which Germany is producing from year to year, she continues to furnish many new works of importance on the original languages of the sacred text. The Hebrew Lexicon of Dr. Fürst, a Jewish professor of the University of Leipzic, which many distinguished Orientalists declare to be superior to the work of Gesenius, has just been completed; and the standard grammar of Dr. Winer on the Greek language of the New Testament has received a rival by a new work of Dr. Schirlitz, (*Grundzüge der neutestamentlichen Grücität nach den besten Quellen für Studirende der Theologie und Philologie.* Giessen, 1861.)

Although the theological system of Schleiermacher is losing in Germany more and more of its adherents, it seems to be fully as much studied as before. So we judge from the large number of special works and of articles in the theological quarterlies devoted to it. Among the special publications on the subject, two lectures by Dr. Schwartz of Gotha, the author of a history of modern German theology, and by Dr. Auberlen of the University of Basel, have been received with great interest. Of the larger, autobiographic work, consisting of a selection of Schleiermacher's letters, the publication of which has already been noticed in a former number of the *Methodist Quarterly*, a third volume has appeared, (*Aus Schleiermacher's Leben. In Briefen. Vol.* 3. Berlin, 1861.)

One of the most prolific writers of the German Reformed Church, Karl Sudhoff, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, and now a minister of the German Reformed Church at Frankfort-on-the-Main, has issued a "Theological Manual for the Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism," (*Theologisches Handbuch zur Auslegung des Heidelberger Catechismus.* Frankfort, 1861.) It is intended to be a festive offering for the tercentenary celebration of the publication of that celebrated catechism, which will take place in 1862. The work contains a popular system of Christian Doctrines on the basis of the Heidelberg Catechism, with an historical part discussing all the historical and critical questions relating to the catechism.

An important philosophical publication is the new work of J. W. Hanne, entitled, The Idea of the Absolute Personality; or, God and his relation to the World, in particular to the Human Personality. A Speculative-theological Investigation on the Substance, Development, and Aim of Christian Theism, (*Die Idee der absoluten Persönlichkeit, etc.* 1 *vol.* Hanover, 1861.) The work is to trace the development of the Christian idea of God in its contest with pantheism and deism. The first volume is divided into three books, the first of which is devoted to the pantheistic systems of European and Asiatic paganism, and to the germs of a scientific theism in Plato and Aristotle; the second to the history of the idea of God among the Gnostics and in the ancient Christian Church; and the third to the theology of the Middle Ages. The second volume will contain a review of modern systems of speculative philosophy and the author's own views.

We have had occasion in former numbers of the *Quarterly Review* to refer to the new materialistic school of Germany, which rejects alike Christian theology, philosophy, pantheism, and deism, and preaches barefaced atheism and materialism. It arrogantly maintains that the latest results of the natural sciences leave no room for the belief in a personal God and in the immortality of the soul. It already counts a considerable number of able writers and thousands of avowed adherents, and it has become the more dangerous, as some of its views have crept into the text-books of natural sciences used in schools and colleges. One of the best works against this school has been recently published by H. Ulrici, one of the editors of the Quarterly Journal for Philosophy, under the title God and Nature, (*God und Natur*. Leipzic, 1861.) The author thoroughly reviews the last results of each of the natural sciences, and shows that, far from supporting the pretensions of pantheism, atheism, and materialism, they lead to quite different conclusions. He gives large extracts from the standard text-books of geology, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, and physiology, in order to leave no doubt as to the accuracy of his statements, and to enable his readers to understand the subject fully. The last part of the work contains a speculative discussion of the idea of God, and of his relation to nature and mankind.

A new philosophical system has been for some time attracting attention in Germany, which is radically different from all the celebrated schools preceding it, and which exceeds all of them in strangeness. Although set forth by its author, Arthur Schopenhauer, (died in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1860,) as long ago as 1819, it has been entirely ignored at the universities of Germany and in the numerous manuals of the history of philosophy, until recently some of the disciples of Schopenhauer, especially Dr. Frauenstädt, have succeeded in making it more extensively known. Dr. Frauenstädt, after explaining the system in several works and in a number of the leading literary journals of Germany, has recently issued a collection of what he considers the best passages in the works of his master, (*Lichtstrahlen aus Schopenhauer's Werken*. Leipzic, 1861.) As so little is known of the system of Schopenhauer, though it is now often referred to in the literary controversies, we subjoin a brief outline of its principal points. According to Schopenhauer, the only thing truly real, original, and metaphysical is will. The world of objects consists merely of appearances, and lies entirely in our representation. Will is the "thing in itself" of the Kantian philosophy, the substratum of all appearances and of nature itself. It is totally different from, and wholly independent of cognition; can exist and manifest itself without it, and actually does so in all nature from animated beings downward. Will is the power through which every object is enabled to exist and to operate. Not only the voluntary actions of animated beings, but also the organic frame of their bodies, its form and quality, the vegetation of plants, and, in the inorganic empire of nature, crystallization, and every other original power which manifests itself in physical and chemical phenomena, as well as gravity, is something outside of appearance and identical with what we find in ourselves as will. This will, manifesting itself in all substances, is identical and indestructible. An intuitive recognition of the identity of will in all the phenomena separated by individuation is the source of justice, benevolence, and love, while from a non-recognition of its identity spring egotism and malice. It also results from the original identity of will in all its phenomena, that the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad are not reserved to a future heaven and a future hell, but are ever present. His system of ethics was erected by Schopenhauer on the principle of a negation of the individual will, and the best model of a realization of this principle he found in the lives of the saints. Should this turning away from life, which appears sporadically in the lives of the saints, become general, then, according to Schopenhauer, the present world would disappear and be succeeded by a new order of things. Works on the philosophy of Schopenhauer have been published by Frauenstädt, (Leipzic, 1854;) Cornill, (Heidelberg, 1856;) Seydel, (Leipzic, 1857;) Bähr, (Dresden, 1857;) Asher, (Leipzic, 1855;) and others.

"The Brothers of the Rough House" is the name of a religious association in Protestant Germany founded by Dr. Wichern, one of the most distinguished divines of the evangelical school. Germany has produced a number of similar institutions, as the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth and many others, which, although their organization may seem to bear some resemblance to the monastic orders of Romanism, have thus far kept themselves entirely free from Romanizing and High Church tendencies, and possess the undivided approbation of the evangelical party of Germany. The Brothers of the Rough House have greatly distinguished themselves as teachers of primary schools, as superintendents of the jails, and in the discharge of many other public offices. Not a little sensation was therefore created by the work of a law professor at the University of Berlin on the association, (Holtzendorff, *Die Brüderschaft des Rauhen Hauses, ein Protestantischer Orden im Staatsdienst.* Berlin, 1861,) professing to have made startling discoveries "from documents not before published," and charging the Brethren with being a kind of Protestant Jesuits, an association of hypocrites, and most dangerous both to Church and State. As no charge had ever before been brought against the brethren, the public was anxious to be acquainted with the new discovery. But it soon appeared that the pamphlet was only dictated by blind hatred against a well-deserved institution, that it produced nothing but what all the numerous friends of the institution had known for years, and that it betrayed throughout an astonishing ignorance of the subject. It was therefore easy for one of the leading men in the association, Rev. Mr. Oldenburgh, to demolish the arguments and the charge of the Berlin professor. His work, *Die Brüder des Rauhen Hauses*, (Berlin,) has given full satisfaction, and is recommended by the entire religious press of Germany.

FRANCE.

Though the French literature of the last three months affords no work of any striking interest, it has been active, and has rather increased than diminished the sphere of its investigations. Symptoms can be detected of its tendency to abandon the frivolous and sensational kind of writing, so offensive to taste and to decency, which during the last thirty years has filled up the feuilletons of French dailies, and which, unfortunately for the morals of the country, too often insinuated itself beneath the alluring aspect of its yellow cover and pompous title into the family of the busy workingman, and even of the honest peasant. These symptoms are perceptible in the highest class, and especially among the *Bourgeoisie*, who, in France as well as in other countries, give tone to public opinion and direction to public taste. For instance, such works as those of Flaubert and Feydau, the appearance of which caused so great a sensation a few years ago, and which were particularly noted for their unblushing boldness, could hardly find readers to-day. Persons acquainted with the effect likely to flow from this fact do not hesitate to announce the advent of a new era in French æsthetics more congenial with the high character of its science, and of certain departments of its literature. In imitation of the taste prevailing in Germany for the last twenty-five years, the French have lately taken much interest in philology and in the origin of races. Old languages, old nations, old laws and customs, old arts and manners, seem to absorb as great a share of their attention as physiological studies, oftentimes the pretext of the most indecent expositions. They have now among them men worthy of being their leaders in this new field of research, whose knowledge and artistical accomplishments are calculated to make that a most attractive topic. The name of the Orientalist Renan, for instance, and the fame he enjoys as a philologist, a philosopher, and a writer, cannot fail to exercise a healthy influence on the present condition and destiny of French letters. Nor is the work of reformation just begun likely to stop at the frivolous department of the feuilleton. The sudden development of industrial interests having, as in England, caused many evils among the French workingmen, a new class of writers have applied themselves to the researches of the causes which have produced them, and of the means the best calculated to their removal. House rent, taxes, the division of the family produced by the division of labor, the difficulty for the laborer to procure education for his family, the insufficiency of the salary, etc., are, at the time we write, engaging the attention of men of letters and opening a more serious field to literature. These have, among other considerations of a lesser importance, contributed to give a more elevated character to French letters, and it needs only an extension of the sphere of the freedom France enjoys now to favor this tendency and increase these dispositions.

The *Eastern Studies*, (*Etudes Orientales*,) by A. Frank, is among the most commendable works recently published on that kind of literature which we have pointed out as now attracting the attention of the French. It is made up of several articles published in newspapers and reviews, and contains, first, a reduced and revised extract of the course of natural right as it existed in olden times in India, Egypt, Persia, Judea, and China; second, a work upon the philosophical and religious doctrines of ancient Persia; third, a memoir on the political and religious state of Judea in the latter years of her nationality, and some other miscellaneous pieces. Of course the subjects treated by Mr. Frank could not fail to elicit criticism, as all works of real merit generally do, and more especially those relating to religious topics. Among other reproaches he is accused of having sacrificed the historical and scientific part of his writings to his peculiar predispositions for that spiritual philosophy which reckons Cousin among its apostles. Be this accusation either founded or unfounded, the Studies of Mr. Frank will always be perused by all the lovers of Oriental literature as an honest and conscientious work. The passage concerning the Jewish nation and the Hebrew philosophers Maimonides and Avicebron, cannot fail to be read with a lively interest by theologians and all the lovers of Jewish literature.

The position Mr. A. Frank occupies in France is in itself a guarantee of the intrinsic merit of this work. Born of Jewish parents, he devoted himself from his youth to the study of philosophy, which he first taught in Province, and afterward in Paris in the year 1840. After having occupied a chair in the College of Charlemagne he was elected professor at the Sorbonne, where he delivered a course of lectures on social philosophy in the year 1847. About that time he was elected member of the Academy of Social and Political Science. In 1854 he was nominated by the Emperor Napoleon III. to the place of professor of natural right among the Eastern nations of olden times, which he still retains.

To a list of works of the same kind we must add the *Principes élémentaires des Textes Assyriens*, by J. Ménant, a French Orientalist of great distinction, noted for his researches in philology. His great object in this work is to explain some of the laws of the Assyrian language, which, he says, must be better known than they are, to take a rank in positive philology, and be accepted without suspicion or contest. The persons who will read Mr. Ménant's book will soon be convinced that, with the assistance of so patient and learned an investigator as he, that language will soon lose much of its mystery, and be as easy to us as that of which Champollion has given us the key.

Œuvres et Correspondance inédites de J. J. Rousseau. Published by S. Moulton.

People acquainted with the vast influence exercised by J. J. Rousseau in the latter part of the last century, will not be surprised at the curiosity manifested at the announcement of the publication of his unpublished works. More than any other man of the last century, Rousseau has had the privilege of retaining his prestige among the following generations, and of exciting upon the mind of posterity that sort of attraction that eccentric genius is wont to exercise upon the multitude. To this, more than to the intrinsic merit of the book, is the success which has attended Mr. Moulton's publication due; for nothing in the unpublished work of that unfortunate great man seems to us calculated to increase the knowledge we possess of his character or of his talents; no composition appears to us superior to those already known and published. In this work Rousseau shows himself, as he always did, as a writer uniting strong reasoning powers with impracticable views; as a mind in which sensible opinions and chimerical ideas are strangely blended. Let us take, for instance, the Constitution which, in imitation of Locke the English philosopher, who prepared a Constitution for the inhabitants of South Carolina, Rousseau wrote for the Corsicans, and we shall find in it the same want of practical knowledge of men and things, the same whimsical opinions and sentiments as those we find in his illustrious predecessor.

Few subjects afford as much interest to Frenchmen as those which relate to the period of their first republic, and to the great men who have illustrated it.

Among the latter few held a higher rank than *Carnot*, whose *Memoirs by his Son* have lately appeared. It was he who planned the battles of the first republic; he who contributed for a large part in repelling the twelve armies which the European coalition had thrown on the French frontier; he who, by his energy and the spirit which he succeeded in infusing into the hearts of his soldiers, precipitated them upon their enemy, and made the French flag float over all the capitals of Europe. But what is still more to be praised in him is, that, aside from his highest intellectual gifts, he possessed an uprightness and simplicity of character which remind us of Plutarch's heroes. During all his life he remained an unwavering friend of the republic he contributed so much to illustrate; and such was his fidelity to it that he opposed the advent of Napoleon the First to power, a course for which he was sent into exile.

His son, to whom we owe his Memoirs, is himself a man of character and talent. The faithful companion of his father, whom he accompanied in his exile, no sooner has he returned to France than he joins the partisans of the liberal press which from 1823 to 1829 contributed so much to the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty. After the revolution of 1830 he takes an active part in politics, and is sent to the Chamber of Deputies in 1839. Member of the opposition, and most zealous advocate of reforms which, from his good sense, he judged necessary to the very existence of the dynasty of Orleans, the revolution of 1848 took him by surprise, as it did almost every man in France and Europe. Nevertheless he gave it his whole support, in consequence of which he was elected minister of public instruction in 1848, then member of the legislative assembly in 1850. Since the *coup d'etat* of December 2 Mr. Carnot, Jun., has withdrawn from political life and devoted himself exclusively to literary labors. He is now working at a publication upon Germany, which will soon appear.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, October, 1861.—1. The Homeric Doctrine of the Gods. 2. The Life and Character of Emmons. 3. The Will in its Normal and Abnormal States. 4. The Constitutionality of the Sunday Laws: Judge Allen's Opinion. 5. The Moral Aspects of the Present Struggle. 6. The Calvinism of the Church of England.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1861.—1. Dr. Hickok's New and Revised Edition of Rational Psychology. 2. American Nationality. 3. Some late Developments of American Rationalism. 4. A Practical View of Infant Baptism. 5. Van der Palm. 6. The Natural Grounds of Civil Authority.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, October, 1861.—1. A Sketch of Hindu Philosophy. 2. Theories of Messianic Prophecy. 3. A Review of some Points in Bopp's Comparative Grammar. 4. Jonathan Edwards, his Character, Teaching, and Influence. 5. On the Reading "Only-Begotten *God*," in John i, 18; with Particular Reference to the Statements of Dr. Tregelles.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1861.—1. Various Objections Answered. 2. The Philosophy of Religion. 3. Reading and Study of the Scriptures. 4. Slavery and the War.

Christian Review, October, 1861.—1. Müller's Life of Trust. 2. The Vital Forces of the Age. 3. Contents of the Epistle to the Galatians. 4. Æsthetics. 5. Introduction to the Epistle of Jude. 6. Christianity and War. 7. Illustrations of Saxon-English Poetry. 8. Ralph Waldo Emerson and his Writings.

Danville Quarterly Review, September, 1861.—1. The New Gospel of Rationalism. 2. Imputation. Part I. 3. The Conducting of Public and Social Prayer. 4. The Death and Burial of Moses. 5. Design of the Sacraments. 6. Greek Plastic Art. 7. The Late General Assembly. Church and State.

Evangelical Review, October, 1861.—1. State of the Country—Question at Issue. 2. The Two Records of Creation; or, the Bible and Geology. 3. The Ministerial Office. 4. A Bible Glossary. 5. Exposition of Matt. xix, 24. 6. Theses upon the Church. 7. The Nature of Ordination. 8. Hymn from the German.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, October, 1861.—1. The United Netherlands. 2. The Phases of Modern Unbelief. 3. Slavery and Ancient Rome. 4. The Voice of Blood. 5. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; or, the Doctrine of the Trinity. 6. Bible Finance. 7. Ministerial Qualifications. 8. Captain Jotham Parsons.

Mercersburg Review, October, 1861.—1. The True Conception of Christianity. 2. The Prophets of the Old Testament. 3. Table Movings and Spirit Rappings. 4. Notes on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. 5. Mohammedanism in its Relation to Christianity. 6. The Coming of Christ. 7. Catechisms. 8. Humility the Basis of Moral Greatness.

New Englander, October, 1861.—1. Sketch of the Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. 2. The Problem of Inspiration. 3. African Civilization and the Cotton Trade. 4. The Marble Faun; an Allegory, with a Key to its Interpretation. 5. Guizot's General History of Civilization. 6. The Recreations of a Country Parson. 7. The Lessons of our National Conflict. 8. Soule and Wheeler's Manual of English Pronunciation and Spelling. 9. Address at the Funeral of Eli Ives, M.D.

North American Review, October, 1861.—1. Charles Albert. 2. Law a Perfectible Science. 3. The Ansaireeh of Syria. 4. Modern Theoretical Astronomy. 5. De Tocqueville on the French Revolution. 6. Lord Macaulay as an Historian. 7. St. Anthony. 8. Habeas Corpus and Martial Law. 9. Buckle's History of Civilization in England.

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1861.—1. The Nature and Destiny of the English Language. 2. Reform in England after the Death of Wiclif. 3. Melchizedek. 4. The Divine Humanity of Christ. 5. The Intermediate State. 6. Reminiscences of the Rev. Joseph Addison Alexander, D.D., as a Companion in Travel. 7. Phœnicia and Carthage.

United Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1861.—1. Sabbath-schools: their Origin and Progress. 2. Exposition of Psalm xvi, 8–11. 3. History of the Synod of Dort. 4. Entomology. 5. Turretin on Calling. 6. Antagonism essential to Development. 7. Luther and His Times.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, October, 1861.—1. The Religion of Zoroaster. 2. Difficulties surrounding the Doctrine of the Resurrection. 3. The Promise to Abraham. 4. Christianity and the War. 5. Poetry in Prose. 6. A Summary of the Early Conflicts of Christianity with Heathenism. 7. The Unity of the Race a Bond of Sympathy.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1861.—1. The recent Introductions to the Old Testament. 2. Protestantism in Southern France. 3. History of Civilization in England. 4. The Conditions of Ecclesiastical Union. 5. The Practical Application of Calvinism. 6. Recent Geological Speculations regarding the Antiquity of Man. 7. Lechler on the Church Theories of the Early Reformers. 8. Phases of the Atonement-Controversy in England.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1861.—1. Professor Edward Forbes. 2. Old Iceland—The Burnt Njal. 3. Elizabeth Barrett Browning. 4. Discoveries—New and Old. 5. Christianity and the Two Civilizations. 6. Bacon and his Critics. 7. Steam Husbandry. 8. Our Relations with America. 9. Individual Liberty and Social Right.

Christian Remembrancer, October, 1861.—1. The Discipline of the Clergy. 2. The Sibylline Oracles. 3. The Eighteenth Century: Burke and Washington. 4. Life and Letters of John Angell James. 5. Character and Conduct of Henry VIII. 6. Mountains and Climbers. 7. The Sephardim. 8. Studies of the Western Church, 1815–1861. 9. The Churches of the British Confession. 10. Beresford Hope on the Modern English Cathedral.

London Review, (Wesleyan,) October, 1861.—1. Religious and Political Centralization in France. 2. American Poets. 3. Du Chaillu's Explorations. 4. Social Legislation under the Tudors. 5. Professor Edward Forbes. 6. Frederick W. Robertson's Sermons. 7. The Bible in South India. 8. Angell James and William Jay. 9. The American Crisis.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1861.—1. Life of Shelley. 2. Life, Enterprise, and Peril in Coal-Mines. 3. The Immutability of Nature. 4. Newton as a Scientific Discoverer. 5. The Growth of English Poetry. 6. Plutarch. 7. Education of the Poor. 8. Alexis de Tocqueville. 9. Church-rates.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, October, 1861.—1. Democracy Teaching by Example. 2. Meditations on Dyspepsia. No. II. The Cure. 3. Chronicles of Carlingford: The Doctor's Family. No. I. 4. The Book-Hunter's Club. 5. Social Science. 6. What seems to be Happening just now with the Pope. 7. Among the Lochs. 8. Captain Clutterbuck's Champagne. A West Indian Reminiscence. Part I.——*November.*—1. Chronicles of Carlingford: The Doctor's Family. No. II. 2. How the World Treats Discoverers. 3. Captain Clutterbuck's Champagne. A West Indian Reminiscence. Part II. 4. Mr. Buckle's Scientific Errors. 5. Sir Cresswell Cresswell. 6. The Stage of Weimar. 7. The Inland Sea of Japan. 8. The Cramming System. 9. M. Ernest Renan. 10. The Recantation. 11. The Search. 12. The Late Earl of Eglinton.

Eclectic Review, September, 1861.—1. Richard Baxter. 2. Plato and his Republic. 3. Thomas Carlyle on Modern Sociology. 4. Whittier's Poems. 5. History of Nonconformity in Wales.——*October.*—1. Christmas Evans. 2. The Fine Arts in Italy considered in Relation to Religion. 3. The Philosophy of the Infinite: Dr. Mansel and Mr. Calderwood. 4. Charles Dickens's "Great Expectations." 5. Popular Education: the New Minute.——*November.*—1. Alfred Vaughan. 2. Monkery. 3. Edwin of Deira and Tannhäuser. 4. Literary-Bubble Blowing in the Seventeenth Century. 5. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge. 6. Samson. 7. After Icebergs. 8. Crotchety Christians.

National Review, October, 1861.—1. Principle and No-Principle in Foreign Policy. 2. Medieval English Literature: Piers Ploughman. 3. The Great Arabian. 4. British Columbia. 5. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes and Elsie Venner. 6. The Science of Language. 7. Street Ballads. 8. Tracts for Priests and People. 9. Is Cotton King? 10. The American Constitution at the Present Crisis.

North British Review, November, 1861.—1. Pascal as a Christian Philosopher. 2. What is Money? 3. Plato and Christianity. 4. Spain. 5. Poets and Poetry of Young Ireland. 6. Edmund Burke; his Life and Genius. 7. Scottish Humor. 8. Comets. 9. Mr. Mill on Representative Government.

Westminster Review, October, 1861.—1. Mr. Goldwin Smith on the Study of History. 2. Biography, Past and Present. 3. A Visit to the Mormons. 4. Count Cavour. 5. The Apocalypse. 6. The Rival American Confederacies. 7. Trades' Unions.

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Octobre 1, 1861.—1. L'Histoire de la Campagne de 1815 d'Après de Nouveaux Documens. IV. L'Abdication. 2. Royer-Collard Orateur et Politique. 3. Une Caravane Française en Egypte au Printemps de 1860. L'Isthme de Suez et le Sinaï. 4. Le fou Yégof, Episode de l'Invasion. 5. Economie Rurale de la Belgique. III. Le Condroz et L'Ardenne. 6. Un Jeune Ecrivain de Notre Temps. Henry Murger et ses Œuvres. 7. Un Réformateur Américain. Théodore Parker et ses Ecrits.——*Octobre* 15.—1. De l'Esprit de Réaction. Royer-Collard et Tocqueville. 2. Murillo et l'Andalousie. 3. Le Gardian de la Camargue, Scènes et Souvenirs des Maremmes du Rhone. 4. Romanciers et Ecrivains Contemporains. Mme. Ch. Reybaud. 5. Des Agens de la Production Agricole. Le Drainage et le Colmatage. 6. Les Arts Décoratifs en Orient et en France. Les Gobelins. 7. Un Voyageur Allemand dans l'Autriche Orientale. 8. Le Libéralisme Catholique et M. de Montalembert.——*Novembre* 1.—1. Le Drac. 2. L'Ile Maurice et la Société Mauricienne. 3. La Politique du Libre Echange II. Le Régime Economique de la France Depuis 1789. I. La Révolution et L'Empire. 4. Deux Elégies Polonaises. 5. Les Causes et les Caractères de la Guerre Civile aux Etats-Unis. 6. De Lunatico: Scènes de la vie Anglaise. 8. Du Gouvernement Représentatif a propos d'un Livre Récent de M. Stuart Mill. 8. L'Ile de Chypre, Souvenirs d'une Mission Scientifique.

The *Réformateur Américain* of this number is Theodore Parker. The article is a very interesting indorsement of Parker as a philosopher, theologian, and especially as an antislavery man—an abolitionist. It gives in very full detail the opposition which Parker encountered from the mob, the authorities, and a large share of Churchdom in Boston. It concludes that Parker has demonstrated the separability of earnest religious sentiment from a system of dogmas, and the self-sustaining power of the former. The writer, Albert Réville, is, we believe, a rationalistic Protestant clergyman.

The article on our civil war is as sound and as favorable to the north and to the cause of freedom as any republican could ask.

It reviews the constitutional question, and condemns secession as rebellion. It discusses the war and maintains the probability of the victory of the national cause. Of any foreign interference it declares that the result would be a prompt act of universal emancipation, which would proclaim to every man in America, "Thou art free."

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ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A new Translation of the Book of Job. With an Introduction and Notes chiefly explanatory. By GEORGE R. NOYES, D.D., Hancock Professor of Hebrew, etc., in Harvard University. Third Edition. Carefully revised. 12mo., pp. 212. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1861.

This is the third edition of a work first published some thirty-four years ago. It then gave unequivocal tokens of being a product of thorough scholarship, fresh research into original sources, and fine poetic taste. During this long interval the author has found time to compare his views with the results of the best European scholarship, and while he rejoices in a singular coincidence on many points, he avails himself of the means of improvement upon others.

It is a misfortune and a wonder that every Protestant religious family has in its Bible one of the most sublime of human compositions so obscured by inadequate translation and indiscriminating typography as to be buried to a great degree from sight. We have often advised a young minister or an intelligent layman to procure a modern translation of a biblical book and read it through at a single sitting, as he would the latest pamphlet of the day, and note the impression. Take Stuart's translation of Romans, grasp it thus under a single view, and behold how like a new work it has become. The same may be said of Professor Noyes's Job. While due allowances must be made for the school from which he hails, any intelligent reader, secular or clerical, of true taste, may find in the old Hebrew poet, as here presented, a source of pleasure far superior to anything in the latest strain of Bryant or Tennyson.

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History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ. By J. A. DORNER, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen. Division Second, from the end of the Fourth Century to the present time. Volume I. Translated by Rev. D. W. SIMON, Manchester. 8vo., pp. 456. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1861. Received from C. Scribner.

The work of Dorner in the department of Christology is characterized by great originality of view sustained by the amplest erudition. The interest felt by the Christian public in its appearance has induced the publishers to issue the second division in default of the preparation of the first, which is in process by Dr. Lindsay Alexander. It will appear in the course of the winter.

We can give no better general notion of the character of the work than will be derived from the condensed summary of the translator.

> I. That the germs of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, as held by all the orthodox Churches, are contained principally in a concrete form in the New Testament; and that the New Testament is the absolute doctrinal Norm.
>
> II. That the mission of the Church, intellectually considered, has been to develop these germs; not, however, to originate any new element.
>
> III. That, during its history, the Church has actually and progressively developed these germs; now giving prominence to one, and then to another aspect of the Person of Christ.
>
> IV. That in the midst of all its conflicts, confusion, and even corruption, the Church has been enabled, by the Spirit of God, with sure tact, and, as it were, instinctively, at the right moment to turn its back on dangerous principles which it had itself cherished, and vigorously to oppose erroneous tendencies at which it had winked.
>
> Dr. Dorner's idea of development, as applied to this particular doctrine, will thus be seen to be as far removed as possible from that of Father Newman on the one hand, and of the Tubingen School on the other.
>
> The translator has taken all pains, in the limited time at his disposal, to render Dr. Dorner's difficult German into accurate and readable English.—Pp. iii, iv.

◆

Introduction to the Pentateuch. An Inquiry, Critical and Doctrinal, into the Genuineness, Authority, and Design of the Mosaic Writings. By the Rev. Donald Macdonald, M. A., Author of "Creation and the Fall." In Two Volumes. 8vo., pp. 480, 484. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Dublin: John Robertson. 1861. Received from Charles Scribner.

Dr. Macdonald's work, though English in its original language, is esteemed by critics well worthy its position beside its German compeers. Under the comprehensive and somewhat vague term Introduction, we have a large mass of erudition expended upon the first five books of the Old Testament canon. An analytical examination of each book, and discussion of the authenticity, antiquity, authorship, and credibility both of its miraculous and non-miraculous history, make up the contents of the first volume. The second volume enters more fully into the interior of the sacred books, and a large variety of topics of great interest is discussed with learning and ability. The objects of the Pentateuch as a revelation of God to man being first considered, lead to the discussion of all those points in which objections are raised to the representations of the divine character and actions as exhibited in its pages. Man as the object and medium of the revelation is then considered, and this topic introduces the history of the fall. Redemption in its plan and Author brings in the discussion of sacrifices and prophecy. Israel, as the chosen nation in the Pentateuchal plan, opens up the whole subject of Jewish history. The whole closes with a chapter on the relations of Mosaicism to the New Testament.

◆

A History of the Modes of Christian Baptism from Holy Scripture, the Councils Œcumenical and Provincial, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, and the Rubrics of the whole Church East and West, in illustration and vindication of the Rubrics of the Church of England since the Reformation, and those of the American Church. By Rev. James Chrystal, A.M., a Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 324. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1861.

This is a very neat essay, the design of which is to restore in the Protestant Episcopal Church the practice of immersion. As a Scripture argument it has no value whatever. As an ecclesiastical historical reference it has the merit of presenting the record, in authentic form, of the practiced method of baptism in all ages since the primitive throughout the world. The writer's logic is usually not very conclusive; but taking the Episcopal Church, with its usual methods of historical argument in favor of its forms, he makes out a very strong *argumentum ad ecclesiam* for its readoption of immersion.

We are surprised at the following statement.

> The different Baptist sects outnumber us in the United States ten to one in the number of communicants. It is perhaps not too much to say that at least half the Baptists are desendants of Church of England or American Church families. —P. 209.

◆

Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. Specially designed and adapted for the use of Ministers and Students. From the German of J. P. Lange, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Ph. D., Author of "History of the Jewish Nation;" Editor of "Kurtz's History of the Christian Church," etc., etc. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 468. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Received from Charles Scribner.

The publications of T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, consisting mostly of translations from the German, amount now to a small theological and biblical library of rare excellence. Through the energy and public spirit of this enterprising firm such authors as Hengstenberg, Hagenbach, Olshausen, Neander, Nitzsch, Haverniek, Muller, Stier, Baumgarten, Kiel, Kurtz, and Ebrard, have become accessible to the English and American public.

The great work of Lange upon the New Testament takes rank with the best productions of German biblical literature. The work is marked for its fundamental research, its suggestive depth, and its brilliant generalizations. The present volume terminates with the close of the twelfth chapter of Matthew. The entire work is in process of preparation, and the Christian student will look with interest for its completion.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Personal History of Lord Bacon. From Unpublished Papers. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON, of the Inner Temple. 12mo., pp. 424. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon is known by a very successful defense of the memory of William Penn against the attack of Lord Macaulay. Macaulay was a zealous partisan, and not unfrequently he betrays this weakness in his sketches of English statesmen. History, we think, will reverse his decision in several instances, especially his judgment of the great Marlborough. He stood almost alone in his estimate of the character of Penn. And Mr. Dixon's defense of that great man is sustained by the sympathies and convictions of all who have studied that noble life. This fact in some measure excused the dogmatic and positive air with which he rushed to the aid of his friend. A much more difficult task was before him when he undertook the defense of Lord Bacon. The charge to be met was not the hasty judgment of a historian looking through Whig spectacles, but the almost unanimous verdict of Bacon's cotemporaries, strengthened in its main count by his own confession. Under these circumstances, with such an array of names on the other side, a more modest and self-distrusting introduction to his book would have been becoming. His absolute and defiant spirit does not strengthen the plea he makes for the memory of Bacon. The conclusion was frequently forced upon us as we followed our author, that he was more anxious to condemn Macaulay than to vindicate Bacon.

So far as the main facts in the charge against Bacon are concerned, Mr. Dixon has not weakened the generally accepted conclusion. We make this statement with sadness, for a different result would have been hailed with inexpressible joy by the good and gifted the world over. Indeed, in bringing to light new facts bearing upon the intimate relations of Essex and Bacon, the charge of cold and cruel ingratitude toward the former is confirmed. In the matter of official corruption, while he shows that gifts from suitors to judges were of common occurrence, and regarded more as perquisites than bribes, he fails to meet the real points upon which the accusation lies against Bacon, that in several cases these gifts were received before judgment, and in most instances were extravagantly large.

We think Mr. Dixon utterly fails to excuse, for he does not deny, that chronic lust of place which from year to year bowed this great man in abject sycophancy at the foot of power. We needed no argument to convince us that Bacon was not a man of wicked and malicious spirit. This charge has not been made against him. But that he lacked that high moral principle, that devotion to the right so essential to the maintenance of a virtuous life, must be admitted. The question of personal sacrifice to a true man is as the dust of the balance when it conflicts with his sense of right. Here was the sad defect in Bacon's character. The wrongs of enemies, the kindnesses of friends were alike forgotten whenever an opportunity to gratify his desire for place presented itself.

We regret most sincerely that Mr. Dixon has reopened this controversy. We would not call in question the motive; it was doubtless good. It is a noble work to rescue the memory of a great man. But no one should undertake the task without the assurance doubly sure of success. The world had consented to forget "the personal history of Lord Bacon" and think of him only in the light of his great intellectual work. Friends of the truth had crowned him for the same reason that the Parliament admitted him to his seat against all precedents—not as attorney-general, but as the grandest representative of English mind. We mourn over his want of moral courage. We think only with sadness of such a conjunction of moral weakness and intellectual strength. Yet, as we contemplate the great work of his life, we will think of him as the father of a philosophy which, next to the Gospel of Christ, inspires our wonder and praise.

While we have been disappointed in the results of this effort to save Bacon from the foul blot which darkens his memory, we must thank Mr. Dixon for the additional light he has thrown upon the early life and early lore of Bacon. Those beautiful and tender letters from Lady Anne to her great son will be read with pleasure and profit. These will make up in some degree for the disappointment of the reader at the author's failure to redeem the name of Bacon. D.

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The Okavango River. A Narrative of Travel, Exploration, and Adventure. By CHARLES JOHN ANDERSSON. 8vo., pp. 414. New York: Harpers.

The African seems to be the central object of present interest to both hemispheres and in all departments of human activity. The industrial prosperity of the world depends on the plant he cultivates. Its politics are perplexed with difficulties which his condition involves. Ethnology finds the question of his original and future relation to the human race the one on which she is fighting, and has yet to fight, her fiercest battles. Philanthropy is stirred to its inmost depths by his sufferings. The slave-trade and the abolition of slavery, as a world-question, have been, and yet are, concerned with him only. Geographers and travelers are drawn to his birth-place more than to any other spot on the globe. Perhaps the North Pole has shared with Africa in the fascination of curiosity and enterprise. But its opportunities to gratify this curiosity and its attendant allurements are far less than those which that continent affords. Bayard Taylor declares that all the future trophies of travelers must be won here. And to consummate the interest which this people are exciting, "the greatest war for a thousand years," as Mr. Crittenden declares, is being waged solely because of the negro.

Africa is to-day what America was two hundred years ago, the field where curiosity and adventure revel. It is the last of the continents to be subdued. Oldest in ancient secular history, it is to be the youngest in the modern. It has been first and is last. Is it again to be first? Will not a less time than has been requisite to transform America from the hunting-ground of savages to the first power in the earth, suffice to bring this great continent to the front rank of empires? The beginning of such a work must be in a knowledge of its geography and present condition. The last decade has contributed more information to this end than all previous time. From Herodotus to Livingstone is a virtual blank, an innavigable Sahara—"immeasurable sand."

This work of Mr. Andersson is his second contribution to this object. His first, "Lake Ngami," was published about four years since. The track he travels is comparatively small, about two hundred miles square of the southwestern coast. After struggling for a year with many reverses and perils, he succeeds in reaching the river which gives its name to the book. He did not explore it far, and knows nothing of its source or outlet. Its direction was inward, and he hence considers it but a branch of some larger stream that flows into the Atlantic. His narrative is chiefly occupied with hunting adventures, and his coolness, daring, and hair-breadth escapes are well set forth. Like all mere sight-seers and hunters, he despises the people he seeks to see, and the men and means that are striving to elevate them. "Africa," he says, "is a vast zoological garden and a vast hunting-field at the same time." "Its savage human natives," he declares are beneath his notice; but the superb *feræ naturæ* win his enthusiastic admiration. Like Ida Pfeiffer, the mere curiosity-hunter, he, the mere elephant-hunter, has but slight opinions of the missionaries and their services. Though he cannot suppress his approval of Dr. Livingstone, whose explorations and adventures are immeasurably greater and more important than his own, he cannot keep from giving one of those self-conceited flings with which the wise foolishness of this world often fancies that it overtops and overthrows the divine wisdom of Christianity. He speaks of Dr. Livingstone as being destitute of sagacity and common-sense, qualities with which he is almost superhumanly endowed. He does this because a tribe which the Doctor had visited, and whose chief had professed conversion, had made an assault on some of the savage Bushmen whom he was then employing in his hunts, and whose side he, from motives of self-interest, had espoused. Apart from this defect, Mr. Andersson's work is very readable, and in some degree useful. It is inferior to Livingstone and Barth in its information as well as in its human and religious element. It is fully equal, however, to Gordon Cumming, and others of the Nimrod school of explorers. **H.**

The Last Travels of Ida Pfeiffer, inclusive of a Visit to Madagascar. With an Autobiographical Memoir. 12mo., pp. 281. New York: Harpers.

The two attractive features of this book are, the sketch of her early life, and of her experiences near the court of Queen Ranavola. The autobiography reveals the causes which induced the course of life that has made her famous among women.

It appears from this that she was another example of extraordinary activity superinduced by extraordinary disappointment. From the least to the greatest, the worst to the best, a thorn in the flesh or in the spirit has often been the instrument of Providence, or the enemy, by which men have achieved their fame or infamy. She was brought up as a boy; her parents allowing her to wear the clothes and engage in all the sports of her brothers. When they strove, in her tenth year, she tells us, to change her garb, she fell ill with grief and indignation. So they yielded, and not till she was thirteen years old did she assume the *toga*, not *virilis*. She was put into the hands of a wise tutor, who succeeded in awakening the feminine element in her nature to a greater degree than her mother desired, so that before the maternal authority had selected the suitor for her the young lady had made her own choice. This expression of her nature did not suit the mother and she forbade the match. The girl did not assume her masculine prerogatives, but submitted after years of conflict and was married to Dr. Pfeiffer. Her married life was not fortunate or happy, and her heart sought relief from excitement. Her early habits gave her self-reliance in the world, and, at the age of forty-five, she left her husband and two grown up children and set out to see the world.

For fifteen years she roamed the earth, seeing a little that was new, but much that was old, and that has been often described by far keener observers and happier narrators than herself. Most of this book is taken up with memoranda of visits in Europe. The main interest is in her trip into the island of Madagascar, where she contracted the fever of which she died. This portion is full of new and valuable information. Like her previous works, it exhibits the bitterest spirit against the missionary cause and a total want of comprehension of its aims and achievements. Her visits to these, as to other heathen, are without any spiritual or real benefit to them or to herself. She commends a little the Christians of that island whom she saw massacred in the most horrible forms for their faith, but no word in praise of the Gospel or its missionaries, by whom they had received this holy faith and courage. How much more she would have achieved, and how much more durable and honorable her memory, had she devoted that brave and energetic nature to the salvation of the tribes she visited. They would have embalmed her name in their lasting gratitude, and future generations would arise and call her blessed. As it is, her monument will be but a solitary sentence in a biographical dictionary. H.

The American Revolution. By GEORGE BANCROFT. In Two Volumes. 8vo., pp. 485, 475. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.

These, the last two volumes of the American history, are the first two of its second stage, the Revolution. Up to this point we have the founding of the colonies; from this point the birth of the nation. Of the revolutionary period there are two parts; the first terminated by the Declaration of Independence, the second by the acknowledgment of our independence by England. The present volumes end with the close of the first period. If Mr. Bancroft's labors should here providentially terminate, there would be a natural close to the work; but the full rounded epic completeness would be wanting.

Noble and enviable is the life-task of conceiving and completing of such a work. To be among many essayists *the* historian of his country, and such a historian of such a country, is indeed a "mission." It has a lofty monumental character to it. And if the hand of a stern national destiny, or rather the decree of an inscrutable yet doubtless wise Providence, has determined that the nation shall cease to exist as a historical unit, this work itself will stand as one of the monuments of our national greatness, one of the products of the age of "the Union." But we trust that the author will live to complete in the same grand style, not only the triumph of the Revolution of '76, but the triumph over the pseudo-revolution of '61.

Mr. Bancroft's volumes and years have advanced together. The plans of illustrating ideal truth in the concrete of history, formed in his youth while listening in Germany to the teachings of Humboldt, Schlegel, Schiermacher, and others, have been realized in a degree rare to the visions of our young manhood. Selecting with the pride of a patriot his own country as his field, he has told his story with the skill and the gorgeousness of a rhetorician, with the depth of a philospher, and with the unshrinking boldness of a democrat in fundamental principle as well as in the partisan sense.

The Southern Rebellion and the War for Freedom. A History of the Rise and Progress of the Rebellion, and Consecutive Narrative of Events and Incidents, from the First Stages of the Treason against the Republic down to the close of the Conflict. Together with important Documents, Extracts from remarkable Speeches, etc. 8vo., fourteen numbers, pp. 448. New York: James D. Torrey. 1861.

This fine specimen of a history chasing in close pursuit the progress of events as they move, is written with much ability, a loyal spirit, and a graphic style. Every man will feel a historic interest in this the greatest of modern rebellions. Every patriot may wish to refer to such a depository of its facts. Every family will want the volume made up of its preserved numbers.

Memoir of Mrs. Jane Trimble: A Tribute of Affection from her Grandson. With an Introduction by Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D. 12mo., pp. 117. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, for the Author. 1861.

Dr. Trimble has furnished here a precious addition to the memorable catalogue of the eminent females of American Methodism. Mrs. Trimble lived in the trying times of the Revolution, bore a noble share in the hardships of western pioneer life, and became the memorable ancestress of a number of men distinguished in State and Church. Her history is rich in incident. Her character was marked for excellence. To the feminine part of our Church especially may this beautiful narrative be commended.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Our Country and the Church. By N. L. Rice, D.D. 12mo., pp. 93. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

What cause demanded the dishonoring innocent white paper with the publication of this worse than worthless trash we are unable to say. It is Gospel according to cotton; a prostitution of the pulpit to a crafty defense of national unrighteousness.

Educational.

A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By **William Henry Green**, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. 8vo., pp. 322. New York: John Wiley.

The impulse given to Hebrew studies in this country by the labors of Moses Stuart would alone serve to render his name memorable. The publication of his grammar, with all its defects, accompanied with reading books and Professor Gibbs's Manual Lexicon, greatly facilitated the progress of the scholar, and rendered the acquirement of the language far easier and more general. The grammar of Nordheimer, with its clear method of development, calling in the aid of comparative philology, and grounding its statements in phonic principles, far surpassed the work of Stuart, and has not, we must be allowed to suspect, been surpassed. The present work of Professor Green, however, will challenge the considerate attention of the practical teacher. It omits some of the peculiarities of Nordheimer that we should have retained. Its treatment of the noun declensions will doubtless be generally approved. It embodies the results of independent research, and though acknowledging its indebtedness to its predecessors, will probably be found to possess eminent merits of its own.

◆

Latin Accidence and Primary Lesson Book; containing a full Exhibition of the Forms of Words and First Lessons in Reading. By **George W. Collord**, A.M., Professor of Latin and Greek in the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute. 12mo., pp. 347. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

The production of a successful practical teacher. Professor Collord designs this book as a preparatory and accompaniment to Dr. M'Clintock's First Book in Latin. It presents peculiar advantages in its grouping, paradigms, and questions. A few brief reading lessons and a vocabulary are appended. The proof of every elementary book is in the use; we recommend the present volume to the trial.

◆

Method of Classical Study, illustrated by Questions on a few Selections from Latin and Greek Authors. By **Samuel H. Taylor**, LL.D., Principal of Phillips's Academy, Andover, Mass. 12mo., pp. 154. Boston: Brown & Taggard. 1861.

The proverb is not quite true that "any fool knows *how* to ask questions." It is a difficult attainment, and forms much of the quality of the true practical instructor. And nowhere is it better taught for the classical drill than in this little manual.

The commencing pupil or inexperienced teacher has his Latin or Greek sentence before him. What is he to do with it? By what steps, and directing his attention to what points, is he to attain the mastery of what classical learning requires to be known? Principal Taylor answers this query by a large train of interrogatories which guide the inquirer through the land. How thoroughly the work is done may be appreciated when we say, that on a large duodecimo page there is often one line of text and a residue of questions. A few lines from Esop, Nepos, Cicero, Virgil, Xenophon, and Homer, furnish the subject of interrogative analysis. The book embodies a good thought well developed.

◆

Primary Object-Lessons for a Graduated Course of Development. A Manual for Teachers and Parents, with Lessons for the proper training of the Faculties of Children. By N. A. CALKINS. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

This is one of the many ingenious works produced by the inventive educational spirit of our times. Begin with things, and advance by words through forms, colors, and motions up to principles. This is doubtless truly nature's method, though art has taken a somewhat different route. In the hands of a true teacher this book leads by a delightful path to knowledge.

◆

An Elementary Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. By BENJAMIN PEIRCE, LL.D, Perkins Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics in Harvard University. Revised edition. 8vo., pp. 359. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1861.

The revision for the new edition of this standard work has been made under the direction of the eminent author.

◆

First Lessons in Greek: the Beginner's Companion-Book to Hadley's Grammar. By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, Conn. 12mo., pp. 120. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

◆

Belles Lettres and Classical.

The Recreations of a Country Parson. Second series. 12mo., pp. 429. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861.

The rural pastor is not in a hurry. He does not hold that, life being short, your problem is to accomplish the most possible, and that the way to accomplish most is to ply muscle with the largest force. He makes no effort to crowd as much thought in as few words as possible, with a maximum of matter per page, as if he were determined that you should have the worth of your purchase money in the solid intellectual ingot. There are those perhaps, he thinks, whose task of life is a gentle and a leisurely one, and whose bland influence is more humanizing and purifying to our atmosphere than the agitations and storms produced by our thunder-and-lightning heroes and reformers. Quietly then does he survey the scene of men and things, analyzing the shapes, colorings, and motions of human life around him.

The Parson writes "concerning" a great many things, to wit: Future Years, The Pulpit in Scotland, (we are revolving the contents backward, by the way,) Friends in Council, Man and his Dwelling-place, Glasgow, Solitary Days, Screws, Churchyards, etc. We give some extracts from his Pulpit in Scotland.

What the Scotch preachers owe to effective delivery.

> There is only one account given by all who have heard the most striking Scotch preachers, as to the proportion which their manner bears in the effect produced. Lockhart, late of the *The Quarterly*, says of Chalmers: "Never did the world possess any orator whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says; whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third excellence in his oratory, more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers." The same words might be repeated of Caird, who has succeeded to Chalmers's fame. A hundred little circumstances of voice and manner—even of appearance and dress—combine to give his oratory its overwhelming power. And where manner is everything, difference in manner is a total difference. Nor does manner affect only the less educated and intelligent class of hearers. It cannot be doubted that the unparalleled impression produced, even on such men as Wilberforce, Canning, Lockhart, Lord Jeffrey, and Prince Albert, was mainly the result of manner. In point of substance and style, many English preachers are quite superior to the best of the Scotch. In these respects, there are no preachers in Scotland who come near the mark of Melvill, Manning, Arnold, or Bishop Wilberforce. Lockhart says of Chalmers: "I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in point of argument, and I have heard very many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance, both of conception and of style; but most unquestionably I have never heard, either in England or Scotland, or in any other country, a preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his." The best proof how much Chalmers owed to his manner is, that in his latter days, when he was no longer able to give them with his wonted animation and feeling, the very same discourses fell quite flat on his congregation.—Pp. 366, 367.

Proportions of logic and rhetoric.

> Sir Walter Scott, in *Rob Roy*, in describing the preacher whom the hero heard in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, says that his countrymen are much more accessible to logic than rhetoric, and that this fact determines the character of the preaching which is most acceptable to them. If the case was such in those times, matters are assuredly quite altered now. Logic is indeed not overlooked; but it is brilliancy of illustration, and, above all, great feeling and earnestness, which go down. Mr. Caird, the most popular of modern Scotch preachers, though possessing a very powerful and logical mind, yet owes his popularity with the mass of hearers almost entirely to his tremendous power of feeling and producing emotion. By way of contrast to Sydney Smith's picture of the English pulpit manner, let us look at one of Chalmers's great appearances. Look on *that* picture, and then on this: "The Doctor's manner during the whole delivery of that magnificent discourse was strikingly animated; while the enthusiasm and energy he threw into some of his bursts rendered them quite overpowering. One expression which he used, together with his action, his look, and the tones of his voice, made a most vivid and indelible impression on my memory.... While uttering these words, which he did with peculiar emphasis, *accompanying them with a flash from his eye and a stamp of his*

foot, he threw his right arm with clenched fist right across the book-board, and brandished it full in the face of the Town Council, sitting in state before him. The words seemed to startle, like an electric shock, the whole audience." Very likely they did; but we should regret to see a bishop, or even a dean, have recourse to such means of producing an impression. We shall give one other extract descriptive of Chalmers's manner: "It was a transcendently grand, a glorious burst. The energy of his action corresponded. Intense emotion beamed from his countenance. I cannot describe the appearance of his face better than by saying it was lighted up almost into a glare. The congregation were intensely excited, leaning forward in the pews like a forest bending under the power of the hurricane, looking steadfastly at the preacher, and listening in breathless wonderment. So soon as it was concluded, there was (as invariably was the case at the close of the doctor's bursts) a deep sigh, or rather gasp for breath, accompanied by a movement throughout the whole audience."—Pp. 368, 369.

Reading or memorizing.

We believe that Melvill in his early days delivered his sermons from memory, and of late years only has taken to reading, to the considerable diminution of the effect he produces. We may here remark, that in some country districts the prejudice of the people against clergymen reading their sermons is excessive. It is indeed to be admitted that it is a more natural thing that a speaker should look at the audience he is addressing, and appear to speak from the feeling of the moment, than that he should read to them what he has to say; but it is hard to impose upon a parish minister, burdened with pastoral duty, the irksome school-boy task of committing to memory a long sermon, and perhaps two, every week. The system of reading is spreading rapidly in the Scotch Church, and seems likely in a few years to become all but universal. Caird reads his sermons closely on ordinary Sundays, but delivers entirely from memory in preaching on any particular occasion.—P. 370.

"Sensation" preaching and preachers are not monopolized by America.

Let not English readers imagine, when we speak of the vehemence of the Scotch pulpit, that we mean only a gentlemanly degree of warmth and energy. It often amounts to the most violent melo-dramatic acting. Sheil's Irish speeches would have been immensely popular Scotch sermons, so far as their style and delivery are concerned. The physical energy is tremendous. It is said that when Chalmers preached in St. George's, Edinburgh, the massive chandeliers, many feet off, were all vibrating. He had often to stop, exhausted, in the midst of his sermon, and have a psalm sung till he recovered breath. Caird begins quietly, but frequently works himself up to a frantic excitement, in which his gestulation is of the wildest, and his voice an absolute howl. One feels afraid that he may burst a bloodvessel. Were his hearers' cool enough to criticise him, the impression would be at an end; but he has wound them up to such a pitch that criticism is impossible. They must sit absolutely passive, with nerves tingling and blood pausing; frequently many of the congregation have started to their feet. It may be imagined how heavily the physical energies of the preacher are drawn upon by this mode of speaking. Dr. Bennie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and one of the most eloquent and effective of Scotch pulpit orators, is said to have died at an age much short of fifty, worn out by the enthusiastic animation of his style. There are some little accessories of the Scotch pulpit, which in England are unknown; such as thrashing the large Bible which lies before the minister—long pauses to recover breath—much wiping of the face—sodorific results to an unpleasant degree necessitating an entire change of apparel after preaching.—Pp. 371, 372.

A notice of Dr. Caird.

In May, 1854, Mr. Caird preached this discourse in the High Church, Edinburgh, before the Commissioner who represents her Majesty at the meetings of the General Assembly of the Scotch Church, and an exceedingly crowded and brilliant audience. Given there, with all the skill of the most accomplished actor, yet with a simple earnestness which prevented the least suspicion of anything like acting, the impression it produced is described as something marvelous. Hard-headed Scotch lawyers, the last men in the world to be carried into superlatives, declared that never till then did they understand what effect could be produced by human speech. But we confess that, now we have these magic words to read quietly at home, we find it something of a task to get through them.—Pp. 380, 381.

Elijah. A sacred Drama, and other Poems. By Rev. ROBERT DAVIDSON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 184. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

The principal poem in this little volume transports the reader into the scenes of Hebrew struggle with the Canaanite idolatries, in which Elijah was the hero of the cause of Jehovah. The elements which impress the imagination in those times are reproduced with historic truth and some poetic power. The other pieces, which are biblical and religious, will find, we doubt not, many a sympathizing reader, and be productive of the benefits which form the author's aim.

Lectures on the English Language. By GEORGE P. MARSH. First Series. Fourth Edition. Revised and Enlarged. 8vo., pp. 709. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

It is an honor to our country that a fourth edition, revised and enlarged, of this magnificent work should be so soon demanded. We repeat our recommendations to our young scholars especially to give to this volume a thorough study, and not only acquire from it a large amount of knowledge, but inhale the spirit of thorough and critical investigation into the history and mystery of their mother tongue.

Juvenile.

Glen Morris Stories. Walter Sherwood; the easy, good-natured Boy. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., Author of "Jennie Carlton," "Dick Duncan," "My Uncle Toby's Library," etc. 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Howe & Ferry. 1862. On sale by Carlton & Porter.

In a concluding note Mr. Forrester announces that one more volume will complete the series of "Glen Morris Stories." We have it from reliable sources that this series has hardly its equal in the department it occupies.

Miscellaneous.

The New American Encyclopedia. A Popular Dictionary of Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Volume 13. Parr—Redowitz. 8vo., pp. 807. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861.

Adventures in the South Pacific. Illustrated. By a roving Printer. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

A Course of Six Lectures on the Chemical History of a Candle: to which is added a Lecture on Platinum. By PROFESSOR FARADAY. With numerous Illustrations. 18mo., pp. 217. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1862.

Art. I.—METAPHYSICS OF WATSON'S INSTITUTES.

It is worthy of being noted that, while many theologians have condemned philosophy—shutting it, as they supposed, out of the region of theology, and cautioning their hearers to "beware that no man beguile them through philosophy"—their own theological system was built upon a philosophy, and permeated and tinged, in all its details, by philosophic speculation. The moment a man passes in thought from the simple, didactic utterances of Scripture, and attempts a higher generalization—the moment he commences gathering the short and pregnant sentences in which *Truth* is scattered almost at random over the sacred page, like pearls and gems upon a coral strand, and attempts to string them up into a theological creed, or arrange them in the cabinet of a theological system—and especially the moment he carries the profound utterances of Scripture into the system of things around him, and attempts to quadrate them with other truths taught in science or given in human consciousness, *that moment he begins to philosophize.* He may not have made philosophy, as taught in the schools, a subject of formal and systematic study, yet in the writings of other theologians, or floating in the atmosphere of intellectual society and converse, he has come in contact with the axioms and conclusions of philosophy, he has unconsciously inhaled them, they have found a place in his belief, and, even when he has no intention to philosophize, with a religious horror of all philosophy, they have, nevertheless, become a *part of his theology.*

That we may clearly apprehend the philosophic views of Mr. Watson, and fairly estimate their influence on his theology, (Theological Institutes,) it will be necessary that we glance at the systems of philosophy which were prevalent and influential in his day.

There are two schools of philosophy which may be said to have divided and given direction to the philosophic thought of the last century: the Sensational or Empirical, and the Transcendental or Rational. Their representatives respectively may be found in Locke and Kant: Locke at the head of the Sensational, Kant at the head of the Transcendental school.

The former, the *Empirical* school, holds that all the simple ideas existing in the human mind are the direct and only result of sensation, and that all our knowledge is derived from experience. Not only the *matter* of our ideas, but also their *form;* not merely the *occasion* of our ideas, but their *cause*, is from without. The mind itself does not supply one element of truth. It has no standards of truth within itself. Nor does it, of itself, affirm any first principles, any primitive cognitions, judgments, or beliefs which are necessary to the attainment of truth. The human mind is an empty vessel, into which our sensations—a heterogeneous mixture—are poured from the external world, upon which the mind itself exerts no modifying influence, does not even give a color to the liquid, but simply retains it in memory until it shall crystalize into the classifications of science. Or, to employ the favorite figure of Locke himself, the mind is a "tabula rasa"—a blank sheet of paper, void of all characters, and without any ideas, on which the external world, by a species of photography, writes its own images, and those which bear a strong resemblance naturally blend so as to form species and genera, the highest generalization becoming the apex of all science. *Man, therefore, has no ideas of right and wrong, of duty, of accountability, of retribution, of immortality, or of* GOD, *except as derived from without.* This school of philosophy landed, as indeed it must inevitably land, in pure materialism, and numbers among its disciples, or more properly, its high priests, such writers as Hartley, Priestley, Combe, and Aug. Comte.

The *Transcendental* school, while it does not affirm the doctrine of innate ideas—that is, does not teach that there are some truths found in all minds expressed in formal or logical propositions, affirms that there are specific *forms* into which human thought must necessarily develop itself, just as a grain of wheat must necessarily develop itself into "the blade, and ear, and full corn in the ear," or an acorn develop into the majestic oak. There are fundamental laws of the human intelligence which constrain man, in view of the facts of the universe, to affirm certain necessary judgments and beliefs. Experience furnishes the *material* of our ideas, reason imposes the *form*. Experience is the *occasion* of their production, but their real *cause* is to be found in the spontaneous energy of mind itself; as warmth and moisture are the *occasion* of germination, the necessary condition of development, but the *real cause* is the mysterious vitality of the seed itself and the necessary laws of vegetative life.

The human intelligence is configured and correlated to eternal principles of order, and right, and good as they exist in the Infinite Intelligence. Man is the offspring and the image of God. And when a principle or an act is apprehended by the understanding, the mind passes a judgment upon the relation of that principle or act to these laws of order and right and good. Through the *understanding*, or notion-forming power, we obtain conceptions of all objects of perception, internal and external, as event, body, succession, the condition, the finite; the *reason* gives the necessary ideas which are the logical antecedents of these facts of perception, as the ideas of cause, space, time, the unconditioned, the infinite; and the *judgment*, or logical faculty, affirms the necessary relation between these understanding conceptions and these ideas of pure reason. Thus, for example, the understanding gives us the conception of "an *event*"—that which had a beginning, which now has a dependent existence, and which may have an end; the reason gives, as the logical antecedent of an effect, the idea of "*cause*;" and the judgment affirms the necessary relation of the two—"*every event must have a cause.*" Hence the scientific accuracy of that distribution of all the necessary intuitions of the mind adopted by McCosh, namely: 1st, "primitive cognitions," the necessary forms of the understanding concepts; 2d, "primitive beliefs," the necessary ideas of the reason; 3d, "primitive judgments," the necessary affirmations of the logical faculty. This school of philosophy, therefore, affirms that man is so constituted by the great Architect of his mental being—God has imposed upon his intelligence such laws of thought as determine him to form the idea of God, of right and wrong, of duty, and of accountability.

So much being premised, we have now no difficulty in determining Mr. Watson's relations to the prevailing schools of philosophy. Unquestionably he attaches himself to the system of Locke; he was a disciple of the Empirical school. In the absence of more direct evidence this might safely be presumed. The system of Locke was the over-towering and all-pervading philosophy of his country, especially of his day. In the English universities and schools of learning his imperial name ruled supreme. Kant had not then exerted, nor even now does he exert, any controlling and determining influence on the current of speculative thought in England. True, the leading and fundamental principles of his "Critique of Pure Reason" were incipient in the Scottish philosophy. The aim of Kant and Reid was identical; the starting-point in each system was the same; they both sought to determine whether there are any "first truths" given in the human intelligence, and they both commenced by asking, "What are the fundamental principles of the reason?" So, also, the philosophy of Hamilton, the disciple and annotator of Reid, is virtually the philosophy of Kant;* while Hamilton has not departed from, but more perfectly developed the method of his Scottish master. But while there is internal evidence in the "Institutes" that Watson had studied the writings of Reid, and was acquainted with his method, he was not, he could not, as we shall presently see, be a disciple of the Scottish school. That Watson was, in philosophy, a Sensationalist, must, we think, be evident to every discriminating mind furnished with even a very slender acquaintance with the history of modern philosophy. A careful perusal of the chapters "On the Presumptive Evidences" in Part I, the chapter "On the Existence of God" in Part II, and the first chapter of Part III, "On the Moral Law," will be decisive of this question in every intelligent mind. He affirms, with earnestness and emphasis, that we have no idea of God, of right and wrong, and of immortality, except as derived from *without* by *instruction* and *verbal revelation;* that, indeed, we have no *faculty of knowing* on any of these subjects, except faith.

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* It is matter of astonishment that many persons who have eagerly embraced the philosophic views of Sir William Hamilton are vehement in their denunciation of "the transcendental nonsense of Kant," when any one acquainted with the writings of these two distinguished men must know that the philosophy of Hamilton is essentially the philosophy of Kant. The denial of the possibility of a philosophy of the "*unconditioned*" is common to both; the "antinomies" of Kant are the "contradictions" of Hamilton; that our knowledge is *relative*, that it is of phenomena and not of things *in se*, is the doctrine of both; and they are agreed in pronouncing the ontological and cosmological arguments for the existence of God as *insufficient*, and in resting solely on the psychological.

Accordingly, on page 274, vol. i, we read, "We are all conscious that we gain our knowledge of God by *instruction* . . . we owe our knowledge of the existence of God and his attributes to *revelation* ALONE;" and at page 272 he quotes, with approval, the words of Ellis, and adopts them as his own: "God is the only way to himself; he cannot be *in the least* come at, defined, or demonstrated by human reason." At page 10, vol. i, he asserts "that *nothing* appears in the constitution of nature, or in the proceedings of the Divine administration, to indicate it to be the will of God that the appetites should be restrained within the rules of sobriety, except that, by a connection which has been established by Him, the excessive indulgence of these appetites usually impairs health." There is, therefore, no "law written upon the heart" indicating that intemperance and licentiousness are criminal and wrong, and the human intelligence can reach no other conception of virtue than that propounded on Paley's "selfish theory" of morals. The design of the whole of this chapter ii is to prove "that the rule which determines the quality of moral action must be presumed to be matter of [oral] revelation from God." In relation to the doctrine of Immortality, he remarks, at page 11, vol. i, "All *observation lies directly against the doctrine of the immortality of man.* He dies! and the probabilities of a future life which have been established upon the unequal distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, and the capacities of the human soul, are a presumptive evidence which has been adduced *only* by those to whom the doctrine had been transmitted by *tradition,* and who were, therefore, in possession of the idea." It is, therefore, but natural that he should enter his solemn protest against the attempt to construct a science of NATURAL THEOLOGY, or of MORAL PHILOSOPHY, as a design which is not only "visionary" and "impossible," but of "mischievous tendency," and they who are engaged in it are accessory to the infidel crusade against the word of God.

In the "Theological Institutes" we do not find Mr. Watson recognizes any "first truths," "intuitive beliefs," "fundamental and necessary ideas of pure reason" as the basis of the Theistic argument or the foundation of an ethical system. Even the principle of causality is not a *necessary intuition;* the relation of cause and effect is matter of *argument* and *proof.** Reason is not, with him, an intuitive but a discussive faculty. It does not apprehend *à priori*, self-evident, necessary truth. According to the usage of the Empirical school, he employs the term to designate the logical faculty, and, as such, he pronounces it a "weak," "uncertain," and "erring" faculty, which "may be the reverse of the Divine reason."—P. 97, vol. i.

It would ill become us to complain that Mr. Watson should have entertained these views. They were the prevailing opinions of his country and age. They were entertained by Locke,† Ellis,‡ Leland,§ Horsley,‖ and other equally distinguished and honored names. Watson has, at least, this advantage: he stands amid illustrious men. Yet we can ill conceal our regrets. His design was noble and praiseworthy. He sought to prove the *necessity* of oral revelation, and vindicate for it the honor of furnishing all our knowledge of God, duty, and immortality; but in thus attempting to build up a strong presumption in favor of revealed religion by rejecting the intuitions of the human mind, and casting doubt upon the veracity of our faculties, the foundations of all truth are loosened and unsettled; yea, the very fundamental truths upon which we must plant our argument in demonstrating the truth of a revelation from God; and the inquiring mind is cast afloat upon an open sea of doubt.

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* "We allow that the *argument which proves* that the effects with which we are surrounded must have been caused" is simple, obvious, and forcible.—P. 273, vol. i.

† "Reasonableness of Christianity."

‡ "Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature."

§ "Necessity of Revelation."

‖ "Dissertations," etc.

NATURAL THEOLOGY.

The fundamental question which meets us at the threshold of a theological course, and which must be determined before we can logically or safely proceed another step, is, "How am I to certify myself of the being of a God?" That he *does* exist must be determined before I can consider the evidences of a revelation professing to be from him, or inquire into the duties which I owe to him.

As to the nature of the *evidence* by which the existence of God is to be rendered certain to us, theologians are divided. Some assume that the being of God is purely a truth of revelation; others regard it as a truth resting on reason and revelation conjointly; while a third class regard it as resting, in its last analysis, on the light of nature alone.

Mr. Watson is to be regarded of that number who assume that the being of God *is purely a truth of revelation.* His position on the Theistic argument is that "we owe our knowledge of the EXISTENCE of God and of his attributes," not to the light of nature, or to reason and revelation conjointly, but "to *revelation* ALONE."—Vol. i, p. 271. There is nothing in the mental or moral nature of man which prompts him to inquire after God: "He is wholly the creature of appetite; labor, feasting, and sleeping divide his time and wholly occupy his thoughts."—P. 271. There are no necessary intuitions of the mind, no fundamental laws of the intelligence, which involve the idea of a Supreme Being; "he has not *one known or sure principle* to ground it upon, . . . not one *term or proposition* to fix his procedure upon."*—P. 272. "We are all conscious that we obtain the knowledge of God by INSTRUCTION, and just in proportion to the want of instruction men are ignorant, as of other things, so of God."—P. 274. "Had no idea of spiritual beings, or of a Supreme Creator and Ruler, been suggested by TRADITION and instruction, the fact of God's existence would not have been within the reach of man, *even in its most imperfect form*, and could never have been discovered by the unassisted faculties of man."—P. 272. "The doctrine that there is a God was extensively spread at a very ancient period, [by TRADITION,] and plainly takes away a great part of the foundation of those arguments on which the moderns have so confidently rested for the demonstration of the existence of God, *whether drawn from the works of nature or from metaphysical principles*."—P. 21. "The simple truth of the existence of a First Cause is not within the compass of human powers."—P. 270. NATURAL THEOLOGY is, therefore, as a science, an *à priori* impossibility. "God is the only way to himself; he cannot, *in the least*, be come at, defined, or DEMONSTRATED by human reason" (p. 272) without previous suggestion by a direct revelation.

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* See further his quotations from Ellis, Hare, Gleig, and Van Mildert, pp. 272, 273.

On some occasions Mr. Watson seems to make a distinction between the *discovery* and the *demonstration* of the truth of God's existence; and on this apparent distinction, for it is not a real one, some of his admirers have concluded his doctrine to be, that when once the idea of a God has been suggested by revelation the human reason can elaborate the demonstration of his existence—revelation gives the *idea* of God, reason the *proof*.

A more exact and critical attention to the entire scope and structure of his argument must, however, result in the conviction that this is a misapprehension, and that the position of Mr. Watson is that the proof of the Divine existence, in its last analysis, rests upon the authority of revelation ALONE. The aim of his reasoning, from pp. 267 to 274, is to show that "we owe our *knowledge* of God's existence to *revelation* ALONE." And by "knowledge" here Mr. Watson does not mean the mere idea or notion of a God, but the *γνῶσις ὅτι ἔστι*—the certain knowledge that he *is*. This clear and certain knowledge that God exists cannot be attained by human reasoning. Reason is inadequate, not only to the discovery but to the demonstration of this truth: "God cannot, in the least, be come at, defined, or demonstrated by human reason."—P. 272. It is also evident that in Mr. Watson's argument "to discover" and "to demonstrate" are equipollent; they are terms of accord, and involve and weigh each other. "If a truth so essential to the whole Mosaic system," as this of the being of a God, "had been *discovered* by the successive investigations of wise men . . . we might naturally expect that a statement of the arguments by which it was *demonstrated* would have been given as a fit introduction to a book professing to contain a revelation from him."—P. 269. The discovery of this truth necessarily involves a demonstration of its truth, and the ability to demonstrate implies the ability to discover.

We are not unmindful of the fact, or at all disposed to overlook it, that after Mr. Watson has announced "the existence of God" as a doctrine of Holy Scripture, he then proceeds to develop the "*à posteriori*" argument for the being of a God. But he adduces this argument only as corroborative and confirmatory of the testimony of Scripture, and by no means *as in itself* a sufficient, complete, and decisive proof; it is not regarded by him as a *demonstration* based on the facts of the universe and the necessary intuitions of the mind.* "*The à posteriori argument does not of itself confirm the conclusions* . . . that the world had one Creator, that he is an incorporeal Spirit, that he is eternal, self-existent, immortal, and independent."—P. 274. "No subject has employed the thoughts and pens of the most profound thinkers more than the *demonstration* of the being and attributes of God; and the evidence from fact, reason, and the nature of things which has been collected is *large and instructive.* These researches have not, however, brought to light any new attribute of God not found in Scripture. *This is a strong presumption that the* ONLY *source of our notions on this subject is the manifestation which God has been pleased to make of himself, and a confirmation that human reason, if left to itself, had never made the slightest discovery respecting the Divine nature.*—P. 275. True, he admits that "the abundant rational evidence of the existence of God," which may now be so easily collected, "is CONVINCING," but "that is no proof that without instruction the human mind could ever have made the discovery."—P. 272. Against the notion of the eternity of matter philosophy can now adduce a "SATISFACTORY argument," but it was "never discovered by philosophy unaided by the Scriptures."—P. 274. The *à posteriori* argument is not, therefore, an independent, conclusive demonstration; it would have *no* value were not the existence of God "*discovered*" by revelation.—P. 274. "As to what is revealed," the evidences from fact, reason, and the nature of things are of great importance in the controversy with polytheism and atheism," (p. 275;) but these are really not needed to give *certitude* to the Christian's faith, as it stands upon a surer foundation—the revelation of God; "the authority of a *revealed* truth stands on infinitely higher ground than our perception of its *reasonableness*."*—P. 475.

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* Mr. Watson's doctrine is, "the arguments of natural theologians derive their validity from certain 'bases' supplied by revelation, on which they are built."—See page 21, second paragraph.

In the *à priori* argument Mr. Watson seems to repose less confidence than in an induction from the facts of the universe. "The existence of God admits of no such demonstration; in the nature of things it is impossible."—P. 331. It would appear from Mr. Watson's treatment of this argument that he did not fully apprehend it. He characterizes it as "an argument from cause to effect," whereas it is an argument from *à priori* truths—a logical deduction from axiomatic, self-evident, and necessary truths. Inasmuch, however, as he does not admit that there are any primary truths, any intuitive cognitions, beliefs, or judgments given in the human intelligence, he pronounces the *à priori* argument *impossible*. "There is nothing prior to God; [what a misapprehension of the argument!] nothing in nature, nothing in reason; therefore the attempt is fruitless." Surely Mr. Watson must have known that the question is not, Is there anything prior to God? but, Are there any *à priori* truths of reason? To instance one such truth: "every event must have a cause;" here is an *à priori* truth, a necessary belief of the human intelligence. Mr. Watson regards this as an induction from experience, and as requiring proof; he also introduces it into his *à posteriori* argument, and even then casts doubt upon its sufficiency to lead the mind beyond an eternal succession of causes and effects. It would not teach him that the universe, as an effect, must have had a cause.† (See pp. 273, 274.)

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* In note at page 275 is a quotation from, Ellis in which he says: "Tell men that there is a God, and the mind embraces it as a *necessary* truth." But how a *necessary* truth? As yet it rests on authority and testimony. Necessary truth is perceived *intuitively*, or reached by *demonstration*. Whatever the mind perceives "intuitively" must be within the range of the human faculties, and *discoverable*; and whatever is *demonstrable* must be a necessary deduction from axiomatic, self-evident truth; this also must be within the reach of the human mind. But Ellis affirms, "God cannot be come at or demonstrated by human reason."

† Mr. Watson pronounces the *à priori* argument as not only "fruitless" but "mischievous" and dangerous. "We need only instance the *doctrine* of the neces-

Finding that the *à priori* and *à posteriori* arguments are both alike insufficient to furnish a complete and independent demonstration of the being of a God, and that human reason is unable, without a revelation from God in human language, to certify itself that God exists, he "concludes that we owe the knowledge of the existence of God to *revelation* ALONE."

Now we ask permission, very deferentially, to dissent from this conclusion of Mr. Watson's on the following grounds:

I. If we owe our knowledge of the existence of God to revelation *alone*, *then it is impossible to prove*, *logically*, *the existence of God.*

Let us grant that Mr. Watson has sustained his argument, and shut us up to the conclusion that "God is the only way to himself, and that he cannot in the least be come at or demonstrated by human reason; that we can *know* that he exists only by a miraculous manifestation of his personal existence and a communication from him in human language." The question now arises, How am I to certify myself that such a revelation has been given? True, we have a book which professes to be a revelation from God—a book which says "there is a God!" and which records numerous "appearances" of God to men in bygone days. But that assertion is not *proof* that such a being does exist, any more than the assertion of the Koran or the Zendavesta, until I have rationally demonstrated that the Bible is an authentic revelation, and that here I have the veritable words of God. By this method the truth of God's existence is remitted solely to the testimony of Scripture, and the question whether the Scriptures are a revelation from God is referred solely to the arbitrations of a faculty which is pronounced to be "weak, uncertain, and erring," "which may be the reverse of the divine reason," and in whose demonstrations of the exist-

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sary existence of the Deity when reasoned *à priori*" as an example of its mischievous tendency. "Some acute infidels have thanked those for the discovery who intended nothing so little as to encourage error, and have argued from that notion that the Supreme Being cannot be a free agent."—P. 330. But is not the "necessary" existence of God a *certain* truth in whatever way reasoned? Does not John Howe, as quoted by Watson on page 83, argue that "God doth necessarily exist?" Surely the necessary existence of God does not destroy his "free agency" because he cannot *will* to exist or not to exist! Why this is the very definition of "necessary" existence, as given at page 83: "That which is in being, neither by its own choice nor another's, is *necessarily*."

ence of God I am not permitted to repose any confidence.* Now, if *reason* is totally unreliable in *this* case, it must be in *that;* if it mislead me in the one instance, I cannot trust it on the other; if it is wholly incompetent to produce certitude when the existence of God is under consideration, it must also when the truth of the Bible is under consideration. If there are no fundamental, axiomatic, necessary truths upon which I may fall back and find some solid rock on which to plant my *reasoning* in both instances, then I may ask mournfully and hopelessly, "What is truth?" and only receive back an unsympathizing, an unmeaning echo.

II. If we owe the knowledge of the existence of God to *revelation* ALONE, then we cannot, by human reason, prove that the Bible is a revelation from God.

Revelation is unsusceptible of proof if its truth rest upon nothing save itself. He who was himself the great revealer said, "If I bear witness of *myself* my witness is not true." We cannot prove the Bible to be the word of God if the fact of the divine existence rests solely upon it, and is not rationally demonstrable by any independent line of argument. The *truth* of the divine existence is absolutely necessary in order to establish the authority of a revelation from him; that truth must, therefore, be rationally demonstrable antecedently to any credible testimony from him. We must either *postulate* or *prove* the existence of God before we can attempt the first argument to prove the truth of the Bible.

These remarks find a striking illustration in Mr. Watson's method of conducting the argument for the divinity of the Holy Scriptures. The entire reasoning proceeds upon the *assumption* that there is a God. He does not first attempt the proof of his existence. He denies to "unassisted" reason the ability to demonstrate that there is a God. We must procure our knowledge of God from revelation alone. In order, therefore, to prove the truth of the Holy Scriptures *he has first to assume what he cannot prove*, namely, the existence of God; and then having, as he supposes, proved the truth of revelation, he proves *from* revelation the existence of God. In other words, he says, Grant me that God exists and I will prove the Bible to be true, and then from the Bible I will prove the being of a God. If this be not an example of the *petitio principii*—a mere begging of the question—then we do not understand his argument. He is all the while arguing in a vicious circle. "The present argument," says he, "being supposed to be with one who believes in a God . . . our observations will have the advantage of certain first principles which that belief concedes."—P. 95. "Let it then be *granted* by the theist, which he cannot consistently deny, the existence of a Supreme Creator . . . who has both made and continues to govern men, and the strongest presumption is afforded that he has given his authority in favor of virtue and against vice."—P. 6. But how can Mr. Watson ask or expect the theist to grant to him that a Supreme Creator exists if he denies to the theist that this fundamental truth is demonstrable by reason. We cannot argue with the theist, much less with the atheist, unless we are agreed to accept certain principles as *necessarily*, or as *demonstrably true*, and which first truths shall constitute the premises of our argument. There is no logical consistency in the attempt to base our argument upon an *assumption* which we have already characterized as undemonstrable and baseless, simply because it may happen to be the belief of our adversary. It is doing business on a fictitious capital—passing what we know is not good coin. We must plant our argument upon a solid, immovable foundation, and not upon what we avow is illogical and incapable of proof. Mr. Watson has no right to commence his argument by taking for *granted* the existence of God unless he believes it to be a necessary truth, or a logical deduction from a necessary truth. He cannot *assume* that truth on the authority of revelation, because, as yet, the truth of revelation is under discussion, and is itself in abeyance. In discussing the "Evidences," the Bible itself is put upon its trial, and no doctrine contained in and grounded upon the Bible can be assumed as true, or become part of the proof, *unless that truth can be antecedently demonstrated by some independent line of proof, or is itself an axiomatic* TRUTH.

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* When, in the use of our reasoning faculties, we attempt to interpret the revelation which God has made of himself in the material creation, and has written on our hearts, (Romans i, 19, 20,) we are instantly met by the protest that "reason is a weak and erring faculty," and may be the reverse of the Divine!" And yet to this weak and uncertain faculty Mr. Watson assigns the work of "investigating the evidences upon which a revelation is founded, and of interpreting that revelation according to the ordinary rules of interpretation in other cases."—P. 102. Is not the "law written on the heart" as much a revelation from God as the "law written on tables of stone?" Is not "the eternal power and Godhead manifested in the works of God" a revelation of God as much as "the love of God displayed in the Gospel?" But if reason is inadequate to the interpretation of one, it is inadequate to the interpretation of ALL.

III. If we owe the knowledge of the existence of God to revelation ALONE, then to the overwhelming masses of the human race, now and in all past ages, their knowledge of God has rested entirely on TRADITION.

Human reason cannot demonstrate the existence of God. Man had no motives and no disposition to inquire after God; there was not anything in his nature or his circumstances to prompt him to investigation. Philosophy could never have proved that nature "is not an eternal succession of causes and effects." Mankind could not have "demonstrated to themselves that the great collection of bodies which we call the world had *one* Creator." "Certain it is that the argument *à posteriori* does not of itself confirm all these conclusions, and the argument *à priori* is not so satisfactory as to leave no rational doubt as to its conclusions."—P. 274. *Natural theism is, therefore, impossible.*

If, then, the facts of the universe and the intuitions of the human mind have not been the basis of this belief, on what foundation has the universal faith of humanity rested? Has it had any foundation at all, or has it, like the almost universal belief in omens, specters, and oracles, been baseless as the fabric of a vision?

The answer of Mr. Watson is, that to the masses of humanity this belief in an invisible Supreme Power has rested solely on TRADITION. The existence of God was revealed to the first human pair, and by successive manifestations to the heads of the primitive families of men; "from them the *tradition* was transmitted to their descendants and universally diffused through the ancient world." Among the Jews it was preserved by continued visible manifestations of Jehovah; but among the rest of mankind it was corrupted, and, in some cases, entirely lost, as among the Hottentots of Africa and the aborigines of New South Wales.

The only medium by which this great truth, which is the basis of all law, government, and social order, the foundation of all morality and religion, could possibly become known to the masses of mankind, is tradition. The ultimate foundation on which the faith of universal humanity has rested, with the exception of the Israelites, and the favored few to whom the Gospel has come, has been and still is uncertain, precarious, and easily corrupted TRADITION!

To our mind this seems incredible. The human mind needs the idea of God to satisfy its deep moral necessities and harmonize its powers. Society needs it as a foundation for law and government, and as the ground and source of social order; without it these cannot be or be conserved. Intellectual creatureship, social order, human progress, are inconceivable and impossible without the idea of God. That the knowledge of so fundamental a truth should, to the masses of mankind, rest on *tradition*, is incredible. Is there no known and accessible God to the outlying millions of our race who, in consequence of their birth and education, over which they had no control, have had no access to revelation, and among whom the dim shadowy rays of an ancient tradition have long ago expired? What of the Fijian, who for thousands of years has dwelt alone in his isolate island home? Is not he a *natural* theist?* Was it impossible to God that his name should be so written on his great universe and his perfections so narrowed on the human soul that his *being* should be apparent? Could not he, whose "offspring" all men are, and "who is not far from any one of them;" he who has made of one blood all the nations, and determined beforehand the times in which they should live, and the bounds of their habitations, *that they might seek the Lord;*"† could not he have put into their hearts some deep-seated longing, some intuitive conviction, some *à priori* truth which should lead them "to feel after God and find him?" We humbly believe he could and has done so, else how can they be "*without excuse?*" Nay, does not Paul affirm "that which may be known of God is *manifested in their hearts*"—the law of conscience being one of God's revelations—"God having shown it to them; for his eternal power and Godhead, though they be invisible, yet are seen ever since the creation, being *understood by his works*"—God's revelation in nature; they have, therefore, no excuse.‡

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* See "Fiji and the Fijians," p. 169.

† Acts xvii, 26–28.

‡ Romans i, 19, 20.

IV. We will endeavor to show that *human reason can demonstrate from the facts of the universe and the intuitions of the mind that God exists*, and consequently that "our knowledge of the existence of God is" *not* 'derived from revelation ALONE."

Let it be distinctly borne in mind that the real question now before us is not how the idea of a God first became known, or now first becomes known to man? Whether our knowledge of God, as a part of our personal history, may have been obtained from the Bible, or tradition, or an instinctive belief, or from Schleiermacher's "religious consciousness," would not alter the conditions of the argument. We will admit that the first positive knowledge of God attained by the human race was received in a supernatural way by personal appearances and communications. The question we are now to discuss is, Can man attain to the knowledge of God's existence in any other way? Can he, from the light of nature, develop a proof which shall be logical, conclusive, and self-sufficient? We are not to inquire whether man in his early history was devoid of any knowledge of God, and, after ages of rational inquiry, made the sublime discovery that there is a God just in the same way as he reached the discovery that the earth is a sphere and not a parallelogram, and that it revolves around the sun, not the sun around it. Nor are we to inquire whether any man, or tribe of men, reached this truth independently of any traditional suggestions. Nor yet whether mankind could rise to that degree of civilization and mental culture which shall place human reason in fair conditions to pursue the necessary investigations without the aid of revelation. These certainly are points which are raised and discussed by Mr. Watson; but they are irrelevant to the main issue, as to the competency of human reason, from the facts of the universe and the intuition of the mind, to *demonstrate* the existence of God.

Instead, then, of our knowledge of God resting upon revelation ALONE, we regard the idea of God as a phenomenon of the universal human intelligence. It is in all minds in which reason is in any considerable degree developed, and is there as a NECESSARY truth. "The idea of God, the belief in God, may be justly represented as NATIVE to man. We are led to it by the circumstances in which we are placed calling into energy mental principles which are natural to all. Man does not require to go in search of it; it comes to him. He has only to be waiting for it, and disposed to receive it, and it will press upon him from all quarters; it springs up spontaneously, as a plant from its germ; it will well up from the depths of his soul; it will shine upon him from the works of nature as light from the sun."*

We do not, with Dr. Hickok, assert "that the idea of God is a *primary* intuition of pure reason," and "that we must go out of the Cosmos" in order to find God, (Rational Cosmology.) We regard it as a necessary deduction from the facts of the universe and the primary intuitions of the mind—a logical deduction from the self-evident truths given in sense, consciousness, and reason.

As the vital and rudimental germ of the oak is contained in the acorn—as it is quickened and excited to activity by the external conditions of moisture, light, and heat, and is fully developed under the fixed and determinative laws of vegetative life—so the germ of the idea of God is present in every human mind as the intuitions of pure reason, (PSYCHOLOGY;) these intuitions are excited into energy by our experimental and historic knowledge of the facts and laws of the universe, (PHENOMENOLOGY;) and these facts and intuitions are developed into scientific form by the necessary laws of the intellect, (NOMOLOGY OR LOGIC.)

The theistic argument is, therefore, necessarily composed of both experimental and *à priori* elements. But the intuitional *à priori* element is the logical basis, the only foundation of the *à posteriori* demonstration.† The facts of the universe alone could never prove to us the existence of God if the reason, in view of these facts, did not enounce certain necessary and universal truths which are their logical exponents and their adequate explanation. Of what use can it be to point to the ceaseless flux and change of the phenomena of the universe as a proof of the existence of a *First Cause*, unless we take account of the affirmation by the human intelligence of the universal and necessary truth that "every change, every event, must have a cause," and that there is a sufficient reason why events take place as they do and not otherwise. There would be no logical force in pointing to the facts of order and special adaptation in the universe to prove the existence of an *Intelligent Creator* had not the necessary intuitions of the mind enounced the universal truth "that facts of order, having a commencement in time, prove mind." There is no logical conclusiveness in the assertion of Paley, "that *experience* teaches us that a designer must be a person," because, as Hume remarks, "our experience" is narrowed down to a mere point, and cannot be "a rule for a universe;" but there is an infinitude of force in that universal truth affirmed by the *reason* "that intelligence, self-consciousness, and self-determination necessarily constitute personality." Hence it is solely because Mr. Watson degrades the *reason*—the faculty which apprehends eternal, necessary, universal truth—and undervalues and disregards its *à priori* intuitions, that he is unable to apprehend and feel the logical conclusiveness of the *à posteriori* demonstration of a God.

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* McCosh, "Intuitions of the Mind," p. 427.

† Mr. Watson says that revelation supplies the *bases* upon which the most convincing arguments are built.—P. 21.

We will now, with the reader's indulgence, attempt *an analysis of the belief in God, as developed in the human intelligence*, and which, we flatter ourselves, will be found a logical and scientific presentation.

Should our attempt be pronounced a failure, we shall console ourselves after the manner of Cousin, by remembering that "there are different proofs of the existence of God. The consoling result of my studies is that these different proofs are all more or less strict in form, but that all of them have a depth of truth which must only be disengaged and put in clear light to give them incontestible authority. Everything leads to God; there is no bad way of arriving at him; but we may go to him by different ways.*

We cannot, however, divest ourselves of the conviction that there is a *natural* order in which the belief in a God is developed in the intelligence, and it is the office of natural theology to render an account of and justify that belief, to point out how it originates in the human mind, and bring the whole matter into the light of scientific truth. That order we believe to be, first, the *known;* secondly, the *implied;* thirdly, the *deduced.*

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* "History of Modern Philosophy," vol. ii, p. 418.

The UNDERSTANDING, or notion-forming power, gives, as the necessary "concepts" of the facts of the universe,

"The known" PRIMITIVE COGNITIONS.

1. *Phenomena.* Qualities, material and mental.
2. *Events* transpiring in time, having beginning, succession, and end.
3. *Existences* in space, which are contingent, dependent, finite.
4. *Facts of Order* having a commencement in time.
5. *Special ends*, or *final causes*, why specific organisms and adjustments are made—an *end* proposed, and a *choice* and *adjustment* of means to secure that end.
6. *Retributive Issues;* "particular final causes of pleasure and pain."—BUTLER.

The REASON gives, as the necessary antecedents of the primitive cognitions of the understanding,

"The implied" PRIMITIVE BELIEFS.

1. The idea of *Substance*, or *reality*, as ground of all phenomena.
2. The idea of *Cause*, or substance having *power* to produce change.
3. The idea of *Being per se*—being self-existent, unconditioned, INFINITE, the first cause of all finite, dependent existence.
4. The idea of *Mind*, or *Intelligence*, as the source of order.
5. The idea of *Personality* as the ground of intelligent *purpose* and spontaneous *volition*—"a designer must be a *person*."—PALEY.
6. The idea of *Right* and *Wrong* as the source and rule of final causes of pleasure and pain.

The JUDGMENT, or *logical faculty*, gives, as the necessary relation between these understanding conceptions and these ideas of pure reason, the following *axioms:*

"The deduced" PRIMITIVE JUDGMENTS.

1. All phenomena implies substance or reality.
2. Every event must have an efficient cause.
3. There must be something prior to finite, dependent, changeful existence, which is self-existent, underived, eternal—Being *per se*.
4. Facts of order, having a commencement in time, imply mind as their source and exponent.
5. Intelligent purpose and voluntary choice imply personality.
6. Right and wrong, terminating in retributive issues of pleasure or pain, imply a moral government.

CONCLUSION.—A necessary deduction from the facts of the universe and the primary intuitions of the mind gives as the ground of all existence: 1st, a *real* being; 2d, an *efficient* cause; 3d, an *infinite* First Cause; 4th, an *intelligent* cause; 5th, a *personal* cause; 6th, a *moral governor*—A GOD.

In each of the above propositions we have an *understanding conception*—"a form" under which the mind necessarily conceives the facts of external and internal perception; we have also an *idea of pure reason*—an implied or implicit belief, arising spontaneously in the human mind in presence of the understanding conception; and, lastly, we have an *analytic judgment*—the affirmation of a necessary and universal relation between the two, the predicate being involved in the very notion of the subject.

Our space will not admit of more than a brief and yet we hope suggestive notice of each proposition.

1. *All phenomena or qualities imply substance or real being.* Here we have, 1st, a contingent element of thought; 2d, a necessary element of thought; and, 3d, an *à priori* intuition of the necessary and universal relation between the two.

The *senses* perceive only qualities: "I feel resistance, I see color, I am sensible of odor; but I cannot conceive of these qualities without the idea of a substance which is extended and solid, colored and odorous."* Qualities, as such, distinct from substance, are as incognizable and inconceivable as substance distinct from qualities. The *consciousness* perceives sensation, thought, volition; but it is impossible to conceive of these qualities without a real being which thinks, feels, and wills. We also *remember* mental states, of which we were conscious in years that are past; these varying states we refer to the same subject—the *ego* of consciousness. This is done *universally.* "Under its influence we hold ourselves and other men as bound to fulfill contracts and engagements made years ago. The righteous are rewarded and the wicked are punished for actions long since performed."† All this is grounded upon the necessary belief that the subject of all the varied mental states, and the performer of the varied actions, is the *same* being. And, finally, the understanding recognizes in the universe, as an effect, the appearances of order, intelligent purpose, and volition; and we cannot conceive of these only as attributes of a *real* being. If the world be a reality, if mind be a reality, and if these are effects, then their cause must be a real being—God is a *reality.*

2. *Every event or change must have an adequate cause.* When an event is presented to the understanding—when a new substance is produced, or a change takes place in an already existing one—we at once conceive of it as an EFFECT, and the reason intuitively affirms that it has a CAUSE. Even if the event be one of which we have no previous knowledge, if it be entirely new, the mind affirms that it *must* have a cause with just as much confidence as of the most familiar sequences in nature. This judgment is universal and necessary. It is affirmed by the child and by the savage as by the man and the philosopher. In early infancy this principle of intuitive logic is developed; the child not only manifests a

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* Cousin.

† Mahan.

native tendency to demand a cause for every event, but also an ineradicable faith in this "principle of causality;" and as he advances in years he finds this native conviction is confirmed by all the facts of the universe. Observation, experience, and reflection all confirm this principle; but its foundation is a necessary law of thought and of things.

We cannot conceive of a thing *beginning to be* without a cause. "There is for us no act without an agent, no event without a cause, no change without power, adequacy, aptness to produce a change."* A law of our intelligence renders it impossible. The faintest effort to believe otherwise cannot be made without contradicting and revolting our reason. So conclusive is this intuitive logic that no increase of proof can make it clearer, and no argument can make it stronger than when first apprehended.

"*Causation also implies power.*" When an effect is presented to the mind we not only feel that it implies an antecedent, but also a substance having *power*—a substance adequate to the production of the result. When the needle deflects on being brought into proximity with the magnet, we are sure there is a property in the magnet by virtue of which the needle moves. When we see the wheels of an engine in motion we say the cause of motion is the expansive power of water under the action of fire. When the hand is raised, or the body is moved, we have a distinct and immediate consciousness of *power* in causation.

From the consideration of second and physical causes we are carried forward to the idea of an intelligent cause—A RATIONAL WILL—collocating and arranging the forces of nature so as to yield specific and harmonious results. When the needle is moved under the influence of the magnet we have at once the notion of an *agent* also who brought them into proximity. When we see the engine move, we pass in our minds from the wheels and piston-rod to the steam, and onward to the *intelligence* which so arranged all the parts of the machine as to secure motion. When the arm is moved we instantly think, not merely of the action of muscles and nerves, but of *mind* contemplating and predetermining the act. And on contemplating the universe, with its endless events and changes, we are naturally and necessarily carried forward from the idea of mere laws, powers, and properties to an INTELLIGENCE which determined the dispositions, collocations, and arrangements of material forces so as to yield harmonious results. "Causation, therefore, implies MIND." "The savage or childish apprehension of nature, as animated in its different movements by voluntary agents like ourselves, is the expression of the rational necessity, which knows no satisfaction till, driven forward, it rests in the idea of one all-pervading power as ULTIMATE CAUSE."*

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* Cousin.

3. *There must be something prior to finite, contingent, dependent existence, which is self-existent, unchangeable, and eternal:*

The universe—which is but the sum of all contingent phenomena—presents innumerable existences which are finite, changeable, and dependent. They have all had a commencement in TIME, they are all limited and conditioned in SPACE, and they are all in a state of ceaseless *flux* and *change*. Now that which exists under time and space conditions, that which is changeful and contingent, cannot be self-existent and infinite.

There must be an ultimate reason why the facts of the universe are as they are and not otherwise. That reason cannot be in the universe itself. All its materials and all its conditions present us only EFFECTS.† Everything in the globe has, in the language of the geologist, the appearance of being a manufactured article. The grain of sand is now something which before it was not, and once it did not exist at all; and every element exists, not by any necessity of nature *in se*, but by some cause or reason out of and beyond and independent of itself. "The globe itself was once a molten mass of liquid fire. There was not one spore, or monad, or atom of life through all its dark domains. Creation from its center to its circumference was a creation of dead, inorganic matter."‡ The history of the globe, as written in fossil hieroglyphs on tables of stone, teaches us that there have been many successive and independent creations. If, then, the universe presents us only *effects*, we are compelled by the "law of *rationis sufficientis*" to look for an absolute *cause* of all phenomena out of the universe. There must be something prior to finite existence which we call being *per se*—something which is self-existent, underived, eternal.

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* Tullock.

† This is admitted by Hume, "the world is a singular EFFECT."

‡ Hugh Miller.

The idea of the INFINITE is given in the human intelligence as the necessary correlative of the idea of the finite.* "Think of *space*—we see it stretching out beyond our world, beyond our system, beyond the limits of creation, and every bound we fix to it only carries us to the unbounded beyond. Think of *time*—all the limits of duration do but suggest the illimitable eternity. Think of *dependent existence*—and we sink lower and lower from one stage of dependence to another, till we rest alone on the independent, the absolute. Think of *finite being*—what is it but an endless paradox, without infinite being? Think of *cause*—what does it end in but the *causa causarum*, the spring and source of all being?"†

4. *Facts of order, having a commencement in time, prove mind.*

The universe presents innumerable facts of order. McCosh has forcibly exhibited the proof that a PRINCIPLE OF ORDER pervades the universe.‡ There is an order in respect of number, of time, of color, and of form running through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. This is seen in homotypes and homologies of animal structures, the morphological forms of vegetable life, the definite proportions of chemistry, the geometrical figures of crystals, and the forms, distances, and motions of the heavenly bodies. "Every person who has watched the springing of the grain, the budding of the flower, or surveyed his own frame, or studied the motions of the orbs of heaven, has been impressed with the idea of a *reigning* ORDER.

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* However divergent and conflicting the systems of philosophers, they have all agreed in affirming that the belief in the INFINITE is natural and necessary to the human mind. Locke admits that "the mind has a *necessary* conviction of an infinite." Hamilton says: "The very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught but the relative and the finite *inspires* us with a belief in the existence of something which is *unconditioned* beyond the sphere of comprehensible reality." —Philosophic Diss., p. 15. And Mansel writes: "We know that unless we admit the existence of the *infinite* the existence of the finite is inexplicable and contradictory."—"Limits," etc., p. 127. Thus they all teach that a *belief* in the infinite is necessary; but they render no account of the logical grounds of their belief. In their systems it is a belief without a foundation.

The question in dispute between Hamilton and Cousin is not whether the *belief in the infinite ought* to be entertained, for on this they are agreed, (see Metaphysics, App., p. 684;) but it is, "Is a *philosophy* of the unconditioned, the infinite, *possible?*"

† "Morrell Mod. Phil.," App., p. 739.

‡ "Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation."

All this order addresses itself to INTELLIGENCE, and harmonizes *with* the laws of the human intellect. Had there been no *mind* in the created universe this order would never have been perceived. It is mind which observes relations, notes resemblances, and classifies objects; this is the foundation of all science. The *ideal* of all harmony and beauty is inherent in mind or it could not recognize itself in the external world. Hence the sublime creations of art, music, sculpture, and painting. The love of order reveals itself in all the works of man; in his implements, his buildings, his ships, his stores. *Mind universally manifests itself in* ORDER. And in the presence of facts of order, whenever or wherever presented to the mind, we are constrained by a law of our intelligence to affirm that they are and only can be the result of *mind*.

The order which now pervades the universe is not eternal. That it had a beginning is the uniform testimony of geology. Reason affirms that *mind* is the only valid interpretation of order. And the universal and necessary judgment is that "facts of order, having a commencement in time, prove mind."

5. *Intelligent purpose and voluntary choice imply a personal agent.*

The universe presents innumerable *special ends*, FINAL CAUSES, or reasons *why* certain arrangements and collocations are made. There is manifestly, 1st, an end contemplated; 2d, a selection and adjustment of means in order to that end; and, 3d, a voluntary forth-putting of creative energy to secure that end. For example, here is an arrangement of valves in the veins of the human body. We ask, *Wherefore* this arrangement? The answer is, *In order* to secure the circulation of the blood. This, then, is the final cause, or "reason why" the valves are inserted in the veins. Here is an end proposed, here is an adaptation of means to an end, and here is power, efficiency to secure the end. In other words, here are purpose, contrivance, and volition. The multiplication of examples of "special ends" is needless; the inductive sciences are all based on this doctrine of "final causes."*

Now, where there is intelligent purpose, choice, adaptation, efficiency, there must be a *personal agent.* "Self-consciousness and self-determination are the two moments of personality."† There can be no intelligence without self-consciousness; in all knowledge of objects we must know them as distinct from ourselves, and ourselves as distinct from them. The recognition of the *ego* of consciousness is one essential ground of personality. And in order to intelligent purpose, there must not only be the knowledge of self as knowing, but also as *willing.* The adaptation of means to ends demands not merely that the end is contemplated and sought, but there must be the capacity of spontaneously originating action; and volition can only be possible to a self-conscious personal agent. Here, in the power of self-determination, is found the other essential condition of personality. The universe, as an effect, reveals intelligent purpose and voluntary choice; its cause must, therefore, be a PERSON.

6. *Happiness and misery resulting, as retributive consequences of virtue and vice, imply a moral governor.*

On contemplating the acts of a voluntary agent we immediately apprehend them as having a *moral quality.* The mind intuitively apprehends them as *right* or *wrong*, and spontaneously approves or condemns them.

This distinction in the moral quality of actions is felt to be independent of the mind which perceives it and of any mutable condition of things. Good and evil, right and wrong, are *immutable.* The distinction between them must be the same everywhere, at all times, and to all beings—to God, to angels, and to men. It is as impossible to conceive that there are intelligences to whom falsehood can appear a virtue and justice a vice, as that there are intelligences to whom two and two equal five, or to whom the properties of the triangle can be more or less than they are to us.

Accompanying this perception of the immutable distinction between virtue and vice, we have the consciousness of its being our DUTY to avoid the one and perform the other. We feel upon us an OBLIGATION which is imperative. We have also an abiding conviction that moral good is *rewardable*, and that vice merits *punishment*. And, finally, we have a conscious apprehension of a future *retribution*.

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* "Natural history has a *principle* on which to reason; it is that of the conditions of things commonly called 'final causes.'"—CUVIER. His own application of this principle in Comparative Anatomy and Paleontology is a striking illustration.

† Muller. See this fully exhibited in "Christian Doctrine of Sin," vol. ii, p. 79.

These moral intuitions are confirmed by our experience of the course and constitution of nature. The actions which, by the conscience, are pronounced *right*, and as such approved, are found to be productive of *happiness;* and the actions which are by the same faculty pronounced to be *wrong*, and condemned, are found to be productive of *misery*. "In the natural course of events vice, as such, is punished, and virtue, as such, is rewarded."*

"As the manifold appearances of design and final causes in the constitution of the world prove it to be the work of an intelligent mind, so the final causes of pleasure and pain distributed among voluntary agents as consequences of moral conduct, prove that men are under moral government."† The felt presence of a Lawgiver and a Judge within us testifies to the existence of a Lawgiver and Judge who is over us. The universal consciousness of our race, as revealed in history, clearly shows that the phenomenon of conscience has always been associated in their minds with the idea of a POWER above us, so that when their minds were filled with guilty apprehensions, they had recourse to sacrifices, and penances, and prayers.

If man has *duties*, by whom are they imposed? If he has a sense of *obligation*, by what authority is he obliged? If man has duties and obligations then he has also *responsibilities*. To whom is he responsible? Certainly not to himself alone, for then duty and interest or pleasure would be the same. Nor to mere conventions of human opinions or human governments alone, for he feels that there is an authority back of and above all human opinions and human governments, from whence their power is derived, and that there is a higher law, above all human laws. That higher law is the law of God; that authority is the authority of the *Eternal*, the great fountain and archetype of all law, all right, all justice, and all moral order. So that the felt presence of conscience not only testifies to a power above man, but to the existence of a personal moral governor. The moral law is not only the expression of a Supreme Will, but a will essentially moral and righteous. The very conception of duty not only involves us in the idea of a person who imposes it, but of a being who has a supreme regard for and an infinite love of the *right* and the *good* and the *true.*

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* Bp. Butler. See his immortal chapter on "The Moral Government of God."

† Butler.

We are thus led, as we believe, by the facts of the universe and the intuitions of the mind to affirm a real Being, who is the efficient cause of all finite being—a Being who is self-existent and infinite—an intelligent Being, a self-conscious personality, and a righteous Governor and Lord.

The remark of Mr. Watson, "that the inspired penmen do not prove but *assume* the existence of God," has now to us a peculiar force and appropriateness. They assume it as a doctrine patent to reason, as determined on rational grounds, and demonstrable as a necessary truth.

The science of natural theology is recognized by the master-mind of Paul: "That which may be known of God is *manifested in their hearts;* God himself having shown it unto them, for his eternal power and Godhead, though they be invisible, yet are they seen ever since the world was made, *being understood by his works*, that they [the Gentile world] might have no excuse."*

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* Romans i, 19, 20. Conybeare and Howson's translation.

ART. II.—CHINA AS A MISSION FIELD.

Life Among the Chinese: With Characteristic Sketches and Incidents of Missionary Operations and Prospects in China. By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, M. A., thirteen years a Missionary to China from the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860.

The China Mission. Embracing a History of the various Missions of all Denominations among the Chinese. With Biographical Sketches of Deceased Missionaries. By Rev. WILLIAM DEAN, D.D., twenty years a Missionary to China. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.

WE have before us two books, products of the modern missionary movement in China. They are valuable contributions, both to our stock of information respecting China and the Chinese, and also to our missionary literature. The past twenty years have furnished us with many works on China, mostly from the pens of missionaries, such as "The Chinese," by Dr. Medhurst; "The Middle Kingdom," by Dr. S. W. Williams; "Travels in the Chinese Empire," by M. Huc; "The Superstitions of the Chinese," by Mr. Culbertson, and many others; and the growing interest in this great Oriental empire has secured for all of them, we doubt not, a remunerative circulation. We welcome all these valuable books: they serve to awaken and perpetuate the interest of Christendom in this vast pagan empire, and as so many contributions to the yet unwritten history of China, and as so many helps to the solution of the numerous unsolved problems presented by this remarkable people.

The many topics of interest connected with the Chinese are not yet exhausted, and there is still room for the two admirable books at the head of our article. They are from the pens of competent observers, both having been residents for many years among the people of whom they write. While treating of many subjects of great interest and importance, they are still more especially devoted to the great missionary interests of China. Both of them are truly *multum in parvo.* Dr. Dean presents us, in a very short compass, the outlines of Chinese history, the manners, customs, institutions, and government of the Chinese people; and then directs his labors to the history of China missions, from the first efforts of the early Syrian Christians to the missions of the present day. In this part of his work the author has given us, in as short a compass as possible, and in a pleasing and instructive style, a valuable *résumé* of missionary labors in China. It will well repay perusal, and furnishes the best collection of statistics and dates we have yet seen, and constitutes a valuable record of facts for the future history of Chinese evangelization. In the third part of his work Dr. Dean has given us brief memorials of the fallen missionaries of China. This is a long and melancholy list, which we read over with tender sadness, as we realize how many valuable lives of the sons and daughters of the Church have already been paid as the price of China's redemption. But what are they all to the *one* precious life given for the ransom of all! But there is joy in our sadness as we see these noble men and women finish their course with triumph, none regretting for a moment the great sacrifice they were making, none counting their lives dear unto them if they might share a part in the great work of evangelizing China. We thank the author for these precious memorials, and for gathering together in a single volume so many examples of Christian devotion, and furnishing to the world so many beautiful examples of the highest forms of Christian character and of Christian heroism.

In "Life among the Chinese" Mr. Maclay has gathered together a vast amount of just such facts as we all wish to know with regard to China and the Chinese. Like the "China Mission," its primary object is the missionary interest; but, in addition, the author has consented to answer nearly all the questions that are so commonly presented to the returned missionary. To all who feel an interest in the Chinese, and the missions among them, and who have many questions which they would like to present the missionary about the people among whom he lives, and the work in which he is engaged, we would heartily recommend this book. In style and in material it is a book adapted to the busy age in which we live, conveying, in a pleasing manner and short space, just the facts we wish to know. To the student of Chinese affairs, who wishes exact and extensive details, we would of course recommend other works, such as "The Middle Kingdom," by Dr.

Williams, or "China and the Chinese," by Sir John Davis; but for the general reader, and especially for the Christian reader, this is the very book.

But our purpose here is not a minute review of these two excellent books, but to gather from them the materials for our article on "China as a Mission Field." The vast empire of China presents to all readers subjects of great interest. To the philosopher it offers the remarkable history of its people, their peculiar character, their attainments in knowledge and the arts of civilization, and the principles of their peculiar and unique language. To the statesman it presents its singular government, peculiar laws, strange policy, vast population, and remarkable institutions. To the merchant, its vast wealth and resources, and its peculiar facilities for a great and profitable trade. But, above all, we think China presents its imperative claims to the interest of the Christian philanthropist, who here finds before him an immense population, in one of the most salubrious and fertile portions of the globe, under a system of government and in the midst of institutions displaying evidences of unusual strength of mind, yet involved in the deepest ignorance with regard to the most important truths, carried away by a vain and worthless philosophy, given up to crimes of the most forbidding character, and the victims of a wretched system of idolatry. He will soon discover the elements of progression in the mental character of this people, who only need the light of Christianity to dispel the superstitious systems which now enchain them, and to exalt them to a position high in the scale of human enlightenment.

It is to this aspect of China and its multitudes we wish to call attention. China, we think, presents to the Christian Church the most important and promising mission field now open to missionary labor, and we propose to illustrate this statement by considering,

I. *Its magnitude and population.*

The Chinese, or, as it may more properly be called, the Tartar Chinese Empire, is of vast extent, occupying a position on the globe nearly opposite our own country. It comprises China Proper, Chinese Tartary, Thibet, and a few other dependent territories, all thickly populated, and under the dominion of the Tartar emperor. It covers an area of five and a half millions of square miles, extending over some thirty-five degrees of latitude and about seventy degrees of longitude, "from the Beloor Mountains on the west, to the sea of Jeddo on the east; and from the great Altay Mountains on the north, to the Gulf of Tonquin and the Himalaya Mountains on the south. It possesses about two thousand miles of sea-coast, affording some of the finest harbors of the world. Nearly one half of its southern frontier touches on the great empire of British India; its northern and western boundaries are formed almost entirely by the Asiatic possessions of Russia; a few days' sail to the southward lies the vast continent of Australia; while eastward, across the Pacific, and within some ten days of its coast by steam navigation, it faces the western coast of the United States."

China Proper contains an area of one and a half millions of square miles, lying between the twenty-first and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and extending over about twenty degrees of longitude. The country, in extreme length from north to south, is about twelve hundred geographical miles, being a little less than this in its extent from east to west, the whole surface being divided into eighteen provinces. No country in the world of the same magnitude can be considered on the whole as more favored in point of climate. Like most countries situated on the eastern side of a great continent, it presents those excesses of temperature, both of heat and cold, at opposite seasons of the year, which its situation, with regard to latitude, would not lead us to expect. The temperature is lower than in corresponding latitudes on our own continent. Even at Canton, the southern extremity of the empire, in latitude 21° N., much below the latitude of New Orleans, the mercury seldom rises to 100°, and during the nights of January it often falls below the freezing point. There is, however, considerable similarity between the climate of China Proper and that of our own country in corresponding latitudes, and we learn from the French missionaries that the products of northern China and Tartary have a striking resemblance to those of the east coast of North America. Notwithstanding the apparent extremes of heat and cold, the climate must generally be characterized as highly salubrious—a circumstance, no doubt, arising in great measure from the extensive system of cultivation and drainage which is prevalent in the country.

On this vast area we find a correspondingly immense *population.* Much labor, and that too for many years, has been devoted to a solution of the problem of Chinese population, and the result has been decidedly in favor of the popular opinion of its vastness. Formerly the question was one of speculation, when the learned of Europe and America would sit in their own apartments and reason largely on the possibility and probability of the Chinese territory containing an immense population, and decide according to their several hypotheses and partialities.* Now, however, we have more than probability to guide us. We have the evidence of men who have long resided in the country, and a number of estimates taken by the natives themselves, and published by authority of the emperor. To show what dependence can be placed on the Chinese reports, we may observe that the census of the whole empire is taken annually by imperial authority. This is done with the view of enabling the ruling powers to ascertain the state of the country, in order that they may apportion the due amount of government offices and police force to each district, and make suitable provision for the necessities of the people in case of famine. This census is published in a work by the authority of the emperer, and occurs under the item of revenue; and as this work has been issued at different periods, it affords an excellent criterion by which to judge of the population through successive years. "In China," says Mr. Maclay, "the people themselves furnish the data for the census returns of the government; and as the government avails itself of these statistics of population in levying conscriptions for military service and in demanding subsidies to replenish its exhausted exchequer, there is everything to induce the Chinese to *understate* rather than *overstate* the amount of their population."

The population of China, according to the latest and most reliable information on this subject, amounts to *four hundred millions.* It is difficult to form an adequate conception of such a mass of human beings. Comparing it with the populations of other portions of the earth's surface, we find that it exceeds the combined population of Europe, Africa, and the entire continent of America. It constitutes, in fact, more than one third of the human race. Says the Rev. M. S. Culbertson, while writing on this topic:

> The mind cannot grasp the real import of so vast a number. *Four hundred millions!* What does it mean? Count it. Night and day, without rest, or food, or sleep, you continue the weary work; yet eleven days have passed before you have counted the first million, and more than as many years before the end of the tedious task can be reached.

Mr. Maclay exclaims:

> *Four hundred millions!* Who are they? Our brethren; bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh. *What are they?* Heathen, athwart whose gloomy night of error no ray of light ever shines; *idolators*, bowing down to senseless images, the workmanship of their own hands. *What are they?* Men, created by God; fallen, ruined, helpless; victims, morally, of a foul and relentless malady; sinking into guilt and woe unutterable; *immortals*, objects of the divine compassion, subjects of Christ's mediation, into the mysteries of whose redemption angels desire to look, and for whose eternal salvation all heavenly intelligences are moved with a profound and ceaseless solicitude.—P. 19.

Dr. Medhurst says:

> One third of the human race and one half of the heathen world, held by one tie and bound by one spell, one million of whom are every month dropping into eternity untaught, unsanctified, and, as far as we know, unsaved. How distressing to think that this nation has been for ages in its present demoralized and degraded condition, with no light beaming on the people but that derived from atheism and polytheism, with now and then an obscure ray from a questionable form of Christianity. To see the demon of darkness reigning in one soul is painful; but to see him rampant over a whole nation, and that nation constituting a third of the human race, is beyond measure distressing, and might well induce us to exclaim, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."

II. *The relations and resources of China.*

The relations of China to the civilized world have greatly changed within the present century. For centuries she was a land *incog*. Early travelers visited her only to return deceived and hoodwinked, to publish to the world the most wild and extravagant stories of the boundless wealth, lavish magnificence, and wonderful civilization of the Chinese. She was a land of dreams—a fairy land—where enthusiastic travelers found every wonderful thing their imagination had conceived. Foreign governments, on successive occasions, were outwitted by her ingenious and unscrupulous diplomatists, and China was still, until within the past fifty years, a land unknown, pursuing an exclusive policy, and living in isolation from the rest of the world. But all this is changed. She has been visited by travelers and missionaries who have remained long enough to become accurately acquainted with her institutions and resources; and the indomitable perseverance of modern commerce, and the unanswerable arguments of foreign navies, have forced open her long-closed ports, and now China is open to the commerce and intercourse of the world. Says Mr. Maclay, "Life among the Chinese," p. 352:

> The days of China's fancied omnipotence are numbered. No dash of the vermilion pencil can now confine "outside barbarians" to their frozen latitudes in the "Northwestern ocean," and withhold from them the luxuries and "civilizing influences" of the "Middle Kingdom." No more flaming dispatches will be forwarded to Pekin by bombastic governors or vaporing generals, delighting the imperial heart with poetical descriptions of "the blowing up of foreign ships," "the annihilation of foreign armies," "driving foreigners into the sea," "foreigners humbly supplicating the imperial clemency," and similar forms of speech. China is no longer isolated; no longer the *Ultima Thule* of nations. The religion, civilization, and commerce of modern times have all passed "the pillars of Hercules;" and henceforth, in the broad East also, are to develop their vast resources. It matters little who may now, or hereafter, fill the throne of China; the programme of his foreign policy is marked out for him by a power whose influence he cannot eliminate, whose utterances he may not disregard. During the past twenty years the influence of western governments has steadily and rapidly advanced in China. It requires no prophetic vision to foresee the changes which the introduction of this element will soon produce in the affairs of this vast empire.

And yet, after further acquaintance and more extended intercourse, China still appears a country of vast resources, and capable of assuming the most interesting and important relations toward the other nations of the world. The internal resources of China are almost boundless; the treasures of the mineral, animal, cereal, and vegetable kingdoms have been lavished upon her with profuse liberality. Gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, coal, gypsum, limestone, the ruby, diamond, amethyst, garnet, opal, agate, and other stones, abound. Chinese authors assert that there are between four and five hundred mountains in the empire which produce copper, and that there are upward of three thousand that produce iron. Gold and silver mines abound, but the policy of the government discourages their being worked. The mines of the province of Kwei-chow supply all the mercury used for the manufacture of vermilion; and there are mines producing lead, tin, and calamine scattered all over the country. Coal was used very early in China as fuel; it is mentioned by Du Halde as "black stones dug out of the mountains, which stones burn when kindled, and are used by many persons in preference to wood, of which there is abundance." It is found in the north and in the south, and probably might be had in nearly every province in the empire. Le Compte assures us that there is not any country better supplied with coal, and he particularizes the provinces of Shan-si, Shen-si, and Pi-chi-li. Its vast products in the vegetable kingdom are of the most important and valuable kinds, as rhubarb, cinnamon, camphor, bamboo, tea, etc.

But in all other respects China is a country of great interest in its foreign relations—in the vast sweep of its territory, in the countless multitudes of its population, in its vast agricultural products, in its enterprising and industrious people, already skilled in all the arts of trade and commerce, and in its actual wealth, though far below the fabulous reports of early travelers. It is to be the great mart of Oriental trade, presenting to the modern merchant and manufacturer his most promising market; and doubly interesting at this period, when, by the invention of machinery, goods are manufactured far more than sufficient for all the civilized tribes of Europe and America, and when a new market for manufactures has become a serious concern to those who have already exceeded the necessities of neighboring nations, and who are compelled to look out for purchasers in new and untried fields of commerce.

To our own country China presents peculiar relations, destined to become annually more interesting and important. She is our neighbor on the west, as is Europe on the east. In the progress of navigation and commerce, doubtless our own country is to become the great thoroughfare of eastern trade. China, too, is a friendly neighbor. Our trade commenced with her in 1784, and has continued to expand quietly and rapidly to the present time. We have never incurred her displeasure; our trade has not been forced upon her; our navy has not desolated her coast; our intercourse has been peaceful and diplomatic; our "flowery flag" has been to her the emblem of justice and peace, and more of her citizens have emigrated to our country than perhaps to any other country of the world. Nor are the Chinese as averse as is generally supposed to assuming these foreign relations and entering into foreign commerce. There has been abundant cause furnished by foreign nations why the Chinese government should hesitate to admit the foreigner, and should look with jealousy and suspicion on this intercourse so long coveted and so earnestly sought for by foreign nations. Many of these influences are now passing away; and much of this jealousy and hesitancy, most of which had its origin in the suspicions of the Tartar government—itself now waning—has disappeared, and the Chinese are returning to their more ancient policy, that of more cordial intercourse with foreign nations.

III. *Chinese character and status.*

The Chinese character, though marred by many disagreeable elements, and containing many blemishes, and presenting some of the most abominable vices known among men, yet is characterized by many elements which give encouragement to missionary labor. This subject has been very flippantly treated by many travelers, whose aim seems to have been to make readable books by enlivening them with grotesque and absurd caricatures of the Chinese people, and as a result, we find a very false estimate of the Chinese character current among foreigners. We like Mr. Maclay's treatment of this subject. He says, page 121:

> Public opinion throughout Christendom underrates, we think, the intellectual capacity of the Chinese. What we have already written in the course of this work indicates for them no mean position, intellectually, in the great family of man. Instead of predicating stupidity of the Chinese because of certain apparent incongruities and absurdities in their character, or because of the few unworthy representatives of the Chinese race who find their way to western countries, it would be more judicious to reserve judgment on the subject till we obtained more full and accurate knowledge of their character. It is entirely probable that a more intimate

acquaintance with them and the difficulties through which they had to force their way, would excite our cordial sympathy and admiration. It is certainly highly creditable to them that, as a nation, they can point to a history and character such as are presented by their authentic records and by the patent facts of their civilization; and if, under all the disadvantages, and against the fearful odds with which hitherto they have struggled, they have been able to accomplish so much, what may we not expect from them when the light of the Gospel shall shine upon them, and shall lead them forth into the joyous freedom of the sons of God.

The Chinese mind is eminently quick, shrewd, and practical. It has an intuitive logic of rare vigor and certainty. Admit the premises in the argument of a Chinese, and his conclusion is generally inevitable. In their processes of ratiocination the defect is usually in the premises. Owing to their meager knowledge of many subjects, they frequently assume things to be true which are not true, and hence the logical structure they rear on such a basis topples and falls the moment you point out the error. As business men they are remarkably energetic, efficient, and adroit. The foreign merchant, whether European or American, who goes to China for business purposes, finds it necessary to avail himself of all the helps and safeguards which his own judgment or the principles of trade suggest in order to protect himself; and it not unfrequently happens that after all his precautionary efforts he is overreached by his unscrupulous competitors. The Yankee must rise early in the morning and keep wide awake all day if he expects to get to windward of a Chinaman before nightfall.

If any one would receive direct answers to the questions, "Are the Chinese capable of appreciating the doctrines of the Bible?" "Can the Chinese be converted?" we would refer him to the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Mr. Maclay's work, in which he gives a number of touching and instructive incidents in the lives of Chinese converts. Here we find the subjects as tender and susceptible of religious impressions, as constant and faithful in the discharge of Christian duties, and as ready to do and to suffer for Christ, as in any country, or in any age of the Christian Church. Some of these incidents, as that of "Father Hu," and of "the orphan boy," and of "the painter," we confess touched our heart, and we felt that of a truth the religion of our blessed Lord is made for all times and all circumstances—in a word, is made for the human heart wherever it is found.

In considering the relation of the Chinese character to the reception of Christianity in its hopeful aspects, we would here call especial attention to the second chapter of Mr. Maclay's work, "On the Ancient Religious Faith of the Chinese." In this chapter we are glad to find the author so well arguing and so boldly adopting an opinion that we long felt to be true: namely, that the unique character and singular civilization of the Chinese cannot be a product of the religions now existing among them, but is due, to a great extent, to an undercurrent of ancient truth, flowing down through the life of the nation from the sacred records and early traditions, and to institutions drawn from sacred sources and always existing among them.

On this point we quote from the work, chap. ii, p. 34:

> Any one who carefully analyzes the character of the Chinese must notice its unique and, in some respects, apparently anomalous traits. This character is manifestly the product of forces, some of which at least are now extinct, the result of influences, some of which are now inoperative. Confucianism, Rationalism, or Buddhism, acting either singly or conjointly, could never produce such a character. Rationalism and Buddhism are palpably incompetent to perform such a work; and with regard to Confucianism, its influence in this direction is due quite as much to those ancient principles which underlie and antedate it as to the ethical and political maxims which Confucius has deduced from them. Conceding to the three religious systems of China all the influence in the formation of the national character which can fairly be claimed for them, there still remain mental and moral traits for which these systems indicate no adequate cause, or furnish no satisfactory explanation. It is, we think, to what might be called the ancient religious faith of the Chinese that we must look for the true type of their character. Much has been written with reference to ancient Chinese civilization; and modern infidelity, with its accustomed avidity and recklessness, seized upon it as an argument against the Bible. "The Bible," said they, "is not essential to human progress: man can civilize himself. There is in man an innate power, by virtue of which he rises from barbarism to refinement;" and to substantiate the truth of these positions they referred to China. "There," said they, "is a vast people who have grown up from barbarism to civilization without any contact with or influence from the teachings of the Bible." Without wishing to deny or undervalue the just claims of ancient Chinese civilization, we do deny most unequivocally the statement that it has been obtained independently of "any contact with or influence from the teachings

of the Bible." We assert that all the elements of progress and conservatism which have given to Chinese civilization its high character and position have been drawn directly or indirectly from the primitive teachings of the Bible.

As instances of these conservative elements, and we would add also of elements adapting the Chinese character to the reception of Christian truth, Mr. Maclay mentions their traditionary account of the creation, their sublime conceptions and noble predicates of Shangti, their supreme deity, the universal tradition of an unwritten "Heavenly Law" as the highest standard of right and wrong, their traditions of a Sabbath or seventh day, their filial piety, and the marriage institution, so nearly conformed to the patriarchal and Mosaic institution of the Bible. We find, then, already in the Chinese character a substratum of sacred truth and an undercurrent of ennobling and conservative influence.

We by no means look upon the Chinese character as soft and pliant, readily yielding to influences brought to bear upon it, or as presenting an easy conquest even to the sublime truths of the Gospel; but we do look upon it as presenting substantial elements which, when brought under the influence of the Gospel, will furnish a race of strong, active, and faithful Christians. Perhaps there is no nation on the globe which requires so much patient faith and perseverance in the missionary as China. The Chinese mind is peculiar. It is neither enlightened nor barbarous; it is neither learned nor ignorant; it is proud and vain, preoccupied with elements of learning and opinions of morality peculiar and common to the nation. The Chinese heart is peculiar; it is neither that callous yet empty and craving heart of the untutored savage, exhibiting to the missionary the existence of a religious want within which he can easily address; nor that soft and yielding heart which would be consistent with their high pretensions to intelligence. Indeed, like their intellect, it is full—it is preoccupied with the religious institutions peculiar to their country, and it is as difficult to reach and move their hearts as to reach and modify the peculiar bent of their minds; and, consequently, as difficult to influence and change their moral and religious institutions as to change the time-honored elements of their national education and the long-established institutions of their government.

It requires no great power of observation to determine the real position of the Chinese mind with regard to religion. It is that stage of fullness and self-satisfaction which we find ever to be characteristic of a certain class of individuals in enlightened and Christian countries, in which the religious want which God has wisely and kindly preserved in the heart of man is fully occupied by human speculations, thus leaving but little or no room in the heart for the introduction of divine truth, and consequently resulting in infidelity. The Chinese mind occupies the same position, and has about reached the same result—infidelity; but it is pagan infidelity, leaving the heart and intellect yet untried by the truths of the Gospel. Hence we agree with Mr. Maclay, in drawing from this very character and this very attitude of the Chinese mind encouragement to hope for great future results. It is, so to speak, a character worthy of our labors: the Chinaman is a foeman worthy of the Christian's steel; and when vanquished, as he surely will be, he will be a noble champion of the Redeemer's cause.

We had intended to offer here some excellent thoughts from the work of Mr. Maclay, exhibiting the present hopeful attitude of the Chinese mind and nation with respect to the introduction of Christianity, but we must refer the reader to his work, p. 343.

IV. *The great work of preparation already accomplished.*

At length China is opened. After many years of effort and patient waiting, of diplomacy and prayers, of faith and bloodshed, at length the Chinese government has acceded to the reasonable demands of foreign nations, and in the recent treaties of Tientsin has placed an empire at the door of Christendom and invited the Church to enter in and possess it. This is a great conquest, and the consummation of a vast and difficult work of preparation. The results reached by this conquest of the Chinese government are thus summed up by Mr. Maclay:

> 1. There stands the imperial declaration that Christianity is good, that it inculcates the principles of virtue, that it promotes good order and peace among men, teaching them to do to others as they would have others do to them.
>
> 2. There is the imperial authorization to every Chinese in the empire to follow the dictates of his own judgment with regard to embracing Christianity.
>
> 3. There stands recorded the imperial pledge that no Chinese

> convert to Christianity shall be subjected to any persecution for his faith.
>
> 4. There is the imperial authorization to every discreet foreigner, whether missionary or merchant, under the passport system, to enter the interior of the country either for trade or the preaching of the Gospel.
>
> 5. And there stands the solemn revocation, by imperial authority, of all those persecuting edicts which in the past have been fulminated against Christianity, native Christians, and foreign missionaries.—Pp. 341, 342.

Such is the present auspicious attitude of the Chinese government with regard to the important questions before us. The change is truly wonderful, and we incline to believe it will be permanent. If we may rely on the promises of the sacred Scriptures, if we may reposé any confidence in the obvious indications of Providence, God is about to achieve a great result in the evangelization of China. The time has now come when China can no longer remain closed up and dissevered from the nations of the earth. The wants of the world require that she must come forth and take her stand in the great family of nations. The designs of God with reference to the world are now so far developed that the exclusive policy of this nation must be broken up; that four hundred millions of human beings in this empire must be set free; that this great nation must be wrested from the grasp of paganism; that this third part of the human race, which has so long lain dormant, separated, uncared for, must be enlightened and Christianized, and must come forth to enact its part in the history of the world. She has been reserved for this; she has been kept back for this display of a great triumph of Christianity, for an exhibition in these latter days of the might and majesty of the Gospel. Her hour is come. There can be no retrogression. Progress is inevitable; and we believe that China is now thrown open fairly, fully, and, we hope, finally, to Christianity and foreign intercourse.

But a great preparatory work has already been accomplished in China. The history of modern missionary effort in this country usually dates from the arrival of Dr. Morrison at Canton in 1807; but the labors of missionaries in Chinese territory really only commenced in 1830, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Dr.

Morrison arrived at Canton in 1807, but so bitter was the hostility of the Chinese government that it was impossible for him to prosecute his labors as a missionary. To maintain any footing at all in China he was compelled to accept the office of translator to the East India Company in China, and, to his great grief and disappointment, he was never permitted to engage publicly in the work of preaching the Gospel to the Chinese. The utmost he was able to accomplish in this direction was a regular private service, in his own apartments, with his servants and a few others. Thus providentially shut up to the retirement of his study, he devoted his time and energies to the preparation of his celebrated dictionary of the Chinese language, to the translation of the Bible into Chinese, and to the prosecution of such labors as might aid in forwarding the great cause so dear to his heart.

During the interim between Dr. Morrison's arrival in China and 1830, all Protestant efforts for the conversion of the Chinese were carried on at stations among the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, whither the Chinese had emigrated. The most important of these stations were at Malacca, Batavia, Penang, Rhio, Borneo, and Singapore, where the Chinese had colonized in large numbers. These missions were instituted in 1815 by the Rev. William Milne, D. D., who, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, established a mission to the Chinese at Malacca, the best position the Protestant Churches could then obtain. Dr. Medhurst, in 1837, gives the following summary of the labors of these extra-Chinese missionaries:

> Since the commencement of their missions they have translated the Holy Scriptures, and printed 2,000 complete Bibles in two sizes, 10,000 Testaments, and 30,000 separate books, and upward of half a million of tracts in Chinese, besides 4,000 Testaments and 150,000 tracts in the language of the Malayan Archipelago, making about 20,000,000 of printed pages. About 10,000 scholars have passed through the mission schools, nearly one hundred persons have been baptized, and several native preachers have been raised up, one of whom has proclaimed the Gospel to his countrymen, and endured persecution for Jesus' sake.

Shortly after the close of the war between China and England (1843) these missions were transferred to China. The first Protestant mission to the Chinese, on the territory of

China, was commenced at Canton, in 1830, by the Rev. E. C. Bridgeman, D.D. The government of China, however, continued its hostility to the Christian religion; and so persistently did it trammel and thwart the mission in all its plans for aggressive action, that it was not till 1844 the mission was fairly established. During the period from 1844 to the present time Protestant missions have been established and carried forward at Hong Kong and the five open ports of China. The entire number of Protestant missionaries to the Chinese is two hundred and thirteen, of whom sixty-nine retired from the work, thirty-two labored only in the Archipelago, twenty-one labored partly in the Archipelago, partly in China. At present there are one hundred and ten Protestant missionaries to the Chinese, either in China, or absent, expecting soon to return to their field of labor. Thirty-nine have died in connection with the work. Some landed among the heathen only to lay down their lives where they expected to labor; others lived ten, twenty, thirty, and one reached forty years of service. The total amount of labor gives an average of a little more than seven years to each.

When we think of this small number of men, equal only to the two hundred and fourteen radicals in their language, and the time of each, amounting, on an average, to a single week of years, and contrast with this the entire Bible translated in four different versions, commentaries on the Scriptures written, grammars and dictionaries of the language and various dialects prepared, tracts printed, converts made, native preachers employed, Christian schools organized, churches built, and an impression made on the multitudes of the Chinese, the doctrines of the Gospel recognized by the people and tolerated by the government, the barriers broken down, and the empire opened to Christian enterprise, we may well exclaim, "What hath God wrought?" There are now about twenty Chinese Churches, comprising nearly two thousand members. Of these perhaps one hundred are trained evangelists, engaged in preaching the Gospel to their countrymen. The work has spread beyond the limits of the open ports. In spite of government opposition and the restrictions of the former treaties, the Gospel has sounded out into the regions beyond, and some of the most flourishing Churches are in the country towns and villages.

V. *Conclusion.*

Such is the "great and effectual door" that God, by his providence, has opened to Christendom, such the field that now awaits cultivation at the hand of the Church. It is a field of vast extent, presenting many promising circumstances and hopeful indications, yet not without its discouragements and difficulties—a field promising a good harvest in return for the labor bestowed upon it, yet requiring much faithful and patient toil before this harvest can be expected. The difficulties of giving the Gospel to the Chinese are found in their ignorance, superstition, and opposition to all that is moral and pure, and just and good. They hold on to their idols with an easy hand, but they cling to their sins with all their heart. They are ignorant of the technicalities of Christianity, and even of the common terms by which its first principles are expressed. Their language must be used with new significations to express even the ideas of faith, repentance, and godliness. Their social habits and civil institutions are all opposed to the introduction of Christianity among them. Their language, its difficult pronunciation, intonation, aspirates, and gutturals, its numerous dialects and multiplied symbols, slow process of writing, severe tax to the memory, and its ambiguous constructions, all combine to render it a work of protracted toil, and a serious obstacle to usefulness.

Mr. Maclay says:

> It is important that we recognize the greatness of the work to be done in China if we would have our efforts for its accomplishment wisely directed and efficiently sustained. Let the Church, then, bear in mind that it now seeks to change the religious faith and crush the religious institutions of *one third of the human race;* that it proposes to strike down before their eyes the objects endeared to them by a thousand associations; that it hastens to tear from their hearts the hopes and aspirations which their depraved natures and corrupt faith have ever nourished and shielded; that it wages a war of extermination against idolatry, not sparing even that most insidious and attractive form of it embodied in ancestral worship; that it introduces to them a religious system of which they are almost totally ignorant, and the simplicity and purity of whose doctrines must necessarily excite the sternest opposition from their previously formed habits and their depraved natures; and that these doctrines are preached to them by foreigners, with whom, in consequence of a difficult language and dissimilar tastes and feelings, they cannot fully sympathize:

these are some of the circumstances which suggest to the Church that the work before her in China is of no ordinary magnitude and difficulty.—P. 155.

But it matters not though the obstacles were multiplied a thousand fold, and increased to a still more formidable magnitude—the pledge is sure, for the promise is divine, and the travail of Christ and the triumph of the cross are just as certain in China as if we could really see the empire Christianized, and churches reared, and Christian institutions established, and the chaotic masses of heathenism moulded into social order, domestic happiness, and personal morality and holiness. The duty of the Church is to move forward, gathering strength and hope from the numerous encouragements that now everywhere present themselves, and looking through all obstacles and difficulties to the coming final triumph.

ART. III.—INDUCING CAUSE OF SALVATION;

OR,

GOD'S OWNERSHIP OF MAN HIS REASON FOR SAVING HIM.

EVERY wise intelligence operates with reference to some final end. Between every such action and that end there must be a real or supposed connection. Does he build a house, or cultivate the soil, or co-operate in some social enterprise? The final end is not the house, the harvest, the social movement, but the convenience, comfort, happiness to which they stand related, in his mind, as means are related to ends. Means, as such, possess no inherent value; but ends are, or are supposed to be, valuable. And as the end of intelligent action is happiness, and as there is nothing ulterior to happiness which can be supposed to possess inherent value, happiness is that end of intelligent action, beyond which it is impossible that there should be any other.

Intelligence never produces a result for the purpose of destroying it. If it be objected that intelligence often originates an expedient, such as the erection of a first rude tenement or the scaffold for the construction of a second, intended for permanent use, and that the *pro tempore* erections are produced for the purpose of being destroyed; we answer, that the cabin and the scaffold are not produced for the purpose of being destroyed, but they are both produced and destroyed out of respect to the final purpose—the convenience, comfort, happiness of the proprietor—to which they sustain a necessary though temporary, relation. Intelligence, therefore, produces nothing for purposes of destruction.

Further: intelligence, when endowed with the right of property in an object of value, must, from the very nature of that relation, be inspired with a feeling of *interest* in it. This result is so uniform that our language, by a natural metonomy, accustoms us to hear that A has a large *interest* in land, and that B's *interest* is in such or such stocks, or other securities.

Still further: as interest is the natural result of the proprietary relation to an object of value, and as interest, in this connection, is but another name for the concern which is felt to be due to the object, it follows that the consciousness of property in a valuable object is naturally attended with a feeling of care, in the mind of the proprietor, that the object shall not be lost, but conserved with reference to the end to which it is adapted; that is, his own happiness, or, which is the same thing, that of such other party as his love of justice or benevolence may indicate.

If these remarks, and especially the last, hold with reference to the lower grounds of ownership, such as those by inheritance or purchase, they must be perceived to do so with a still closer application when the right of property stands on the ground of the invention or labor by which the object has been produced. For while, in the other case, the relation of the owner is a *foster* relation, in this it partakes of the *paternal* character, inspiring the regard which a father feels for his own offspring. By so much the more, then, will he guard it against defeasance, and by so much the less will he be tolerant of any attempt at its alienation.

To apply these principles to God's proprietorship of man. As the Infinite Intelligence, his every *ab extra* operation must have respect to some final and, consequently, valuable end.

The only end at once final and valuable is happiness. Infinite Intelligence cannot operate, out of himself, with reference to his own happiness, which, being absolute and wholly from himself, is incapable of being increased, or otherwise affected, by any external consideration whatever. His *ab extra* operations, therefore, must relate to the happiness of creatures, and, as far as our earth is the theater of those operations, they must relate primarily to man. Between his happiness and every divine movement by which he is affected, therefore, there must be a *real*, not a *supposed* connection, for such a being *supposes* nothing.

Is earth created? Is it made the theater of vegetable and animal life? Is Eden planted, and does it own a human presence? Is man redeemed? Is his present habitation dissolved? Is it replaced by a new earth and heaven? Verily; but the end, the final purpose, is not the earth, the vegetable, the animal, the man, the Eden, the redemption, the dissolution, the restoration, but the *happy* man. This final purpose omitted, and creation, providence, and redemption were not less a jargon than that which rose among the artisans on the plains of Shinar. This purpose confessed, and we see the connection which must have existed in the Divine mind between it and his creative and administrative expedients, and that it was such as befitted the relation of means to the highest possible end. Therefore, as that highest possible end was man's happiness, and as there is nothing ulterior to that object which can be supposed to possess inherent value, man's happiness is that valuable end of divinely intelligent action, beyond which it is impossible that there should be any other.

As man's happiness is the final result at which Divine Intelligence aims, and as a final result leaves nothing beyond it as the object of future and conflicting action, the supposition that his happiness can be lost sight of from respect to some *other* result would, even if not an impossibility, be utterly unworthy of the Divine Intelligence; for human intelligence, as we have seen, never connects the contrary purposes of producing and destroying an object at the same time. So that, as man's happiness is a final purpose, God, as the author of that purpose, cannot have connected with it the cross purpose of its abrogation.

If it be objected that, according to the teachings of the Bible, the happiness of individual men is destroyed, and that to suppose it to be so from regard to man's happiness is an absurdity, we reply, that it is no more absurd than the supposition of consistency between the sacrifice of happiness in the individually criminal of our civil society and the ultimate well-being of that same society. The objected destruction of happiness being morally and efficiently due, not to any original divine purpose or agency, but to the subject whose perverted action a moral government could not restrain, is no otherwise connected with the divine administration than, falling out under it, justice, which charges itself with the protection of the general interest, obliges the moral Governor to make such an exhibition of the evil result of such perverted action as will most effectually aid his administration, and, at the same time, expel the evil agent from the society of those who are entitled to protection from his dangerous presence. In the only sense, then, in which such destruction is not due to his own act, it is not only admitted, but demanded, by the *ultima ratio*, the well-being of man.

Every divine act, then, in as far as it has man for its object, must, so far as we know or can intelligibly conceive, be only explicable on the ground of its relation to the aforesaid final end. For instance, while we know that divine action has *adapted* man to that end, how can we intelligibly conceive of that adaptation, or of the action producing it, as otherwise *intended* than with reference to that end?

But man is an object of divine property. God owns and claims him. The property relation, as we have seen, is naturally attended by a sense of *interest* in the object—a feeling of *care* for its conservation with respect to whatever ultimate purpose, of importance to its proprietor, it may have been adapted. Man, by a divine constitution, is adapted to happiness as a final end. That end is of so much consequence to his Proprietor that it contains the only reason for having given him such a constitution, as well as for the vast outlay of preparing, through cycles of ages, his terrestrial habitation. How should it be otherwise, then, than that He who holds and claims the right of property in such an object should feel an interest in it, a care, a fixed concern that the final purpose, in view of which this relation was originated, be not contravened by any adverse agency?

Were it, indeed, supposable that this proprietary relation had regard to some purpose personal to and terminable in the Deity, then, that purpose realized, all interest in man, all care for his further conservation, would cease. But this we have seen to be impossible. Any just conclusion, therefore, from man's natural adaptation, including especially his property relation to his Maker and the active interest naturally growing out of that relation, must be that which refers him to happiness as the ultimate end of his being.

What greatly aids the above conclusion is the nature of the considerations on which this proprietary claim reposes. What are they? Not *priority* of possession. True, he is the oldest possessor; but his right rests not there. Is it upon *inheritance?* To what ancestral Deity and to what law of descent is the Claimant, in this case, indebted for the property in question? Or is it his in virtue of a *gift* from the potentate of some neighboring or far-off world? Where on the map of heaven is the place of that world, or what is the name of that other potentate who divides with our Jehovah the empire of the universe?

What, then, are the true grounds on which God asserts his right of property in man? They are two, and two words express them—Creation, Redemption. In the most original meaning of the term, God is the author of his entire being; and in a high and altogether unique sense, he is also the author of his redemption, ransom, purchase.

But for the present, inasmuch as it is our aim to show that the inducing cause of man's salvation is due to that original relation by which he became the property of his Maker, and, inasmuch as redemption is the first great process in the matter of that salvation, it behooves us to establish, not only that the *actual* salvation consequent on redemption, but that redemption *itself*, issues from the influence arising from that original relation.

If, man being redeemed, God is admitted to be favorably disposed toward his actual salvation, and, the known conditions being present, that he will actually save him, we ask, Whence the redemption itself? Is God disposed to save man in consequence of it? Or was the redemption itself consequent upon a pre-existing disposition in the mind of God to save him? The latter, most indubitably. Christ's death abated the legal obstacle to man's salvation. He was under that malediction of the law which devoted him to death. Christ's death was vicarious; that is, for governmental effect, it took the place of, and was a satisfaction for, the death of the transgressor. Hence its illustrious Sufferer is said to have become a *curse* for us, to have *redeemed* us from the curse of the law, to have *redeemed* us unto God, and to have given his life a *ransom* for us.

But so far was all this from being the *cause*, it was simply the *consequence* of his Father's benignity to man; "For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." In his rectoral or public relation he was obliged, from respect to justice and the public interests which justice guarded, to condemn when man became a transgressor; while, at the same time, *personally*, or, so to speak, in his *private* character, he had never ceased to desiderate for his unhappy offspring that everlasting beatitude for which he had originally designed him. And he desired that final good for him because he loved him.

The love of God to our lapsed race, then, does not issue from redemption; but redemption, with life eternal in its train, flows from the love of God. A reckless son is guilty of death. His judge is also his father. In the former character, as he can know no other claim than of the justice which merges the individual in the general interest, he dooms this son to die. In the latter character, because a father's love is strong within him, he retires to consult with himself whether by any expedient the public weal and the life of his son can be preserved together. It is found. So far is it from lessening the respect due to law that it rather enhances it; while, at the same time, by removing the legal obstacle to that result, it at once restores the son to his loving father, and reconciles the culprit to his offended judge. This case explains,

1. The private and public relations of father and judge which exist between the Deity and sinning man.

2. It shows how the Deity, acting in this latter character,

was bound to do what the history of his administration discloses as a fact, namely, to place the violator of his law under interdict of the life he had forfeited; and that, while acting thus, he was at liberty, in the former character, to feel what the same record testifies, so much love toward his guilty offspring as pursued him through all the mazes of his apostacy, till it was unvailed in the gift of his all-atoning Son. And,

3. It elucidates, if need be, the true connection between soterial intervention and that active regard of God for the eternal happiness of our sinning humanity, out of which that intervention issued as an effect from its efficient cause.

This *efficient* cause had respect to a corresponding *final* cause, that is, a *reason* out of regard to which it operated. That reason or final cause our Saviour denominates "everlasting life." The several subordinate causes by which the efficient and final causes in question stand connected, may be indicated thus: Believers have eternal life. That life is the final cause. They have that life because they are in Christ. They are in him, because they believed in him. They believed in him, because of the gracious influence procured for them by Christ's death. He died, because he came to die. He came to die, because God sent him—gave him to that end. And finally—for we are now at the efficient cause—God gave him to that end, because it was his will to do so.

Beyond *this* efficient cause it is impossible that there should be any *other;* that is, any other efficient cause producing *this*. The reason is, that efficiency—that which physically causes a thing to be—is the exclusive prerogative of the will itself. Its action, therefore, cannot possibly be due to any other than its own efficient agency. But while forbidden to look behind the Divine will for any efficient cause, reason and the sacred records are alike cognizant of certain mental conditions as necessarily preceding its action. We know them under the name of *motives*. They cannot efficiently cause the mind's action; but inasmuch as the action of mind is, from its very nature, determined in view of moral reasons, and as those reasons are what we mean by the mind's motives, it can no more act in their absence than it can act as an intelligent agent, and without reason, at the same time.

By accommodation we sometimes, in reference to these mental conditions, speak of a *moral* cause, a *motive* cause, an *inducing* cause; and it is on that ground that we have employed this last term in designating the object of this discourse.

To proceed. Having indicated the moral *nexi* between the final and efficient causes of human redemption, in which the latter cause appears identified with divine volition, we are prepared for the next question. Since the above train of subordinate causes, having their issue in man's eternal beatitude, received its first motion from the action of God's will, by the influence of what inducing cause was it that that action was excited? He willed the gift of his Son. In view of what adequate *reason* was it? Happily, the short but all-concluding reason is with us: "God so loved the world."

But here it is asked, and be it with reverence: Since it was the Divine will, deriving its motive from love, which efficiently caused redemption, what was the moral cause of the love which supplied that motive? Had it such a cause? Infinite Intelligence could only have loved for reason, and it must have been adequate. What was it?

To this it has been answered, "He loved because he *would*."* Nay. Will is the attribute of physical energy; whereas love is a moral quality, or a condition of the mind, which, instead of depending on the will, owes its existence to qualities which the mind perceives in the object to which it stands related. The two ideas, therefore, can exist in no such relation to each other as that of cause and effect. The mind cannot love, any more than it can hate, desire, or pity, because it wills to do so; or more properly, it is impossible it should will to do so, for the reason that it is contrary to the laws of mind to will a known impossibility. The will of God, therefore, cannot have been the cause of his love to a fallen world; but, conversely, his love can have been the moral cause which influenced his will. More: the *possible* was the *actual* order. He did not love because he *willed;* but he willed because he *loved.*

He loved, for what reason? "His own glory" is often made the response to this interrogative. What, then, is the Divine glory? Speaking absolutely, the Scriptures represent it as pertaining to the Divine nature "before the world was." All was eternity then. This glory is, therefore, eternal. Still, as there is an intelligible sense in which, where all are coeval, one Divine perfection *depends* upon another, as omniscience on omnipresence, and beatitude on goodness; and as, in morals as well as in physics, glory depends on the object whence it emanates; so the glory of God, in the sense now understood, must be constituted by, and dependent on, all his other perfections—their combined effulgence affecting him in a manner analagous to that in which we are affected by the most resplendent objects in the world of matter or of mind.

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* "He hath loved, he hath loved us, because he *would* love."—*Old Methodist Hymn.*

Now, though this unoriginated glory of God is that effect of all his physical and moral perfections by which he is manifested to himself as an object worthy of his own satisfaction, yet, as the perfections are of his own essence, the satisfaction they excite must not only have himself for its object, but, as the perfections are infinite, the satisfaction is also infinite.

Exhibiting itself under these conditions, it is submitted that this unoriginated glory of the Divine Being cannot have been the consideration which excited that love which moved him to will the mission of a Saviour to our race. For, being objectively and subjectively infinite, to suppose anything desirable on its account were a contradiction. Human redemption, therefore, as it could not have been desiderated, so neither could it have been willed, with reference to that object.

But there is another glory of God adapted to our finite perceptions—the effect of his operations in creation and government. Is this, then, the object which offers the conditions for inducing the love that redeemed us—the honorable estimation in which his character would be held among finite intelligences in consequence of human redemption?

The Divine Being was bound to perform no act which should impair the just respect which was due to him as the Creator and Sovereign of the universe. On the other hand, in developing a scheme of government over intelligent beings, not only his moral perfections but the success of such a scheme itself would demand that his administrative action should tend to invest him, in their estimation, with the highest possible veneration. Hence the redemptive process must not only possess the above negative, but this positive, recommendation; it must enhance his rectoral reputation.

But as government is set up—just government—not for the benefit of the governor but the governed; and as the divine government, from the absolute beatitude of its Author, could have been inaugurated from no respect to his own advantage, and, consequently, could have looked to no other ultimate end than the well-being of his subjects; and as the reputation, honor, glory of the Divine Governor stands related to the success of his administration as means to that same end, it is submitted that it was not, could not have constituted, the object out of respect to which his favorable regards were turned upon his revolted subjects. It could not without confounding our clearest distinctions between means and ends, by making the latter subservient to the former, instead of the former to the latter.

In parting with this latter supposition, it is conclusive of its inadmissibility, as well as that of its kindred predecessor, to remark that the Scriptures, instead of adopting, set it aside in favor of another and the only object involving a natural aptitude for inducing the result in question—the love determinative of redemption. Listen to their testimony by Him who, coming out from God, was intimately conversant with the history of his mind on this subject. "God so loved"—what object? Was it the eternal glory with which absolute perfection invested him? Or was it the *gloria in excelsis* which was to break on the ear of the Bethlehemitish shepherds—the worship, honor, glory, power, and blessing with which myriads of seraphs and redeemed spirits were to render the temporal and eternal ages vocal? Were these, or either of them, so desiderated by the self-sufficient and ever-blessed God as to excite the love which delivered up to death his only Son? No; neither, nor both; but, hear him, earth and heaven! "God so loved the *world*."

The world, then, the aggregate of its lapsed intelligences, being the object in question, it results, from principles before noticed, that this object, in order to its excitement of love in the Divine mind, must have been perceived to possess some quality adapted to induce that result. For, certainly, if, in hating, pitying, or desiring, the mind must perceive some hateful, pitiable, or desirable quality in the object, in loving it must be equally indispensable that it perceive some lovable quality; and that quality, it cannot be too carefully noticed, must be perceived to be in the object of the affection in question, and not in some other object. Any theory that seeks to evade this is too absurd to merit confutation.

What was it in man, then, which induced such love in the paternal Deity as determined him to the gift of his only-begotten Son?

It was not the moral image of his Maker, consisting in "righteousness and true holiness." Neither in whole nor in part, nor in any vestige of any part, was that image perceivable in man when God so loved him.

Does misery—the deep misery of the object—supply a complete answer to the question? Many, not excepting theologians, assume this. Accordingly our Saviour is often made the subject of some such paraphrase as "God so loved the world," *with the love of pity.*

Before criticising this notion of the subject let us concede the truth it embodies, and then point out its deficiency as a complete answer to the question.

First, and briefly: the truth it contains is, that suffering in the object, actual and prospective, did, from its natural adaptation, excite the divine commiseration, and that this commiseration, within its legitimate sphere, was operative as a motive-influence in determining the divine volition. But,

Secondly: mere pity to a suffering object supplies no sufficient reason for its relief. Of course we speak of it, not as a thing of unintelligent instinct, but as the affection of an intellectual nature. As such, the action of the will follows it or not, according as what we call moral fitness recommends such action, or otherwise. Thus: we *pity*, but, because the condition of moral fitness is absent, we do not *will* the relief of such suffering as is necessary either to the destruction of noxious animals, or of such as are requisite for our sustenance. Or more pertinently: though pity is spontaneous in every humane bosom at the sight of suffering in the malefactor, yet what right-minded man, the penal exhibition admitted as a social necessity, allows himself, without other and better reason, to will its prevention?

But even where moral fitness allows the will to act in favor of the object, *mere* pity exhausts itself in the simple termination of its suffering. This is its extent—no more. If, passing that point, then, the affective and volitive faculties concur in the bestowal of positive good, and especially if, as in the case before us, that good includes unspeakable and endless beatitude, it must be upon the objective perception of some higher quality than simple suffering. Consequently, as the perception of that higher quality must induce a corresponding mental state, that state must be different from mere pity. "That whosoever believeth in him should not perish." Pity in the Deity might have moved him to this extent; but simply *as* pity, unless we take the word under the loosest and most confused signification, it could extend no further. But "God so loved the world," not only "that whosoever believeth in him should not *perish*, but"—mark the infinity of opposing import—"but have *everlasting life*."

When, therefore, "God so loved the world," it was in a sense comprehensive of more than mere pity; and, consequently, he was induced to do so upon the perception of more than mere suffering in the object. The conclusion, you perceive, is inevitable, then, that the suffering of the object, either actual or prospective, has no title to be taken as a satisfactory answer to the question. Having seen that neither Divine volition, nor the Divine glory, in either of its acceptations, nor yet the Divine commiseration, was naturally adapted to induce the love in question, and that it could not have been due to the moral image of the Creator in the object, for the reason of its utter absence, allow us, before attempting a more direct solution, to remark, generally, upon the assumption that, if not from the above, the Divine regard must have been induced by other and *unknown* considerations *foreign* to the object. It is this reference of the Divine regard to some foreign consideration, as the source of its inducing influence, upon which are submitted the following observations.

Though one being may bestow a *material* benefit on another from respect to some consideration foreign to the immediate object of the benefit; yet, as in that case the foreign consideration is the true object of the respect which induces the benefit, he could not be said to have bestowed it out of respect to the object of the benefit. Thus: the third Edward bestowed a material benefit on the burghers of Calais. It was *love* that moved him; but love to whom? Not the burghers, but the queen. She was the object of the *love*, they of the *benefit*. Accordingly, the history does not mislead us by saying that the king so loved the royal *hostages*, but that he so loved the royal *consort*. God redeems the world. Love moves him. But love to whom? He so loved the WORLD.

But may not his love to man have been first possibly induced by some foreign object? We answer: However possible it is, as in the case just referred to, to confer a material benefit on one object out of the love which is felt for another; yet, from the nature of things, it is *not* possible for the mind to love vicariously—to feel love for one object merely because it loves another. It cannot feel love to A simply because B is amiable, any more than it can feel hate or pity to C because it perceives hateful or pitiable qualities in D. To affirm, therefore, that a given object is the object of either of these mental states, and to deny that it either does, or is supposed to, possess any quality or condition naturally adapted to induce that state, is to affirm and deny the same proposition.

Enough. He who loves an object must do it upon the perception of some corresponding quality or condition in the object itself. But when man was fallen God loved him. He, therefore, loved him upon the perception of correlated qualities — qualities not foreign, but appurtenant, to the object.

What were they? This will best appear by adverting to man's original *constitution* and *relations:* what was *subtracted* from the value of those properties by sin; and, consequently, what *remained* of that value afterward.

First, then, and briefly, of the primeval man, constitutionally and relationally considered. The being who received this generic designation was a compound of matter and mind. Out of the former was elaborated that structure which, with its various faculties, was adapted for bringing its inmate into communication with the external objects by which it was to find itself surrounded. The latter was essential spirit, furnished with powers of understanding, of willing and nilling, together with faculties of emotion—hope, fear, grief, joy, love, hatred, and whatever else is capable of moving the mind from a state of tranquillity or rest. This spirit was the result of immediate, divine inspiration; for while as yet the receptive form was only *man* by favor of anticipation, his Maker breathed into his nostrils the breath of "lives"—animal, intellectual, and spiritual life all being kindled by the same high afflatus.

As God is no less the author of matter than of mind, it follows that the material constituent of man's nature claimed, though by a less direct mode of derivation, the same divine paternity. Especially was this claim predicable of that constituent, after having been rendered worthy, in point of mechanical adaptation and exquisiteness of external finish, to supply at once the apparatus and residence of the soul—worthy the distinction of the soul's companionship through the cycle of its being—worthy of consecration to the honor of becoming an endless shrine of the Divinity. Not man's soul only, but his body also, both as to material and workmanship, disdains all honor less than that of a divine original. While sanctifying the Operator let us beware of profaning his operation. The work is worthy of the Workman.

These two elements, matter and spirit, were of man's *essence;* and hence we say they were essential constituents of his nature. Now, as the essentiality or essence of a thing is that on which its existence depends, so that, if taken away, it ceases to exist, it is obvious to infer that the moral character of the primitive man, or the qualities constituting that character, were not essential elements of his being, inasmuch as he survived the total loss both of the one and the other.

As constituting that character the Scriptures recognize *knowledge*, together with *righteousness* and *true holiness.* Holiness regards the state and exercise of the affections, whose office it is to furnish motive-influence to the willing faculty. Righteousness respects the exercise of that all-controlling faculty itself. Knowledge is to be understood, not of the faculty of knowing, generally, because, in that sense, being one of the essential faculties, it was insusceptible of loss and recovery; whereas, the knowledge in question was susceptible of both. What is intended, then, is not the natural faculty itself, but the rectitude of its exercise, in the reception and retention of that divine truth by which alone the will was to be guided as to the line of its own safe and proper action. Such was man's original constitution.

Of his *relations*, the oldest was to God, as his Creator, Father, and Judge. As creation confers the highest possible right of ownership, man's first and highest relation to his Creator was that of property, in a sense the most strict and absolute. The interest of such a being in such an object—absolutely his own, and made on purpose to love him—must be a *loving*, *paternal* interest. Hence he was his Father, not merely as he was his Creator, but as having a father's *interest* in him.

As a moral being, man not only naturally owed obedience to his Creator, but his own true interest, for which the Creator was bound to provide, imposed the necessity of holding him to that obedience by an appropriate economy of motives, to say nothing of the necessity consequent upon his connection with a scheme of government embracing other intelligences. Hence the ultimate necessity that he who was man's Creator and Father should also be his Judge.

Secondly: by the arrangement of his physical organism, as well as by the declared purpose of his Author, man was related to a posterity, the heirs of his high capability both of intelligence and felicity, which was to coextend with time and with the habitable spaces of the globe.

Thirdly: his vice-regal relation to supreme Sovereignty, on the one hand, connected him with the trust of empire over earth and all the creatures on the other, together with the right of revenue which Art was to levy on the stores and forces of nature—land, and air, and ocean; fire, and wind, and water, and watery vapor; together with the offering of such conditions to sunlight and the lightning as should drop pictures from the fingers of the one, and send thought across the globe on the wing of the other.

Fourthly: the will of his Creator, expressed in his passional and intellectual adaptation, invested this glorious creature with relationship to a destiny of endless beatitude in the enjoyment of his favor.

This fourth relation, as also the third, the second, and indeed all his relations, together with all the natural and moral constituents of his being, all issued on the ground of that oldest relation, by which, as the property of God, man was justly and absolutely subject to his disposal.

Before permitting our minds to decide the question as to the *value* of such a being, two observations are due, in place of the volumes which could but leave the vast idea imperfectly developed.

The first is, that this being, the end, so far as the record speaks, of all preceding creations, after having been ideally revolved in the Triune Mind—must we not say eternally?—was rendered actual as the *likeness* of his great original. And it must be added, that this assimilation, besides including his *moral* qualities, was equally, and indeed primarily, comprehensive of those *natural* characteristics which were essential to his being, as his moral qualities were not, and without which, as we have seen, his moral qualities themselves could not have existed. In a word, the image in which he was created had for its original the natural as well as the moral perfections of the Creator, especially his spirituality, with the powers of understanding and elective freedom. And that it was no blurred resemblance, has this attestation: its Author declared it superlative; not good, but "*very* good." This notion of the divine image in man, so interwoven with the teachings of both the Testaments, is naturally suggestive of our

Second observation. The point to which it refers us is, how far this last notice, with others of kindred character, bears on the question of man's relation, in point of dignity, to the other orders of finite intelligences. Do his powers of generalization, his faculty of perceiving moral distinctions, his collocation with immortality, his investiture with the image and delegated sovereignty of his Maker—do these prerogatives, while setting him immeasurably above the highest beings of his own sphere, also leave him as far below the lowest beings of the superior spheres? Current consent affirms just this. It places him midway between brute inferiority and angelic excellence.

That the Scriptures, the only medium of knowledge on this subject, directly teach this wide disparity, is not pretended. Do they teach it by consequence? How? By telling us that all the angelic servants of God above are the servants of his servants below? But wherein does inspiration teach it? Not by saying more of the celestial orders than that they were created in God's own image and likeness. And as it is certain it does not say even as much, it leaves a presumption, not only not favorable to man's naturally vast inferiority to angels, but of the converse, that he was more nearly assimilated to his Original than any other finite intelligence.

By what other consequence is this inferiority apparent—such inferiority of human nature to the angelic as is the measure of human superiority to brutal natures—this midway location between the one and the other?

Be it that angel, archangel, cherubim, seraphim, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers are names of *office* in the celestial hierarchies, and that they stand not for empty but substantial honors. Yet who shall say either that these distinctions were original, or that they were not won by ages of trying service in inferior positions? Or who shall certify us that, first or last, so much as a single planet was ever made for all, much less for one, of these numerous orders, and rendered subject to their authority? But a whole world—the labor of ages—was made and furnished expressly for man; and the hour which beheld his birth ushered him into its possession, and beheld him intrusted with its delegated empire.

That, in some extrinsic matters, angels are temporarily superior to man is not disputed; but it is denied that they are so by original constitution, and to the extent of the common assumption. To the accidental grounds of this assumed precedence we should refer the supposition of incorporeity, were it not that it is a *supposition* purely, and incapable of being made good by either scriptural or philosophic induction; and were it not, also, that, if made good, the inference of advantage, rather than its opposite, were not quite unquestionable.

The favorable accidents by which they are known to be distinguished are,

The option of visibility or invisibility to man;

Freedom and celerity of locomotion through space;

Immortality; and

Access to the Divine presence.

From the Scriptures (Luke xx, 36) we learn, however, that these distinctions are temporary; that in the resurrection even the fallen sons of Adam will share their enjoyment. It results, therefore, that the archetypal man, who is known even in his tutelage to have been indued with *some* of these prerogatives, was constituted heir of the *whole.*

The same meaning is deducible from another text, yielding large access of force to our argument. The text is Psalm viii, 5, and it teaches not that man's elevation above the beasts that perish is the measure of his distance below the intelligences next above him: "Thou madest him a *little* lower than the angels." But this, though the language of our translation, both of the Psalm and of Hebrews ii, 7, where it is quoted and accommodated to the Messiah, fails of giving the force either of the Septuagint or the original Hebrew. For the former, which the apostle follows verbatim, means—and to this effect McKnight is concurred with by the best Greek critics as far as known—"Thou madest him for a little *while* less than the angels."

But while even our defective English version advances man to an equal rank with angels, bating but an inconsiderable difference, and the Greek carries him a step nearer, by showing, as we had learned from our Saviour in Luke, that, after only a little time, the earth-born and heaven-born sons of God are to stand together in his presence, the co-equals of each other in all perfections; with what excited interest do we turn our ear from these faint echoes to the accents of the Psalmist himself, as uttered in his own Hebrew vernacular. Without inquiring how the word *angeloi* came into the text of the Seventy, you will perceive that the corresponding Hebrew, *malekey*, is not in the text at all. But man, as if a lower object were unworthy of him, is only compared with God. *Va tichaserhu me at melohim:* "Thou hast lessened him for a little time from God," or, "Thou hast made him less than God for a little time."

Taking the two translations, English and Greek, together, and collating both with the Hebrew, man is seen to ascend in the scale of created dignity,

1. From the equidistant position in which our argument found him, to a grade "a little lower," and but a little lower, "than the angels."

2. This subordinate condition is declared to be temporary; "for a little"—only a little "while."

3. Inspiration, whose eye had swept the wide circle of created excellence in quest of an object suited to illustrate its idea of man's true dignity, fixes on the Infinite. He made man less than himself. "Thou madest him"—not the generic man merely, the *Adam* of the Hebrew context, (see the context.) but the "*son* of Adam," his descendants generally—"Thou madest him less than Elohim;" only less than he "for a little time." That time elapsed, and then—what? An apotheosis? Startling thought! But you see the state of the text. Make your own comment.*

Such was man. Such is the son of man. And if, as inspiration assures us, his Maker "set his heart upon him," was it for some foreign or a personal reason? Was it not for a worthiness with which he himself had invested him?

But sin detracted from the original sum of that worthiness. By what amount? By every element of his moral excellence. Alas! man lost, by the "one offense," the moral constituent of the Divine image, and in this respect the loss was total.

And what, let us now inquire, was his corresponding loss in the matter of relations, and particularly in that of his forestated first and oldest relation to Him who made him? This relation, as premised, was threefold, respecting its adorable object as Creator, Father, and Judge.

1. Creatorship having stamped the subject as property, it need not be argued that sin neither destroyed nor impaired that relation. As man had been, so he *was*, *is*, and *shall be* the absolute property of his Maker. When that relation ceases man himself will have ceased to be.

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* When a learned and judicious friend, to whom the manuscript of this article was submitted, intimated that to construe the Elohim of Psalm viii, 5, literally, would scarcely be thought admissible of sober defense, we hesitated. Such a defense, however, has since appeared in this Review, October, 1860. It is from the pen of Rev. Stephen Vail, D. D., and entitled "Exposition of the Eighth Psalm." "Thou hast made him to want a little of God," is Dr. Vail's rendering. The variation involves nothing at all material to the interest of our argument. The main object of the learned professor is to prove "that the Elohim of the Psalmist, as commonly understood of angels, is utterly without philological foundation;" that the Psalm "teaches the doctrine, that in dignity, as first created, he [man] was superior to the angels, and next in order to the Divine Being." This he has undoubtedly accomplished. The scholarly exposition is worthy the careful attention of every theological student.

2. Related as to a divine Father, he was an object of complacential regard, not only for inherent excellence, and relational value to a vast and costly scheme of creation and government, but because, as heretofore explained, it naturally results from the property relation that the proprietor feels an *interest* in the object, a *care* for it which renders him intolerant of every adverse claim. And it was further explained, that when property in an object stands on the ground of invention, production, or, as in the present case, of the strict and proper creation of a moral intelligence, bearing a natural and moral resemblance to the Creator, then the feeling of interest may be expected to take on the *paternal* character. Man, therefore, was beloved of God, both for what he *was* and for what he was to *him*.

But did not man cease to be beloved of God in consequence of sin? He did not. His moral character was, indeed, destroyed, and to that extent he ceased to be favorably regarded. But the essential man, the ground-work of the Divine image, and itself the primary and a large portion of that image, still remained. And because this primary and undestroyed portion of his image was made up of excellences which were original in his own character, and because, being derived from himself, they were his own property,

> "He looked, and loved his image there."

Sin, therefore, did not lose for man his relation to God as a loving father; "for God so loved him." He so loved him as only the gift of his Son could adequately express. And as he, in the divine purpose, was "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and as that purpose was the offspring of the love in question, it follows that the latter was not less ancient, nor less fixed and changeless, than the former.

3. The memory of this fact—the love of the paternal Deity as antedating and surviving his apostacy—is entitled to accompany and control any just estimate of what was lost on the score of the third branch of his general relations; that which refers him to the administration of divine law.

Held simply by this branch of the general relations, his offense, having forfeited everlasting life, had left him to perish without remedy. And why was he not held by this single relation, and left to perish? Because he was also the subject of another, an older, a dearer, a stronger relation. God, who was his Judge, was also his Father, and he loved him, not irrespectively of, but notwithstanding, his having sinned.

The judicial relation resulted from his governmental or *public* character. The paternal was his *natural*, or what we have ventured to denominate his *private* character. And we have seen how it is, when the two characters unite in the same person, that, while as judge he can only act as the representative of justice by denouncing penalty to the delinquent, he is not only free as a father to love his child, but equally free to call to his aid any available expedient for fulfilling the purposes of good government, and saving the beloved object, at the same time.

But, apart from the illustration, there are the *facts*. Man was divinely doomed to *perish*; while at the same time—the very same—he was so beloved that his ransom had been decided on ages before, and all to the end "that he should *not* perish, but have everlasting life."

On the whole, then—and it is submitted that the solution lies in the above distinction of natural and official relations—though judicially condemned, man's transgression did not lose him either the *passive* regard of his heavenly Father, or the benefit of its *active* intervention, restoring him to official favor.

As to his other relations, our reduced limits, as well as a reduced necessity, must excuse any other than the most general reference. And it shall be by a single remark, in concluding our estimate of the loss realized by sin, to the relational interests of our humanity. It is this: while man's constitutional character remained intact, in which was included so large a part of the divine image, and while that image continued to engage the divine complacency, it were unreasonable to suppose anything materially disastrous to any of his other most valuable relations or interests.

The damage sustained by his defection, therefore, may be comprehended in these two particulars: the loss of original righteousness, and the consequent loss of official favor—the favor of his moral Governor and Judge.

But vast as were these reverses—and the reign of disorder and death which followed in their train can only cease in the throes of our dissolving world—vast as they were, there still remained enough of excellence in the essential constituents of man's nature, and in his relations to ancient and endless purposes, to justify, not a *faint* regard, but the *great* love wherewith his Author is known to have loved him.

Here, then, in the consideration of these original relations, and especially in the undefaced expression of the divine image, made up, as it was, of excellences original in the Creator himself, we have the *inducing* cause of his unchanged complacency.

Involved in these high considerations was another, which, from its importance, merits our distinct attention. It refers, not to any power in the delinqnent of *raising himself*, but to his susceptibility of *being raised* to the high sphere of moral excellence from which he had fallen. And more: it was a susceptibility of fulfilling the original prophecy, not only of his earthly greatness, but of his endless advancement in beatitude, as well as in wisdom, and power, and glory.

When to all this we recall—for it has been noticed before—the connection he held with the joint and immense schemes of creation and providence, embracing myriads of other beings like himself, and germinally included in him, who can but feel that, in loving him, and to the extent of accounting him worthy—not morally, but constitutionally and relationally worthy—of redemption by his Son, the infinite Father acted in sight of reasons which approved themselves not less to his all-perfect wisdom than to his unoriginated and unbounded goodness.

Does the sculptor, because of an accidental defacement, hurl his statue from its pedestal, and grind it into dust, when a *touch* would restore the lost expression? Would the mechanician, especially if supposed to have fulfilled the philosophic condition of rendering his chronometer capable of reproducing a similar marvel, and so on and on, would he place it under his heel, rather than restore a broken dial-plate, a balance-wheel, or even the mainspring of his costly workmanship? Or would the merchant be likely, by reason of a partial plunder, or a partial wreck, or the springing of a leak, either of which his resources would enable him to replace or repair, would he leave his argosy to go down with all its treasures; or, patient of the loss, or repairing the damage, hold her upon her course till the wealth with which he had freighted her were discharged in the emporium of her destination?

And was not the *chef d'œuvre* of infinite skill, the bearer of God's natural image, and fraught with relations and capabilities high as the life of heaven, and far-reaching as eternity—was not he infinitely and justly dearer to him than the most expressive marble to the sculptor, or the marvelous chronometer to its inventor, or the ship to its owner?

Be it that God's regard for his property in man was lessened by the full amount of the value detracted from it by its contact with moral evil; was it not *his* property still? And was it not seized of value enough to induce a *continued*, though it was indeed a *diminished* regard? And was not that regard an adequate motive for maintaining the primary purpose for which man had been ushered upon the theater of divine manifestation? especially if we keep in mind that that primary purpose regarded him, even apart from his inherent worth, as the central object to which the mundane creation and the plan of its providential government were alike related? for the carrying forward of that purpose in his *absence* had been the dramatic absurdity of leaving out the only part which could give interest and significance to the whole.

If, then, neither the artist, the mechanician, the merchant destroys, or suffers the loss of, his valuable property for a reparable defect; if the statue regains its lost expression, the watch its moving power, and the merchant vessel is guided to its destined mart,

> "Bearing the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,"

shall not God's injured image be also re-expressed in the human soul? Shall not rectified affection resupply the motive power of holy action? And shall not the damaged vessel—its helm still in *His* hand who freighted it with merchandise befitting the mart of heaven, and a celestial influence refilling the canvas of its affections—shall it not sail away from the scene of its incipient disaster, till, its voyage ended, its wealth of life and bliss shall be unfolded in the light of the great metropolis of the universe? Or, to change the allusion, shall a sinning yet godlike humanity be dropped from its crowning position in that majestic arch of divine purposes which spans the two eternities? For, being the final object of those purposes, and it being impossible for a purpose to exist without an object, the displacement of the one had been the disruption of the other.

Being now near the pause of our present argument, it may be proper to notify the reader of what, for want of space, must be deferred to a more opportune occasion. Such occasion may be taken to notice how the relation of ownership to such an object, which explains the *first* great process in human salvation, is equally explanatory of the *actual* deliverance of the individual from sin and its consequences. To the explication of that subject we should wish to append a notice of such *objections* to the present view of a great question as may be reasonably anticipated, together with some important *inferences*, including a practical *application* of the whole subject.

For the same reason—the extent of present discussion—it must mainly rest with the reader to collect the various topics of the foregoing argument. Our limits will only allow a suggestion of the following:

The final cause of man's being was his own final *well*-being. The ideal of such a being, with his known appointments, himself the sole exponent of every creative and rectoral movement on the sub-celestial theater, must have been a conception *worthy* its Author's complacential regard. And when that ideal was realized it could not have been less, but must have been even *more* so, as *real* is superior to *ideal* existence, and as the constitutional and moral properties claiming that regard were transplantations, by God's own hand, of corresponding excellences in his own nature.

It follows, then, that while his regard must have been lessened by the value of the lost *moral* properties, it must also have remained unabated by the amount of value in the remaining *constitutional* properties. And this unimpaired constitutional value, let it be carefully remembered, was indefinitely enhanced, in the divine estimation, as well on account of his natural interest in it as an object of property, as by reason of its connection, and the indispensableness of its connection, with the whole scheme of Divine self-manifestation; a scheme reaching back to the past, and forth to the future, eternity. By reason, therefore, of this connectional indispensableness, as well as on account of divinely implanted excellence, involving the dearness of property interest in the object itself, its moral lapse *could not*—we know it *did not*—reduce it below the loving regard of its Creator.

Lapsed man, therefore, was worthy of being loved, not indeed for any moral quality, but for the above-stated constitutional and relational reasons, including susceptibility of being raised to even more than all his forfeited excellence and bliss. And, as worthy of being loved, he was worthy of being redeemed; and all for reasons flowing, as we have seen, from the Creator's own original munificence.

And here we must ask the reader to keep in mind, what has been shown before, that the consideration which induces love can no otherwise exist than in, or as pertaining to, the object itself; and that, consequently, God's love to fallen man—the love which moved him to will and effectuate the redeeming process—must have had respect, not to any foreign considerations, but to qualities and relations perceived in, and pertaining to, the being himself. And we have seen, as well what those qualities and relations were, as their natural adequacy to induce the known result.

Now, as man, with all his essential and relative properties and capabilities, was the original and absolute property of God, and as the paternal interest which such a being must naturally feel in such an object was *his* interest, and issued from the same original relation, it follows, in the meaning of our incipient announcement, that God's ownership of man was the *inducing cause* of man's redemption—and consequent salvation—by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. "For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." To him be glory in the highest, forever and ever.

ART. IV.—ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.

The Life of Archibald Alexander, D.D., LL.D., First Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 562. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

EVERY good minister of the Gospel is the property of the whole Church of God. His piety, his learning and ability, not only secure for himself the respect and confidence of those around him, but commend the Gospel which he preaches, and all who espouse it, to the minds and hearts of the entire community. Each evangelical Church in the land, each Christian society in a city or a town, stands stronger in the popular estimation, secures a more respectful hearing, has more weight and influence upon the popular mind, because of the presence of the others; and not only every able minister, but every man and woman who lives a holy life is a voucher for all who profess "like precious faith." A review of the life of Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, has an appropriate place in a Methodist publication, because more than curiosity prompts us, as a denomination, to inquire into the success of other Churches and other ministers of the Gospel, and examine the instrumentalities wherewith that success has been achieved.

Archibald Alexander was born near Lexington, Rockbridge County, Va., April 17, 1772, and was the third of a family of nine children. His grandfather emigrated from Ireland in the year 1737, and on both his father's and his mother's side Dr. Alexander was a descendant of the Scotch-Irish, or of ancestors who long ago emigrated from Scotland to Ireland, bearing with them, and transmitting to their children, their characteristic industry, thrift, and Calvinistic faith. A century ago the great valley of Virginia was still comparatively a new country, and amid its wild scenes and adventures young Alexander spent his youth. He learned to hunt, and fish, and swim, and recognize at incredible distances the bells of his father's cattle when they were lost in the mountain forests. His early educational advantages were defective. It was the fashion of England in those days to export her criminals to her western colonies, and on their arrival put them up at auction as servants for the term of years named in the sentence of the court which convicted them. Virginia received her full share of them, and, judging from the conduct of certain of her citizens in the present rebellion, their descendants not only exist, but are worthy of their lineage. Archibald's father, in a trading expedition to Baltimore, saw several of these convicts for sale, and having some spare funds on hand, bought the lot, and took them home to the valley. On his arrival he examined his "property," to see what his purchase was worth; and finding that one of them, a boy of nineteen years, possessed a smattering of books, concluded to make him the schoolmaster of the settlement. Under the auspices of this hopeful guide, young Alexander entered the flowery paths of knowledge. The Westminister Catechisms, the Shorter and the Larger, formed an important part of his early acquisitions. At the age of ten years he was told by his father that "learning was to be his estate." The Rev. William Graham, a graduate of Princeton College, had opened an academy, which he named Liberty Hall, and which, in after years, became Washington College. Archibald was placed under the tuition of Mr. Graham, and remained in his school nearly seven years, acquiring some Latin and great skill in cards.

In his seventeenth year he left school, and engaged as tutor in the family of General Posey, a resident of what was then called the Wilderness, a few miles west of Fredericsburgh. Thus far he was not religious, nor even awakened to any sense of danger. He received on one occasion deep impressions from the sermon of a "traveling preacher;" but he records that on hearing his parents speak slightingly of the sermon his convictions instantly vanished. At the age of seventeen his ideas of religion were exceedingly imperfect, and are thus described by himself: "My only notion of religion was that it consisted in becoming better. I had never heard of any conversion among the Presbyterians."—P. 32. The process by which he was aroused to a sense of his lost condition, and led into the path of peace, is so curiously illustrative of the times, as well as the individual, that we deem it not inappropriate to trace it briefly in these pages, especially in view of the fact that we design to devote most of the space allotted us to the earlier portion of the life of Dr. Alexander.

In the family of General Posey was an aged Christian lady, a member of the Baptist Church, who often spoke to him on the subject of religion, and persuaded him to read to her in religious authors, of which her favorite was John Flavel. On one occasion she related to him her experience in regard to a change of heart, closing with the pithy remark: "Now I know all this must appear utter nonsense to you who have experienced nothing of the kind." His residence in the Wilderness brought him into contact with examples of professed infidelity, as well as of piety, and the evil influence was felt. He began to question, and reason, and, in a degree, doubt; but one day, in searching among some books which had been sent him from home, he found a coarsely printed pamphlet, entitled "Internal Evidences of the Christian Religion. By Soame Jenyns, Esq." He sat down at once to read, and before he laid it down was so thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Bible that the very room in which he was "seemed to be illuminated."

His inquiries now assumed a new form, and he began to ask himself, What is this *new birth* of which some speak? He thus confesses his perplexity: "It seemed to be in the Bible, but I thought there must be some method of explaining it away; for among the Presbyterians I had never heard of any one who had experienced the new birth, nor could I recollect ever to have heard it mentioned."—P. 101. It is a curious fact that there is no explanation of regeneration, or the new birth, in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, nor in the Westminster Catechisms. He continued to read, and began to pray in secret places. Under the guidance of Flavel he began to get some idea of the nature of regeneration, and a little book called "Jenks on Justification by Faith," showed him, more clearly than it had ever before been in his view, the way of life. He began to hope at times that he had already experienced the spiritual change; but his seasons of peace and jóy were transient, and his experience was anything but satisfactory to himself. In regard to this period of doubt and inquiry he says: "To John Flavel I certainly owe more than to any uninspired author."

At the close of the year he returned home to Rockbridge, with the design of pursuing his studies. He found his eldest sister seeking an interest in Christ, and his religious impressions were deepened. A rumor reached the settlement that an extraordinary revival was in progress on the other side of the Blue Ridge, and the news awakened great interest among the people. His teacher, the Rev. Mr. Graham, was invited to visit the place, and assist in preaching to the crowds who flocked to hear the word. He took with him several of his pupils, among whom was young Alexander. A multitude came together from various quarters, far and near, and the travelers from Rockbridge were much impressed by seeing a large number of young converts from another settlement, fifty or sixty miles distant, coming on horseback through the forests, singing hymns as they rode. Several ministers were present at the meeting, among whom the leading men were Mr. Graham and Dr. John B. Smith, the brother of Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College. Listening to the pungent sermons, and exhortations, and fervent prayers of the occasion, Alexander became more and more interested and moved. He imagined that a personal conversation with Dr. Smith would scatter his doubts, and finally obtained an interview. But having stated his experience, his occasional hopes and enjoyments, followed by a relapse into sin, he was informed in a very peremptory way that "these exercises were not of the nuture of true religion, as that always destroys the dominion and power of sin." Then occurred that strange error of consciousness not unknown in the present day. He was in great distress because he had no feeling of sorrow for his sins; he "rolled on the ground in anguish of spirit, bewailing his insensibility."

The company of ministers passed on from place to place, holding meetings as they went, and sometimes spending several days in a neighborhood when the prospect of good was unusually encouraging. On one occasion, having retired into a wood for prayer, Alexander was "suddenly visited with such a melting of heart as he never had before or since," which gave him a "sweet composure of spirit," but after all "left no permanent change in his condition." A few days afterward he came to the apparently calm and deliberate conclusion that he "should certainly be lost forever," inasmuch as he had found himself, as he fancied, incapable of that degree of conviction for sin which is necessary to salvation. A minister with whom he had no acquaintance singled him out, and on hearing the result of his reasonings, and upon what they were based, showed him the mistakes into which he had fallen. On being assured that no particular degree of conviction is necessary, beyond the conscious need of a Saviour, he at once began to trust in Christ, and entertain from that instant a "joyful hope." That same day, it would seem, he was called upon to pray in a public meeting, and complied, "being delivered from the fear of man." The next morning after this event they set out for Rockbridge, singing revival hymns as they rode along.

They were accompanied home by several of the ministers who had been engaged in the good work on the other side of the mountain, and the new converts deemed a revival in Lexington a certainty. A great congregation gathered to hear from Mr. Graham and his companions an account of what they had seen and heard in Bedford and Prince Edward, and the assembly was deeply moved by the recital. Many of the young people were soon numbered among the inquirers. Some of the older ones, however, who had never heard of a revival before, doubted; and an uncle of Alexander's came to their house armed with a volume of Locke's Essays, with a leaf turned down at the chapter on *enthusiasm*. The word of the Lord prevailed in spite of opposition, and many souls were truly converted. In the midst of these happy scenes young Alexander was suddenly prostrated again by the idea that his repentant sorrows had never been deep enough to render them efficacious. Determining to give himself to incessant prayer till either death or success came, the next morning he took his Bible, and walked several miles into the forest, and under a projecting rock, in a dark ravine, he began the mighty contest. He read and prayed, and prayed and read, till his strength was utterly exhausted, and only sank deeper in darkness and despair. He was sorely tempted at one time to give up the struggle, but concluded to offer a final prayer, to utter one more cry for mercy. He did so, and deliverance came. "The whole plan of grace appeared as clear as day," and he was filled with "a joy unspeakable and full of glory." When the first tumult of his emotions had subsided he opened his Bible again, and read the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of John, and the sacred page appeared to be illuminated with heavenly light. Drawing writing materials from his pocket, he penned a solemn covenant to be the Lord's forever, and there, alone under the rock, "solemnly signed it, as in the presence of God."—P. 71.

And yet not a week elapsed before the conflict was as fierce, and the cloud as dense as ever. Still, shortly after this, in the autumn of 1789, when he was in the eighteenth year of his age, he made a profession of his faith, and united with the Presbyterian Church. In after life he looked back at this period of spiritual strife, and regarded much of his distress as the result of misapprehension. He says:

> "Now, at the age of seventy-seven, I am of opinion that my regeneration took place while I resided at General Posey's, in the year 1788."—P. 72.

As an explanation of this last remark, it is proper for us to say that Dr. Alexander's theory of the order of the several parts of the experience which lies at the beginning of a true religious life, varies widely from the Methodistic view. In the Wesleyan theology the process is this: first comes conviction of sin, in which the soul, aided by the Spirit of God, sees and feels its guilt and danger, and, yielding to the divine influence, anxiously inquires, What must I do to be saved? Then comes faith, an act by which the soul, still graciously assisted, relinquishes every other trust, and relies alone on the mercy of God and the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ for salvation. In that hour come pardon, and generally, if not invariably, a degree of peace, and in the self-same hour comes regeneration, the new birth, the renewal of the soul in the divine image, the commencement of a recreating process, which, in its completion, fits man for the inheritance of the saints in light.

But in Dr. Alexander's theory regeneration is the very beginning of the process, and precedes not only faith, but even repentance. His mode of reasoning upon the subject may be seen in the following brief extracts:

> "The spirit operates on the dead soul, communicating the principle of life. The word holds up to the view of the regenerated soul the evil of sin, which leads to repentance." "How can light shine into a blind mind without some previous operation on that mind?" "It is true that all pious exercises are produced by a view of the truth, but this view of the truth is the effect of regeneration, not the cause."—*Life*, pp. 74, 121.

> "It is usually taken for granted that the convictions experienced are prior to regeneration. But it would be very difficult to prove from Scripture, or from the nature of the case, that such a preparatory work is necessary. Suppose an individual to be, in some certain moment, regenerated; such a soul would begin to see with new eyes, and his own sins would be among the things first viewed in a new light."—*Religious Experience*, p. 29.

Dr. Alexander held, however, that the unregenerate may experience remorse, terror, what the world calls "conviction of sin;" "but," he adds, "there is nothing in this kind of conviction which has any tendency to change the heart or make it better. Some, indeed, have maintained, with some show of reason, that under mere legal conviction the sinner grows worse and worse."—*Rel. Exp.*, p. 31.

In reading these passages it is a very natural inference that Dr. Alexander uses the term regeneration in some lower sense than is usual among evangelical Christians; but examination makes it clear that he employs it as designating a sure mark of the true child of God. It must be confessed, that however this doctrine may differ from Wesleyan modes of setting forth the process of salvation, it is a stone which fits very neatly into the Calvinistic edifice.

It is no part of our present design to discuss controverted points, or we might be tempted to ask a question or two. If, as the Confession of Faith declares, "this effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone," man being "altogether passive therein," and if they who are "effectually called" shall "certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved," where is the justice of holding a sinner accountable for the loss of his own soul? To say that the sinner cannot take one step that tends to life till he has undergone, being "altogether passive therein," a spiritual change which renders his salvation a certainty, is to take the sinner's destiny wholly out of his own hands and advocate practical fatalism. And how coolly the advocates of this theory assume that God has not the power to make repentance at all possible without making salvation absolutely certain! To prove that regeneration, in which man is "altogether passive," and which, nevertheless, is an infallible pledge of eternal salvation, must of necessity precede even the beginnings of true conviction, he asks: "How can light shine into a blind mind without some previous operation on that mind?" But it seems to us that the Mosaic account of the creation suggests a far more difficult problem: How can a soul, created holy, perfect, in the image of God, be at the same time capable of sin? If divine wisdom can make a being perfectly holy, and yet, in the freedom of its own will, capable of sinning, surely divine grace can so aid an unholy being that it shall be capable of hearing the divine call to repentance, and of beginning truly to seek the Lord, and yet retain its true freedom of choice, and be, in the eye of strictest reason and justice, accountable for its action, and able to decide the momentous question of life and death. Moreover, if the theory be true and scriptural, that regeneration precedes repentance and faith, then either pardon precedes faith, or souls are regenerated and become true children of God before they are forgiven. And if regeneration, which, according to the Calvinistic theory, is an infallible pledge of eternal salvation, must in all cases precede the exercise of faith, we confess that we cannot see very clearly how faith is the condition of salvation. In fact, from this one feature we may infer every element of the most rigid, remorseless partialism; just as the skillful naturalist, from the shape of a single tooth, infers the talons, the lithe frame, the prowling habit and bloodthirsty nature of the beast of prey. It makes little difference at what point in the process of salvation you in theory locate the new birth, if the title of the elect to eternal life is just as good before their natural birth as it is after their spiritual regeneration.

Mr. Alexander's attention was now seriously turned to the ministry, and with this in view he resumed his studies, under the tuition of Mr. Graham, in company with five or six other young men, who were converted in the great revival. He began to exercise his gifts, or, in Methodistic phrase, "exhort" at religious meetings, sometimes speaking with ease and fluency, sometimes suffering the torture of a failure. "It was, however, in such exercises as these," remarks his biographer, "that he laid the foundation for that habit of extraordinary extemporaneous discourse which was his grand peculiarity as a preacher and a teacher."

He was licensed in October, 1791, at a meeting of the Presbytery held in Winchester, and immediately began to preach occasional sermons, though at times "overwhelmed with an awful feeling of responsibility and unfitness for the sacred office." He was now nineteen and a half years of age, his stature small, and "his whole appearance strikingly boyish," so that strangers took him to be three or four years younger. On the second occasion of his preaching after his licensure the wind blew away the "skeleton" of his sermon, and he resolved on the spot to "take no more paper into the pulpit," a resolution which he kept for twenty years, with the single exception of the sermon which he preached at his own ordination. His youthful efforts, thus extemporaneous and free, were flowing, imaginative, and impassioned, and, from the first, attracted great attention. One of his early friends, speaking of Mr. Alexander's preaching at this time, compared him to a "young horse of high blood, led out into a spacious pasture, exercising every muscle, and careering in every direction with extravagant delight." In reference to the manner in which he began his ministry, the biographer quotes with approbation the following significant remarks of the Rev. Dr. Hall:

> It deserves to be noted by all ministers and candidates, that one of the chief external means by which Dr. Alexander attained what are often called his inimitable excellences as a preacher, was his spending several years after licensure and ordination in itinerant missionary service, preaching in the humblest and most destitute places, often in the open air, and adapting his language and manner to minds that needed the plainest kind of instruction. It will be a good day for the ministry and the Church when the performance of a term of such itinerant service shall be exacted as part of the trials of every probationer before ordination.—P. 119.

This we take to be an emphatic indorsement of the old Methodist mode of training young ministers for their high vocation. It is a little curious to find that the only course which it was in the power of our Church in the beginning to take is, in these latter days, regarded by others as the highest wisdom. Part of the itinerant missionary service alluded to was performed on horseback, in Eastern Virginia, along the line of North Carolina, and occupied some six months. He then accepted, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Lacy, a call to a veritable circuit, on which there were six preaching places scattered over a territory sixty miles long and thirty miles wide. They traveled in true itinerant style, on horseback, with their books and clothes in saddle-bags. This circuit was soon divided, Mr. Alexander taking for his share of it two Churches bearing the suggestive names of Briery and Cub Creek, when he was ordained in 1794, and installed the next year. Having labored here assiduously for about two years he was elected President of Hampden Sidney College, an institution which had, in the twenty-four years of its existence, attained the position of a respectable academy only, and at this particular date seemed to be in danger of dying for lack of patronage. Here he applied himself with energy and perseverance to the management of the institution, spending his Sabbaths in preaching to two regular congregations, besides irregular ministerial labors in the surrounding country, and devoting all the time that the school and the Churches left him to an omnivorous course of reading and study. He succeeded well in each of his triad of avocations.

In 1801 Mr. Alexander resigned both the presidency of the budding college and the charge of the Churches. He had overtaxed his physical strength and wished to recruit it, and, moreover, was desirous of making a journey through New Jersey, New York, and New England, and becoming acquainted with various ministers of note. The fifty pages which the biographer devotes to this journey are, in some respects, the most interesting portion of the volume, as they set forth a vivid picture of the times, the state of the country, the manners and the men of the day, with the various questions in theology which then formed the staple of polemics. Having been chosen by his presbytery a delegate to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which was to meet in Philadelphia in the month of May, he again brought out his itinerant equipments, packed his saddle-bags for the long journey, and set forth in the style of a true cavalier. On his way to Philadelphia he stopped for a few days in Louisa County, to pay a visit to Dr. James Waddel, one of the most noted Presbyterian ministers in the state. At one period of his life Dr. Waddel lost his eyesight, and did not regain it for several years; and it was of him that Wirt wrote his famous description of the Blind Preacher in the British Spy. In the General Assembly Mr. Alexander found some of the most eminent men of the times: Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Drs. Green, Woodhull, M'Knight, and others. Only seventeen presbyteries were represented, and there were but three delegates from the Southern states. The Synod of Virginia reported that they had employed six missionaries to labor in the newly settled regions west of the Alleghany Mountains, and that good results had followed.

Mr. Alexander was appointed a delegate to the Congregational General Association of Connecticut, and, once more mounting his horse, proceeded in a leisurely manner on his journey northward. The first day's ride brought him to Trenton, N. J., and the next to Princeton, the place where he was destined to spend nearly forty years of his life. Here he renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, who, as he often remarked many years afterward, "was the most elegant gentleman he ever saw." "The beauty of his countenance, the clear and vivid complexion, the symmetry of his form, and the exquisite finish of his dress, were such as to strike the beholder at first sight." The clerical style of dress at that time was, sooth to say, a little imposing: large wigs and cocked hats were almost usually worn, and those who ministered to city congregations generally wore powder. At Danbury, Conn., he chronicles the fact that he saw there still in use the pillions on which the women rode to church behind their husbands and fathers. They arrived at Litchfield on the day when the General Association met. He remarks thus upon the sights which he saw: "The appearance of the old country clergymen was to me novel and grotesque. They came into town on horseback or in chaises, wearing cocked hats, and sometimes with queues dangling down the back. The opening sermon was preached by Dr. Perkins, of Hartford. The ministers all met at the house of the pastor, Mr. Huntington; and the first thing was a distribution of long pipes and papers of tobacco, so that the room was soon filled with smoke." The Association seemed to have but little business; no set speeches were made, and the session was short. Mr. Alexander again mounted his horse and continued his tour, visiting the noted ministers of the various localities, everywhere admiring the unaffected hospitality of New England, and recording his observations. Just at this time the Churches seem to have been most restless and unsettled; every minister whom he met was ready to throw down the glove for theologic combat; and every layman had a psalm, or a doctrine, or a tongue, or a revelation, or an interpretation. To differ from others was deemed the laudable mark of an independent thinker; and men set up their private creeds with as much self-gratulation as *parvenus* set up their private carriages. The Independent theory of Church government relieved each pastor and congregation from all disciplinary accountability to their fellows; no official life could be lost in the arena, and the champion of the weakest novelty knew that even in defeat no more serious penalty awaited him than to be brained with a syllogism, or unhorsed with a quotation from the original Greek.

One question which was then mightily exercising New England theologians was: "Is God the efficient author of sin?" Dr. Hopkins, Dr. Emmons, and others were understood to hold the affirmative; while another party, of whom Drs. Nathan Strong and Timothy Dwight were the leaders, denied it. Controversy was also rife on the questions, Whether a supposed willingness to be damned should be deemed a valuable sign of electing grace; and whether the use of means of grace by the unregenerate ought to be recommended or denounced. All along his route he found the Hopkinsian controversy in full operation, and every minister whom he met seemed to consider it perfectly well-bred to ask his views of the points debated, and to state his own with all freedom.

At Franklin, Mass., Mr. Alexander spent some days with Dr. Emmons, one of the ablest of the followers of Dr. Hopkins, and learned to respect the man and the Christian, though he disclaimed all affinity for his peculiar creed. As he approached Boston he found that his horse and equipments began to attract no little attention; the spectacle of a clerical-looking gentleman, with valise, overcoat, and saddle-bags, mounted on a reformed Virginia racehorse, being an unprecedented one in those high latitudes. When he entered the city the loungers at the various hotels greeted him with such a concentrated stare, that he passed one public house after another without the courage to stop till he found that he had gone entirely through the town, and was passing over the bridge to Cambridge. The theological celebrities of the place roused his astonishment full as much as his saddle-bags and Virginia racer did that of the natives. His account of the state of opinion may well excite wonder at the present hour:

> There was as yet no public line of demarkation among the clergy. One might learn with ease what each man believed, or rather did not believe, for few positive opinions were expressed by the liberal party. Dr. Kirkland was said to be a Socinian, as was Mr. Topham, and Dr. Howard an Arian. Dr. Ekley had professed to be an Edwardean; but he came out, after my visit, a high Arian. Mr. Eliot was an Arian, Mr. Emerson a Unitarian of some sort, and Dr. Lathrop a Universalist. Dr. Freeman, one of the first who departed from orthodoxy, was the lowest of all, a mere humanitarian. He still used the book of Common Prayer, altered so as to suit his opinions. Dr. Morse was considered a rigid Trinitarian. Dr. Harris was reckoned a low Arminian, and became a thorough Unitarian.—P. 236.

After spending a week or ten days among the novel scenes and motley theologies of Boston, he once more took saddle. At Ipswich he made the acquaintance of Dr. Dana the elder, who had just been engaged in a controversy in regard to the means of grace, he and Dr. Tappan of Cambridge having been arrayed against Drs. Emmons and Spring. At Rowley he preached, and was followed home from the church by two of his hearers, one of whom was a deacon, that he might decide for them a metaphysical question over which they had been disputing for some time. The question duly propounded was this: "Is there anything in the mind besides exercises?" Having never heard of the "Exercise Scheme," he was at a loss to know what was the precise point of the controversy; but a cautious question or two brought the belligerents into noisy collision, and by causing them to expend their logic upon each other, forgetful of their umpire, saved him the trouble of giving an opinion. At Ipswich he found eight Congregational Churches, with their pastors, no two of whom agreed in doctrine, besides a Society of Freewill Baptists, who differed from the whole theological octave.

In passing from Massachusetts over the mountains of New Hampshire, he had an interview with the father of Daniel Webster. The old gentleman informed him that he had a son in college at Dartmouth, and talked in a way which made it "easy to see that he was proud of him." He afterward met young Daniel at Hanover, and, on commencement-day, heard him pronounce an oration, not on law or politics, but on the recent discoveries made in the science of chemistry. In the Church or on the highway, in the study or the parlor, at bed and board, Mr. Alexander encountered controversy. On one occasion he overtook two ministers, total strangers to him, who were journeying in an old style gig. The strangers offered theological battle, and the contest became so animated that one of them volunteered to give Mr. Alexander his seat in the chaise and ride the saddle-horse, that the disputants might engage at close quarters. The offer was accepted, and so absorbed did the disputants become in the debate that several times they were nearly upset among the rocks.

At Shelburne he found a revival in progress, and was persuaded by the pastor of the church, the Rev. Mr. Packard, to remain and labor among the people for two weeks. One thing in the conduct of those who were professedly awakened gave him great surprise: "They sat still, and believed it improper to pray, or use any means except hearing, until they received the gift of a new heart." He "preached as usual," exhorting inquirers to read and pray, and labored with great acceptance, so that often the church would not hold the crowds that came to hear him. It may be remarked here that Mr. Alexander preached much throughout the whole tour; and that his sermons were everywhere received with great favor. Dr. Sprague, in the third volume of his Annals, published in 1858, remarks that "there are still persons living in New England who will speak in rapture of the wonderful effect which his eloquence produced upon them."

Turning once more in the direction of home, he proceeded at his leisure down the valley of the Connecticut, passed through New York city, Newark, and Elizabethtown, remaining a day or two in each place of interest, and preaching every Sabbath. At Princeton he attended the commencement exercises of the New Jersey College, and saw gathered there many of the leading men of his own denomination, lay and clerical, in the state. The trustees, after a hasty consultation on the stage, conferred on Mr. Alexander the degree of Master of Arts. After preaching a Sabbath or two in Philadelphia and Baltimore he hastened to Hopewell, the residence of Dr. Waddell, to whose daughter, Janetta, he was soon afterward united in marriage.

Thus ended a tour of great interest and profit to Mr. Alexander. Even to his old age he never grew weary of talking of it, finding in its well-remembered incidents a never-failing fund of amusement and instruction for himself and others.

Mr. Alexander now resumed the charge of the college and his two congregations, and for five years more, or from the thirtieth to the thirty-fifth year of his age, devoted himself assiduously to his multiplied duties as president, teacher, and pastor, besides pushing on, with all zeal and energy, the work of personal improvement. In the opinion of his biographer, he was now at the zenith of his power as a preacher. Certainly his reputation in his own state was very high, and he was steadily winning his way to a place among the leading minds of his denomination. Having received a call to Philadelphia, he resigned his presidency and his pastoral charge, and in April, 1807, was installed pastor of the Pine-street Presbyterian Church of that city. This same year he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly, which event, not of much significance in itself, was honorable to a man of thirty-five years, and had an important bearing upon his whole future life. Because he was Moderator in 1807, custom made it his duty to preach the annual sermon before the General Assembly in 1808. On that occasion he chose for his subject the Church and the Ministry, and treated at considerable length the question of preparation for the ministry, advocating the establishment of some kind of a theological school. At that time the custom was for the candidate for the ministry, after completing his academical course, to pursue the subject of theology under the direction of some settled minister, who directed his studies, criticized his juvenile sermons, and inducted him into the regular modes of pastoral duty. A sentence or two from the sermon will show the position which he took:

> The first thing here which deserves our attention is the introduction of suitable men into the ministry. If you would have a well-disciplined army you must begin by appointing good officers. . . . In my opinion we shall not have a regular and sufficient supply of well-qualified ministers of the Gospel until every Presbytery, or at least every Synod, shall have under its direction a seminary established for the single purpose of educating youth for the ministry, in which the course of education from its commencement shall be directed to this object.—Page 297.

Dr. Ashbel Green, then pastor of a church in Philadelphia, and afterward President of Princeton College, held the same views; and the conviction of their correctness was gaining ground. In 1809 the Assembly took action in the case, and in 1812 the plans were matured and the first professor elected by the Assembly. The biographer quotes the following description of the election:

> It was unanimously resolved to spend some time in prayer previously to the election, and that not a single remark should be made by any member in reference to any candidate before or after the balloting. Silently and prayerfully these guardians of the Church began to prepare their votes. They felt the solemnity of the occasion, the importance of their trust. Not a word was spoken, not a whisper heard as the teller passed around to collect the result. The votes were counted, the result declared, and the Rev. Dr. Alexander was pronounced elected. A venerable elder of the church in Philadelphia, of which Dr. Alexander was pastor, arose to speak, but his feelings choked utterance. How could he part with his beloved pastor? His tears flowed till he sat down in silence. . . . The Rev. Mr. Flinn [the Moderator] called on the Rev. Dr. Woodhull, of Monmouth, to follow in prayer. He declined. Two others were called on, and they declined, remarking that it was the Moderator's duty. He then addressed the throne of grace in such a manner, in such a strain of elevated devotion that the members of the Assembly all remarked that he seemed almost inspired. Weeping and sobbing were heard throughout the house.—Page 310.

Dr. Alexander was inaugurated into his new office on the 12th of August, 1812.

> It was an occasion of great solemnity and feeling. The older ministers, especially those to whom the direction was intrusted, looked with parental yearnings on the infant seminary, and none were more ready to hail with thankfulness and hope the approach of new means for training the ministry than those excellent men, who lamented the scantiness of their own early opportunities.

Thus Dr. Alexander, in the meridian of his strength, was placed in the most responsible position, in the highest post of Christian honor, to which the respect and confidence of his brethren could exalt him. This year, 1812, was the middle year of his life. He was now forty years of age, and thenceforward his life was destined to flow on in a calm and even stream. For forty years, lacking a few months, he was senior professor in the seminary, faithfully and laboriously, with heart and mind and strength, performing the duties whereunto he deemed himself called. His influence among his brethren grew wider and deeper as his mind gathered its stores of knowledge and experience; and with increasing years, public respect ripened into veneration. That he should be regarded as well-nigh infallible by the youth under his care is but natural; that the community in which he lived should hold him in great respect was also natural. But far outside of these narrow bounds his name had weight; and in the highest councils of his Church he was eminent as an adviser in doubtful junctures, and as a safe guide in difficult enterprises.

In the main business of his after life he prospered. The seminary, which began in 1812 with nine students, numbered fifty in attendance in ten years, and at the time of his death had nearly three times that number. Under his administration large and commodious buildings were erected, a fine library was collected, ample funds were raised and permanently invested, and all the appliances necessary to the accomplishment of a great educational work were gathered.

At rather a later period of his life than is common in the literary world, Dr. Alexander came before the public as an author. His first volume, entitled "A Brief Outline of the Evidences of the Christian Religion," was published in the year 1825, when he had already attained the age of fifty-three years; and was followed by a volume on the "Canon of the Old and New Testaments," (1825,) a hymn book, (1831,) "The History of the Log College," (1845,) "The History of African Colonization," (1846,) "The History of the Israelitish Nation," (1852,) "Outlines of Moral Science," (1852,) a volume of Sermons, and another on Religious Experience, together with a large number of sermons, addresses, and review articles on miscellaneous subjects.

In these labors of the pen, added to those which pertained to his regular official duties, with occasional sermons preached for his ministerial brethren in the neighboring towns and cities, the last forty years of his life glided away with the occurrence of few events such as arrest the attention of general readers. The biographer, therefore, bestows but half as much space upon this period as upon the earlier part of the life which he traces.

Dr. Alexander attained what may be called, in the full sense of the words, a good old age. He retained his powers of mind and of body well to the very last. At the age of seventy-five he was more fleshy, more cheerful, and "enjoyed the sense of health more than in his years of prime." "His love of children, of family chat, of visits from friends, of psalmody, and of the daily journals was undiminished," and "even in natural things his last days were his best days." His letters show that he was continually meditating on his departure, and yet entering into no mental or moral shadow of death. As evinced in his public ministrations, as well as his family worship, his piety became more deep and fervent, and yet remained as cheerful and buoyant as ever. He still labored on industriously with voice and pen, lecturing before the students in the seminary, preaching for his ministerial brethren, and all the while intent on doing good, being fully persuaded that for an old man to "retire," as it is called, is to court imbecility.

But the inevitable, inexorable event came at last. In the seminary chapel, on the 7th of September, 1851, he preached the last sermon of a ministry of sixty years, and on the following Sabbath, at a sacramental service in the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, delivered his last public address. The same day in which he attended this latter service he became indisposed; nature yielded to a painless and yet rapid process of decay; and, like a piece of machinery from which the motive power has been detached, "the weary wheels of life" slackened in their revolutions, and on the 22d of the next month "stood still." His last moments were serene, and at times full of holy joy. It is said that he remarked to a friend who called to see him during his illness, that "all his theology had narrowed down to this: Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

In closing our review of this admirable volume of biography, it does not enter into our plan to set forth any extended critical estimate of the native powers of mind, the literary acquisitions of Dr. Alexander, or the general character and extent of his influence in his own denomination and in the community. Evidence, derived from many sources, testifies to his ability as a preacher, especially during the period immediately preceding his removal from Virginia. As a writer, he was simple, clear, interesting, and instructive, without aiming at elaborate literary finish. For the office of an instructor of youth, in which he spent more than a half century of his life, his clearness of thought, fullness of information, simplicity of language, and habits of unwearied application, give him peculiar fitness. His keen observation, retentive memory, and solid judgment made him a wise counselor and an invaluable friend. As a thinker, his habits of teaching were calculated to make him clear, full, and accurate, rather than creative and original. Cautious and conservative in a high degree, he sometimes in his public ministrations failed, we think, to act up to the measure of his responsibility. In the temperance discussion, for instance, his name was seldom mentioned, except as a city of refuge for those who, instead of engaging zealously in the unwelcome labor of reformation, contented themselves with finding fault with the measures which were adopted, and the men, who were honest, if not wise, in the good work; and to his influence we attribute much of the apparent coldness and indifference which many of the leading men of his denomination have evinced on the subject. How far his extreme sedentary habits, during the latter part of his life, by keeping him away from the sight of the evils of intemperance, may account for this, we essay not to determine. As a theologian, he was rigid and uncompromising, and, as his theory of regeneration indicates, a thorough Calvinist, holding that none are "redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only."

As a minister of the Presbyterian Church, he was strongly attached to her doctrine and order, and abundant in labors to increase her strength and success. This loyalty and zeal we deem Christian virtues worthy of universal emulation. At the same time so prone are men to err that even our highest and most unselfish affections need watching. It is natural to infer, from the laws of mind, that fifty years spent in explaining and enforcing the same peculiar doctrinal propositions must deepen the impression of their truth and importance, and create in the teacher a tendency, of which he may not be fully conscious, to grade the intellect, piety, and learning of other men higher or lower, in proportion to the readiness with which they receive, and the tenacity with which they hold, those peculiar tenets. There is danger that the teacher who has argued both sides of the same controversy so many times before his admiring pupils, and never once failed to make his own side achieve a triumphant victory, shall come at last to speak of his opponents with a subdued air of conscious superiority, and the humility of the Christian be somewhat alloyed with human vanity and pride. There are traces of this feeling in almost all the religious publications of the Alexander family, sometimes cropping out in an objectionable way, not very well calculated to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." It is very probable that the assumption of superiority by the adherents of one organization is offensive to others, because it is a direct attack upon their Church pride. Of all labors of love, there are few to which men apply themselves more willingly than to the cultivation of the grace of humility in other people. Making charitable allowance for human weakness, we nevertheless deem it not out of place to make the remark, in regard to the general subject, that it may be doubted whether it is right to cultivate this ideal sense of superiority as an element of denominational strength. The policy of teaching youth always to elevate their heads slightly when they speak of those who differ from them in opinion, may have the effect to make them hold the more strongly to their own circle, and work the harder for it; still the motive and the result, the cause and the effect, are of the flesh rather than of the Spirit.

In regard to the literary execution of the volume before us, the tribute of a gifted son to the memory of a gifted father, we can but say, in emphatic terms, that we deem it one of the very best modern contributions to the biographical department of our literature, and worthy to be studied as a model by all who contemplate writing memoirs either of themselves or of others.

ART. V.—THE PROPHETS AND THEIR PROPHECIES.

Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen. Von A. THOLUCK. Gotha: Friedrich A. Perthes.

THE unbidden thoughts of a serious, thinking man are of priceless value. The late Dr. J. W. Alexander, in his *Thoughts on Preaching*, speaks glowingly of them, and says of himself that those sermons which "came to him" were his best. He advises every young man to note down these random flashes, lest when he wishes to recall them he may find them to have fled from his memory. It is of such scintillations that the little volume before us seems to have been made. Its author has spent his life in the study and elucidation of the word of God; and now, as he draws near the close of his career, he appears to look over his scrap-book, and culling out the best of his thoughts on that much neglected but equally abused subject of prophecy, he strings them loosely together and sends them out to the world. Faithful among the many faithless, he has never once laid down the sword of scriptural defense; and when the regeneration day of Germany comes it will be found that his efforts for a revival of pure and evangelical Christianity have not only been heroic but well aimed and most successful. If our Methodism has made rapid strides in the birth-land of the Reformation, to Tholuck and a few like him be the honor of having made straight the path.

Divination.

Every heathen nation in ancient or modern times has had some faith in a lower or higher form of prophecy. The *augures* and *haruspices* of the Romans were a class of diviners who founded their predictions on a purely natural basis. But the *μάντεις* and *προφῆται* of the Greeks belonged to a superior class, since they claimed to have derived their knowledge of the future from Deity himself. The Church fathers maintained that everything among the heathen which had the appearance of a supernatural prediction was either outright forgery or the direct work of the devil, even should it be a testimony in favor of Christian truth. This wholesale rejection of heathen divination, however, cannot be justified by a more intimate acquaintance with it. Notwithstanding the abuse of divination by the priests, and the people whom they deluded, we shall find that the more we investigate the subject the more firmly we will be convinced that there was some reality at the bottom of it.

We of this day imagine that magnetism and somnambulism are new themes simply because these are new terms, and we moderns have paid special attention to them. But let us not be so deceived; they are much older than ourselves, and, in fact, were the foundation of the whole system of ancient divination. This view affords a natural interpretation to the oracular responses on which the heathen mind laid so much stress. We have been accustomed to think them, without exception, the fruit of gross and studied deception. Not so. In many cases we would acknowledge this, but in many others we find them totally inexplicable by any natural methods, and are forced to the conclusion that these predictions, which time proved to be real, were the veritable production of an artificially excited and overheated brain. Some of the best minds of antiquity believed that there was in man an innate power of divination. Plutarch certainly meant nothing else than this when he said, "that as the mind has the power of remembering the past, so is it also capable of divining the future."

That the divinations of ancient heathenism were intimately connected with somnambulism is a fact for which there is abundant evidence. Women were chosen for priestesses in the temples of Delphi, Dodona, Didyme, and other places; and Diodorus relates that the priestess in the temple of Delphi was placed on a tripod directly over a fissure in the ground that she might inhale the gas that issued from it. The Pythian priestess chewed the narcotic laurel, and the prophets in Hysia and Klaros were in the habit of drinking intoxicating water, as those in Argos were accustomed to drink the blood of the victims which they offered in sacrifice. These means were employed to give an artificial excitement to the mind, and, according to the laws of our nature, it is not to be wondered at that oracular responses proved often to be true predictions.

The soothsayers mentioned so frequently in the Old Testament belong to the same class with these heathen diviners. Isaiah (viii, 19) speaks of those who have "familiar spirits, and *wizards that peep and that mutter.*"[2] What else could he mean than men in a state of wild ecstasy? And in what other way can we dispose of the predictions of Balaam? But let us not be thought to elevate the divination of an intoxicated mind to a level with the prophecies of Scripture. There is a gulf between them which sunders them as far apart as heaven is from earth.

Exterior History of Scripture Prophecy.

Prophecies are mentioned early in biblical history, as far back, indeed, as patriarchal times. We find Noah prophesying an unhappy future for Canaan and his descendants, and a prosperous one for his two remaining sons. But Moses was the first real prophet. True, in the first four books of the Pentateuch he does not bear the usual prophetic name, נָבִיא; but we learn in Numbers xii, 6, 7, that he is even more than a prophet, since God speaks to him "mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches." Without doubt he is here shown to us as the appointed prophet for the organization, guidance, purification, and triumph of the theocracy. When he passed away Joshua, "a man in whom was the Spirit," took his place. Then came the Judges, the last of whom, Samuel, was specially called by God himself to be a prophet. From his time the prophets constituted a distinct class and a continuous succession. (Acts iii, 24.)

In order to afford some spiritual counterpoise to the newly established royalty in Israel, Samuel founded several Schools of the Prophets for the awakening and cultivation of religious life in those young men who not only became possessors of the true prophetic fire, but were the chosen watchmen over the theocracy. There were schools for this purpose at Gilgal, Jericho, Bethel, and Rama, this last presided over by Samuel himself. Hieronymus drew a parallel between these institutions and the early monastic cloisters; but the resemblance is very faint. The nearest approach to an analogy furnished anywhere in history is found in the Pythagorean Societies, between which and the prophetic schools there are some striking points of resemblance. But our modern theological seminaries bear the same relation to the Christian Church of the present day that those schools did to the theocracy of Israel. As to how the young prophets lived we know but very little. Some of them were married, (2 Kings iv, 1;) they dwelt together, ate at a common table, and attended to their own wants, (2 Kings iv, 38; vi, 1.) We learn from 1 Samuel x, 5, that they sang and prophesied with the accompaniment of instrumental music; in fact, music was one of their important studies. Besides, every student was required to study carefully the prophecies of all his predecessors. It was in the time of Elias and Elisha that these schools were most numerous and in the flower of their prosperity. But we must not suppose, in speaking of schools of the prophets, that every prophet had to attend one of them. On the contrary, the most distinguished prophets were called directly to their high work from their secular pursuit. Amos was called by the word of God from following a herd, (Amos vii, 14;) and Elijah cast his mantle on Elisha when the latter was plowing in the field, (1 Kings xix, 19.) Such special calls as these were exceptional, and were no doubt made also to individual students at the schools.

The Sphere of Prophetic Activity.

The practical influence of the prophets was not limited to the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, but was extended even beyond Palestine. Naaman sought the miraculous aid of the prophet; and even Benhadad, when he learned about the wonderful works of the man of God, offered him costly presents for his blessing. In times of persecution we find the prophets dwelling in the deserts and mountain caves; but in peaceful seasons we meet them not only in the schools devoted to their order, but at the courts of kings. They appear in the public places of Jerusalem, and in the courts and halls of the temple. The question occurs to us, How could the prophets support themselves, since they left their secular pursuit when called to their loftier duties? Some of them were of the priesthood, as Nathan, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, and they enjoyed the emoluments of their priestly office. Elisha had his own house in Samaria, (2 Kings v, 9;) and Jeremiah bought the little piece of land where he had been born. But the prophets were rewarded for their labors by gifts from the people, and still greater ones from the kings. Their dress, if not ascetic, was exceedingly coarse and plain. Instead of linen clothes they wore the skins of sheep and goats, which gave rise to their appellation of "hairy men."

The divine word called these men to be prophets, and they were not merely the publicly recognized "men of God," "messengers of God," to stand before the assembled multitudes as preachers of righteousness; but their duty was also to come privately into the presence of the great and mighty, and reprove them for their sins, as Gad and Nathan before David, and Elias before Ahab. Well might kings tremble in the presence of men who spoke with such authority. How the robed and sceptered monarchs wept and cringed before these humble prophets, who accused them of sin, and fearlessly pronounced God's impending judgments upon them! These men were the statesmen of their times. We read the great orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and think them statesmen. But far greater, and purer ones too, were the prophets of God. Their knowledge and management of political questions prove them to have been masters of statesmanship and diplomacy. They were patriots too. Nowhere will we find warmer hearts for native land than they had. Their country was the theme of many bright hopes and endless pleasant memories. It was the home which God had given them, and it is not surprising that their tears flowed freely whenever it suffered.

The first great power with which the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel had to deal was Assyria. But the Assyrians had not yet crossed the Euphrates, and Jeroboam II. was still reigning in Israel when Amos declared that the rod of Assyria should afflict them, and the king be led an exile into an unclean land. Some years before the overthrow of Samaria Micah said: "What is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and what are the high places of Judah? are they not Jerusalem? Therefore I will make Samaria as a heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard; and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof." What a terrific rebuke did Isaiah administer to his people for invoking the aid of Egypt! And he did it too in opposition to the powerful party in Jerusalem who favored it. "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord." Help from Ethiopia is declined, and when the embassador is already on his journey with the declinature, Isaiah tells him, "The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters: but God shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind. *And behold at eventide trouble, and before the morning he is not.* This is the portion of them that spoil us, and the lot of them that rob us." In due time Sennacherib appears before Jerusalem with his army of two hundred thousand men. He sends a blasphemous letter to King Hezekiah: "Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly; and shalt thou be delivered?" Then the king went into the temple, and, spreading the documents before the Lord, prayed fervently. The answer to his prayer, as communicated by Isaiah, was: "The king of Assyria shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, nor cast a bank against it." And what the prophet so confidently predicted came literally to pass. Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote one hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian army.

But equally remarkable are the prophecies concerning the Chaldeans. The prophet pointed out this people as a great power, and also the Babylonian captivity, one hundred and fifty years before either event took place. Isaiah (chap. xxxix) speaks of an embassy from the Babylonian king, Merodach-Baladan, to Hezekiah, who was sick. Beyond question the object of the embassy was to gain acquaintance with the wealth and power of the king of Judah, and when the king told Isaiah that he had shown the embassadors all his treasures, the prophet saw in the twinkling of an eye the evil consequences to which such a silly act would lead. Without a moment's hesitation he replied: "Behold, the days come that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon; nothing shall be left. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." How very selfish was the king's rejoinder. How like the sentiment of a recent President of the United States, who saw the fearful storm in the horizon under which we are now suffering! "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken." He said, moreover, "*For there shall be peace and truth in my days.*" As to the verification of Isaiah's utterance we need make no reference. The Babylonian captivity, with all its sorrows, was the unmistakable sequel.

When we look at these proofs of a divinely inspired prophetic mind how small appear the meager utterances which some of God's servants spoke as predictions. Sometimes they proved true; but they were vague, and where one turned out to be real prophecy a hundred have come to naught. The great Italian reformer of the fifteenth century was one of the most remarkable men of any age. Savonarola hurled his prophetic thunders at the proud House of the Medicis, and declared to Lorenzo, who had given the order to have the enthusiast punished, "You shall pay dearly for this deed, for God will punish you and yours in return for it." Lorenzo is subsequently seized with a fearful fever, and sends for Savonarola. But the preacher, drawing his prophecy from divine predictions, tells him, "A storm shall come like that which Elijah saw from the top of Carmel, and it shall shake the mountains. Some one shall come down over the Alps like Cyrus of a bygone age." A few years later, in the year 1494, Charles VIII., of France, came down with a terrible army, and for some time the whole city of Florence was in his possession. There was something of the prophetic too in Huss's dying utterance: "You have slain a goose, but after a hundred years an eagle will take my place." A century after the flames went out around the charred body of John Huss, Luther was nailing his ninety-five theses on the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenburgh.

But such predictions as these are unworthy the name of prophecy. True prophecy is light from God, the inspiration of the Most High. And the seer of olden time did not merely behold the future in the outline, but saw history before him in its concrete and clearly defined forms. They were thus of the same character with the predictions of Christ. Undoubtedly he referred distinctly to the manner of his death when he said: "If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." How exact was his view of the destruction of Jerusalem when he beheld the trench about her walls and the flames of her burning houses! How well he foresaw the denial of Peter and the treachery of Judas! Of the same character, we maintain, were the views which the prophets had of Christ himself. They clearly foretold his humble walk, his sufferings, his violent death, and even the "parting of his garments," and his "burial with the rich." But of those glowing Messianic prophecies we shall speak more fully hereafter.

Predictions of Names, Numbers, and Small Events.

The seers of Scripture, we have said, had very distinct views of future events. In proof of this we adduce their predictions of proper names and dates. We find, Isaiah xliv, 28: "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." We also read, Isaiah xlv, 1: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut." And these words were declared many years before the little boy Agradates became the general, King Cyrus. What but the Spirit of God could induce the "man of God" to give long beforehand the proper name of an unborn king, as in 1 Kings xiii, 2: "And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar! thus saith the Lord; Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, *Josiah by name;* and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee."

Jeremiah prophesied in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiachim that Judah and all the small surrounding nations were to be conquered, and led away into a seventy years' exile. He was so positive of the fact that he expressed it by the striking figure of a yoke fastened on his neck, and he even distributed these symbols of subjection to the embassadors from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, and told each of them to bear one home to his king. This was a prophecy stronger than words themselves; but when the captivity occurred, and the exiles were striving "to sing the Lord's song in a strange land," Jeremiah would not leave them comfortless. He addressed a letter to them, and assured them that after seventy years the Lord would again be gracious unto them. "After seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my word toward you, in causing you to return to this place." (Jeremiah xxix, 10.)

We will only make a single reference to the dates contained in Isaiah vii, 16; viii, 4. The faithless Ahaz, instead of putting his trust in the Lord, was seeking an alliance with the powerful kingdom of Assyria. Therefore Isaiah declares, "For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings." He then speaks even more emphatically: "For before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of Assyria." In the latter case the prophet fixed the time when Damascus was afterward conquered, and in the former he predicted the delivery of the wealth of Damascus and the booty of Samaria into the hands of the king of Assyria.

But we will not continue to verify these prophetic utterances concerning the great nations of those days. We are rejoiced to find Dr. Tholuck dealing with the fascinating subject in such an enthusiastic and evangelical spirit. It is what we would expect from him, but, alas! not from the vast majority of his countrymen. We of the American Church are accustomed to accept all prophecy as from God and not from man; and in case of doubt as to the fulfillment of any predictions, we have imputed our difficulties to our own lack of perception, and not to any defect in the canon itself. We have said,

> "God is his own interpreter,"

and thus we have left the undecided question. But the long-prevalent criticism of Germany has been in the habit of assail-ing the prophetic writings. Indeed, a denial of their high claims, as "given by inspiration of God," was one of the initiative steps toward the century-night of rationalistic supremacy. Even now some of the most evangelical instructors in the theological schools accept the predictions of the Old Testament with many grains of salt. But in theology, as elsewhere, unscrupulous enemies must be driven back inch by inch. So let it be with the neologists, until all the old landmarks of faith are restored. When the annunciations of the prophets are again accepted with reverence and implicit credence it may well be the signal-hour for a jubilee from the Oder to the Rhine, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic.

Unfulfilled Prophecies.

It is a cardinal principle in hermeneutics that unfulfilled prophecy does not in every case admit of a literal interpretation. While it is the character of our western languages to express thought abstractly, oriental tongues deal in the specific and concrete. Ignorance of this fact has been the source of endless errors. The literal interpretation of Christ's instruction of his disciples, (Matthew x, 10,) "Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves," has originated the whole system of begging monks. Might not Dr. Tholuck account for the great fabric of the papacy itself on the same principle? Talk one moment with the Romanist in question of the claims of the Holy See and how soon does he reply, "And I say also unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom:* and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Many of the promises and threats of the law must be construed with special reference to the *picturesque* expression of the language in which we first find them. A general fact is signified by some particular incident which would naturally attend upon its consummation. The conquest of a city is foretold by speaking of the slain in the streets, the fire in the palace, the clattering of chariots, and the neighing of horses, all of which one would expect in the sacking of a great city.

(See Jeremiah xiii, 15; xlix, 26; xlviii, 45; xlvii, 3; l, 30; Ezekiel xxvi, 11.) A destroyed city is represented as a heap of ruins, and they occupied by the wild beasts of the desert, (Isaiah xiii, 19–24; xxxiv, 14; Jeremiah l, 3, 39; Zephaniah ii, 12–15.) Look, too, at those vivid scenes of word-painting in Amos vi, 8–10; Isaiah xxxiv, 4, 9; Ezekiel xxxii, 7, 8, 56; Jeremiah iv, 29; Joel iii, 4. Many of these details may have taken place; but if the critic can prove beyond a doubt that any of these details were wanting, he has no right to force the conclusion that the prophecy was, therefore, fallible. If Jeremiah xlix, 36, says, "I will scatter them [the Elamites] toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come," shall I conclude that his prophecy amounted to nothing if I am convinced that not a single Elamite can be found among the Esquimaux or Caffres? If Christ, when he wept over Jerusalem, said, "They shall not leave in thee one stone upon another," must I infer that his word failed if I am told that one stone was actually found lying on another, and that Titus really left the western side of the wall and the three towers still standing? Not at all. Neither is the inspired character of prophecy to be doubted for a moment if many of the verbal prophetic details are wanting in the present condition of Babylon, Nineveh, and Edom. But we must be careful how far we go in determining as hyperbole the rhetorical figures, *ornatus poeticus*, of the prophets. We are fully safe in this conclusion: *no one of the events predicted would be out of place.* The clashing of chariots, the satyr and screech-owl lurking among the ruins, and the fisherman spreading his nets upon them would all be very natural accompaniments of the destruction and desolation of a doomed mart.

A question that has often puzzled the biblical student is the seeming withdrawal of explicit prophetic threats. Micah declares (iii, 12) that the fate of Jerusalem shall be equally desolate with Samaria: "Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest." This seems positive enough; but Jeremiah says (xxvi, 19) that because Hezekiah repented the Lord did not fulfill his threat. Elijah threatened Ahab with God's severe judgment; but when that king repented "the word of the Lord came to Elijah the Tishbite, saying, Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days I will bring the evil upon his house." (1 Kings xxi, 29.) The prophet Jonah was instructed to declare to the Ninevites the destruction of their great city in the space of forty days. His words were, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown;" but after the repentance of the people we read, (Jonah iii, 10,) "And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them: *and he did it not.*" But these and many other instances of the same class prove to us the wondrous mercy of God, in being so willing to listen to the prayer of penitence even while his rod of wrath is suspended. The prophet saw what would actually occur unless speedy reformation should take place, and that reformation was God's matter, not his. When the seer declared impending judgments they were inevitably sure to follow if the subject of them, whether a nation or an individual, did not make the deepest repentance. When Jonah proclaimed to Nineveh that it should be destroyed in forty days, destruction would have come as effectually as to the cities of the plain if that guilty metropolis had not "*humbled*" itself. The secret of the last hour of mercy was resting in the divine bosom; and Christ, in declaring the coming desolation of Jerusalem, begins his prophetic utterance by saying, in her case, that it had passed, and destruction must ensue. What fearful words were those in which he tells that city that she has stepped beyond the bounds of hope! "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes."

The Messianic Prophecies—Their Form.

It is against this class of prophetic writings that a ruthless and irreverent criticism has made the most violent attacks. And not because the Messianic predictions are least defensible, but the reverse, and therefore the more important to the Christian scheme. All other arguments failing the rationalist, he has at last come to the conclusion that if any predictions concerning Christ have been verified they were purely accidental—a subterfuge which almost shuts out an answer altogether. And then he brings in to his support some of those Sybilline prophecies, a remarkable specimen of which are the following lines:

With five loaves and a fish from the sea
He will fill at the same time five hundred men in the wilderness;
And putting all the fragments together
He will fill twelve baskets—and these the hope of the world.

At last he will fall into godless and unfaithful hands;
Some will strike the God with unholy arms,
And spit their corrupt saliva at him,
And whip his holy back with a scourge.

And when he is lashed he will be silent, and no one will know
Who he is, whose son he is, and why he came to speak to mortals;
And he will wear a crown of thorns—and evermore
Shall the wreaths of the righteous spring from his coronet of thorns.

There was something strangely prophetic in these utterances, as there was of Seneca's prediction of the discovery of America; but we have no right to infer that all prophecy is of purely human origin because these were. A thousand counterfeits cannot nullify one reality. Untold numbers of divinations failed to be fulfilled, and it would be wonderful if some of the vast multitude had not been verified by subsequent events.

The Messianic prophecies present an all-pervading and magnificent typology. Indeed, this form of speech is conspicuous in many of the writings of the ancient seers; but when they speak of Christ their thoughts seem to come with such unsufferable brightness that language cowers, and figures themselves are but weak pictures of the inspiring scene before the prophetic mind. And in this respect the language of the New Testament harmonizes with that of the Old. Christ is represented in Luke i, 32, as *sitting on the throne of his father David;* in Matthew xxv, 34, as *reigning over the kingdom prepared for his followers from the foundation of the world;* and his disciples of every age described in 1 Peter ii, 9, as *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood;* in Galatians vi, 16, Romans ix, 8, as *the spiritual Israel;* while in the entire Epistle to the Hebrews Christ is declared to be the *Prophet, High Priest, and sacrifice for the sins of the world.* This typology blossoms out in the great prophecy of John's Revelation. The Son of man is the King of kings on earth; he has called his disciples to be kings and priests; he is the warrior who marches through the world with a sharp sword and an iron rod; and even in heaven we behold with the revelator "the ark of his testament" and "the tabernacle of the testimony." In the great conflagration of earthly things the New Jerusalem will appear as the bride of Christ; and the destruction of Babylon, the center of earthly ambition, represents spiritually, *πνευματικῶς*, the doom of a corrupt Church, while idolatrous Jerusalem is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt. (Revelation xi, 8.)

The prophetic views were bright pictures. Sometimes we enjoy a single view taken from the great horizon; but in other cases we are shown a succession of them which almost overcomes our imagination. Now we behold Christ as the future offering of the world; then, with a sudden transition, we see him sitting as our High Priest, "who ever liveth to make intercession for us." Now we behold him with Isaiah (lx, 20) as the Light-giver of heaven, when the days of mourning shall have ended. Then we are told in a wondrous way of the holiness of heaven, "when there shall be upon the bells of the horses HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; and the pots in the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar. Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe therein: and in that day there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the Lord of hosts."

The Person of Christ.

Some would have us believe that Christ was not to come as a *person*, but only as an *idea;* thus placing the Messianic prophecies beside the ideal republic of Plato and the *πολιτεία* of Zeno. But if we confess credence in such a meager view as this we might as well renounce the predictions of the Messiah altogether. Others would induce us to believe that not only is one Messiah promised, but many besides him. The acceptance of this absurdity would be equally fatal to our doctrines of truth, while the use of them by the enemies of inspiration only proves to us how untenable and forlorn their views are. They make long theories and extended discussions and very plausible natural interpretations of other parts of the prophetic record, but just as soon as they consider the predictions of the Messiah they betray a conscious lack of confidence in their position. Christ appears prominently before us as servant, the servant of God for the good of his people. How glowing are the words in which Isaiah (lxi, 1–4) describes his own commission, but which Christ subsequently applied literally to himself when he arose in the synagogue one day to read the Scriptures! And this was the keynote to the whole mission of Christ. When he came it was "in the form of a servant," and his entire conduct was service to the cause he had espoused. Most kings have come differently from him, and when they made royal pretensions they demanded the service of others instead of rendering it to them. When he went down to the baptism of John he insisted on the Baptist's administering the rite to him; and instead of making the disciples wash his feet, in token of their inferiority, he washed theirs, in testimony of the service he was rendering them and all mankind. Deep words were those he said after the performance of that menial office: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him."

The prophetic views which God presented to David of the stability of his kingdom were remarkable. Abraham was promised an innumerable progeny, and David an everlasting successor. Glorious, indeed, was the old monarch's view of an enduring throne—not a temporal, but a spiritual one: "He hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure." Well might he in an earlier day tune his harp to the praises of God as he looked off into the distant future.

> I will sing of the mercies of the Lord forever:
> With my mouth will I make known thy faithfulness to all generations.
> For I have said, Mercy shall be built up forever:
> Thy faithfulness shalt thou establish in the very heavens.
> I have made a covenant with my chosen. I have sworn unto David my servant,
> Thy seed will I establish forever,
> And build up thy throne to all generations. Selah.

Nathan's declaration from God to David was: "And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee: thy throne shall be established forever." Isaiah (xi, 1) declares, "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots." And farther on in his prophecy he says, (lv, 3, 4:) "I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him a witness of the people, a leader and commander to the people." Jeremiah points a race of exiles to a great hope when he says, (xxxiii, 15,) "the Branch of righteousness shall grow up to David; and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land." And long afterward Paul confirmed these predictions before the people of Antioch, (Acts xiii, 34,) when he showed how the resurrection of Christ was the means by which the throne of David should be perpetuated forever. Christ was henceforth the monarch of a regenerated dynasty.

In many of the prophetic announcements concerning Christ, particularly after the exile, he is spoken of as the Angel of the Lord. In this light he answers the undeniable view of having previously appeared as *an Angel*, or *the Angel*. The promise of a guide to the wandering people in the desert was, "Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared." God had vast designs in manifesting his power in the form of an *angel*, perhaps to make his agency more palpable to human understanding. But it is not a little remarkable that Christ should be prophesied to come as an angel to those very people among whom the angel of the covenant had ministered many centuries before. *How can we arrive at any other conclusion than that the one who had thus appeared and the one who was promised to appear were identical?* The cotemporaries of the prophets *believed* it, and how much easier is it for us to *see* it. The name by which the angel was designated proves his divinity, מַלְאַךְ יְהוָֹה, *My name is in him.* Isaiah lxiii, 9: ". . . so he was their Saviour. In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them and carried them all the days of old." Zechariah describes this angel of the Lord as the leader and watchman of his people. The prophet is in the myrtle grove, (Zechariah i, 8,) which is the symbol of a chosen people. In Zechariah ii, 8 this angel speaks as the Lord of Hosts, Jehovah himself: "After the glory he hath sent me unto the nations which spoiled you: for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye." And he talks as God when he continues, (Zechariah xii, 10,) "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the house of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first born." Why the prophets spoke of Christ as the *angel of the Lord*, *the root out of dry ground*, and in other mysterious representations, instead of plainly and unmistakably, it is not our province to discuss. Perhaps one of their reasons was the same that Christ had when he used to speak to his auditors in parables and "dark sayings."

The Work of the Messiah.

The three orders which connected the people of Israel with God were those of the Prophet, Priest, and King. In some passages we find them all mentioned in conjunction, for example, Jeremiah ii, 26: "As the thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed; they, their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets." This mediation of the prophetic class was through the *Instructing Word;* that of the priesthood through the *Expiatory Deed;* and that of the kingly order through the *Final Conquest.*

The Instructing Word. When we look at Israel, as that people appeared before the time of Christ, we find that to them alone were committed the oracles of God. All other nations were excluded from participation in the rich mercy of God's revealed will. And, to all natural appearance, this was the sealed doom of the whole Gentile world. But far above this hopelessness the voice of the ancient seer was heard, declaring that the day would come when the knowledge of the Lord would be universally diffused, just as the waters cover the great deep. The prophets declared that the excluded nations would be brought into as intimate relations with God as Israel herself was. None of their predictions are clearer and freer from misapprehension than these. But the question is, How was the world to be brought into these relations? What great event was to take place that would effect it? What great Teacher would there be to instruct these long-lost nations? Isaiah tells us of the Light-bearer when he says, (Isaiah lix, 6,) "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth." When the same prophet predicted the appearance of the offspring of David he added, "to it shall the Gentiles seek." Ezekiel represented the Church of the future as a lofty mountain; and Isaiah more emphatically says, (ii, 2,) "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it." What a picture rose before his mind on another occasion when he exclaimed, "The isles shall wait upon me, and on mine arm shall they trust." Christ is the prophesied one through whom all these distant parts of the earth are to be made one. He is the Word which is to be for the healing of the nations.

The Expiatory Deed. The consciousness of the distance of man from Deity has led all people to the idea of an offering and a priest. Prayer is the gift of the heart to God, and an offering is the outward expression of prayer. But this approach to God is through the medium of a priest. Now the prophets, proceeding upon these things so evident in their time, showed that there would appear a priest "once for all." "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins; return unto me, for I have redeemed thee." Isaiah xliv, 22. "In that day there shall be a fountain opened in the house of David *for sin and uncleanness.*" Zechariah xiii, 1. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you." Ezekiel xxxvi, 25. But more clearly still does Jeremiah (xxiii, 6) reveal the expiatory character of Christ: "In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall die safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." But Christ was not to bring an offering, nor to offer a sacrifice; the prophets declare he was to become himself the offering for the sins of the world. In Zechariah xii, 10 and xiii, 7, we find Christ predicted as the offering for sin; and the whole of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah may be taken as *the* description, above all others in the Old Testament, of his sacrificial and substitutional atonement. But these proofs need not be multiplied. Any one who confesses that a Messiah is prophesied must also acknowledge that his character is clearly defined.

The Final Conquest. Christ, being declared a future king, he is finally to be the great conqueror. David saw his victories when he said, (2 Samuel xxiii, 4,) "And he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain." But he is to appear first as king to his own people. "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." Zechariah ix, 9. Thus much as king; but Zechariah, in the very next verse, shows that the king is conqueror also: "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth."

These three characters of Christ—Prophet, Priest, and King—were brought out by the prophets in the clearest light. The Jewish mind understood them in a great measure, and so decided were their conceptions of the Messianic utterances that they have formed a definite idea of how Christ should appear. But in this they were mistaken, having taken many predictions far too literally. The Jews were disappointed because Christ did not seem to fulfill their previous views of his incarnation. But with our knowledge of his life, death, and ascension, we cannot but confess that in every respect, save the universal diffusion of his Gospel, which is yet in the future, the Messianic prophecies have been verified. The accounts given of Christ by the evangelists bear internal evidence of indubitable truth; but they are only the noonday lessons concerning Him of whom the prophets spoke about in the midnight of centuries agone. Isaiah was the first evangelist, and he was true to his mission; but he was only one of the galaxy of prophets "who desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." Yes, it was to Christ that prophecy tended. He was the burning center on which was fixed the gaze of those inspired seers of God. The poet Hayes is right:

> "The gift
> Of prophecy was lost; O proof beyond
> A doubt, that every oracle of old
> To the same center tended, and that all
> The promises to God's selected race
> Through every age, received the stamp of truth
> In the appearance of the blessed Seed."

ART. VI.—THE EFFECTS OF THE FALL UPON THE CREATION.

IN years past the prevailing opinion of theologians was that all the disasters, disorders, abortions, and imperfections of nature were consequences of man's sin and fall. The discoveries of modern science have raised a doubt about this opinion, and led to an inquiry into the proofs upon which it is founded. The devotees of science—all who ground their belief more upon the revelations of nature than the word of God—have taken positive ground against this belief; and, thinking that they have found the means to prove that one of the dogmas of theology is false, one of the teachings of the Bible untrue, they would gladly conclude that the whole of it is founded in error. Others, who admit the evidence of both nature and revelation, and who believe in the harmony and truth of both, have looked for means to reconcile the apparent disagreement, and have asked themselves and the world if the opinion which has been entertained upon this subject is really taught in the Bible, and if it is a necessary understanding of the language of Scripture.

Dr. Bushnell, jealous of orthodox theology and of the opinions of the fathers upon this subject, has come forward, in his "Nature and the Supernatural," with a new theory, in which he proposes to maintain the ancient belief and yet admit all the proofs and inferences of modern science. He admits that disorders and imperfections in nature existed before man was created, and that animals lived and devoured each other, and that thorns and thistles grew upon the earth before Adam sinned; but he still holds that they were consequences of sin. He says they were anticipatory consequences of man's sin, or else results consequent upon the sin of other beings who lived and fell before man was created. In endeavoring to maintain this position I think he has greatly weakened his general argument. By this, and by assuming the position that Adam was under a condition privative which rendered it almost necessary for him to sin, he has made two vulnerable points in his otherwise impregnable fortress.

We will first consider the scriptural proofs upon which the opinion of the fathers rests. In the curse pronounced upon Adam for his disobedience we find these words: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake." Now this teaches us nothing definite. How this curse affected the ground, what should be the consequences of this curse upon the ground, how its effects should be manifested, we are not told. Whatever opinions we may entertain in regard to this must be only conjecture. Again: "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee." From this it has generally been inferred that thorns and thistles did not grow before the fall. But is this a necessary conclusion? When God made a covenant with Noah he said: "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud." Now are we to understand from this that no rainbow was ever seen until after the flood? I know of no commentator who thus explains this passage. The laws of refraction were instituted when light was created. Through all the previous ages of earth whenever a transparent prism was formed of a liquid or solid, the direct rays of light which passed through it were decomposed, and the rainbow colors appeared. We are to understand from this passage, then, not that the rainbow appeared then for the first time, but that henceforth it should be the sign of God's covenant with the world that the human race should never again be destroyed by water. So thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth unto thee. Not that no thorns or thistles had before grown—none may have grown in that particular part of the earth where God had fitted up a garden dwelling-place for man; they had never yet disturbed the peace or happiness of man—but henceforth they shall spring up in the soil that thou shalt cultivate, and perplex and annoy thee, a constant memorial of thy disobedience and fall. The record of the rocks shows that plants with sharp thorny protuberances grew and perished before man was created.

The only other passage of Scripture which is quoted as proof upon this subject is Romans viii, 22: "For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." Dr. Adam Clarke, who wrote his Commentary before this question was brought prominently before the public mind, when he had no theory to favor, says that the words "whole creation" in this passage mean the Gentile world—all people outside of the Jewish nation. And this appears very reasonable from the language that follows it. And not only they, but we, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, we, the Jewish nation, groan within ourselves, waiting for the redemption. If we understand this groaning to apply to the physical world, we must believe that the redemption also extends to the physical world, and that Christ's death is to correct all the disorders and imperfections of nature.

Thus we see that the opinion that the disorders and imperfections of nature are the effect of sin has little scriptural foundation. Indeed, it is not the positive and direct teachings of Scripture which have made this opinion so prevalent in the Christian Church. It has grown out of the endless search after the origin of evil. Divines could trace the origin of moral evil to superhuman diabolical agency; and then, in order to vindicate the character of God against the charge of imperfection in his works, they thought they must in some way connect the existence of physical evil with this break in his moral government. But we are not called upon to vindicate the character of God from the charge of imperfection in his works. He has created things relatively imperfect. Every physical thing which has fallen under the observation of man infinite wisdom might make better. The highest model of a thing that the loftiest human mind could conceive would still be relatively imperfect. God in his first creation of a thing places it low down in the scale of perfection, and then advances it by slow and gradual progress upward, upward, step by step, toward the sublime ideals of his own infinite nature. Look not on a half-finished machine and say it is imperfect. If infidelity points to earth and says, "See the imperfect work of your infinite God," I answer, Wait till earth's progressive creation is complete, and then find its imperfection if you can.

And now what does Christianity lose by giving up this opinion? We have to change our understanding of two or three passages of Scripture. This science has before compelled theologians to do. The Copernican system of astronomy compelled them to change their interpretation of those passages which speak of commanding the sun and moon to stand still. Science has compelled many to change their understanding of Moses's account of creation. By changing our interpretation of the passages which have a bearing upon our present subject we do no violence to the language, nor do we loosen the stability nor lighten the weight of scriptural authority. We do not give up any of the essential doctrines of Christianity. It is not necessary to prove that the physical world has suffered by sin, to convince man that he is a fallen being, and needs a supernatural redemption and regeneration. It is far more difficult to prove the former than the latter.

What matter if we cannot prove that tempests, whirlwinds, and earthquakes are the consequences of sin? We can prove that the whirlwinds of human passion are. If we cannot prove that sin has cast its blight over all the material universe and stirred the commotions of groaning nature, we can prove that it has cast its blight over human character and human history, polluted the deep fountains of the human soul, and plunged the human race into a vortex of hurrying, steaming, chaotic ruin, from which nothing but the Almighty can deliver it. And that is what man needs to know, needs to be made to believe. What care I whether sin has caused a thistle to grow on the earth or not; what care I whether sin has kindled a fire in some far-off mountain of the earth or not, when I know it has kindled the fires of hell in my own bosom! What care I whether sin has caused one animal to harm another or not, when I know it has fitted up for my unrepentant soul a cavern of morningless despair, and prepared for me an endless wail of woe!

We think Dr. Bushnell's theory does not better the argument. That these evils are consequences of the sins of beings who lived and fell before man was created is a mere supposition, without any proof to sustain it, except the *à priori* assumption that whatever is wrong in nature must be the effect of sin. That they are anticipatory consequences of man's sin seems to be a far-fetched theory, grounded on the same *à priori* assumption. Consequences are generally understood to be facts which follow after, as effects follow cause. If we say that these disorders of nature which transpired during the development of the pre-adamite earth are the effect of man's sin, we have the effect preceding the cause thousands, perhaps millions, of years. But Dr. Bushnell does not speak of them as immediate effects, but rather, it would seem, that he regards man's sin as a reason operating in the Divine mind long before the sin was actually committed, inducing him to cause these disorders, convulsions, and abortions to be. Then we do not think they can properly be called consequences. Nor does the figure by which he illustrates his theory make them any more clearly consequences. He says when men found a state they erect a prison in anticipation of the commission of crime. Then if, in the future history of that state, A should commit a theft, that prison would be a consequence of A's theft. We cannot see it so. That prison is a provision made for the punishment of crime in the contingency of its commission. It is no doubt true that God has adapted the earth to man in his condition and nature; and as he knew that man would sin and fall and become disobedient, he no doubt adapted the earth to man's fallen condition and nature. He may have designed these evils to teach man his authority, his power, his severity in the punishment of sin, and to operate as a course of discipline to train man to a higher life. Designed them, we say, not as a principal and fundamental design, but as collateral and incidental. If God had created such an earth as this, with the same necessary laws of matter without ever designing to create man, the same disasters and disorders would have occurred. They are all the necessary effects of the essential laws of matter which God has ordained. When he created matter he instituted laws to govern it, not to punish man, but to govern matter.

It is true he has not created matter and ordained its laws, and then withdrawn entirely from all supervision and control over them. He presides over and superintends the universe he has made, and he may and does at any time operate upon those laws, giving them direction for the accomplishment of special purposes, for the building of a mountain, the elevation of a continent, the chastisement of man, the burying of a Pompeii, the burning of a Sodom, or the drowning of a wicked world. These are the ends for which he uses these agents, but not the purposes for which he created them.

When he created the elements of matter he instituted the laws of chemical affinity. At the same time he ordained that chemical combination, the condensation of gases into denser gases or liquids, and the condensation of gases and liquids into solids, should produce a great evolution of caloric, should produce a great amount of heat. Now we cannot say that, in the establishment of these laws, he had no eye to man's good or ill. They have an intimate relation to man's happiness and suffering in this world; but the good he derives from them is far greater than the evil that he suffers. Indeed, without them we know not how the human race could exist. Every family on earth uses these laws daily to warm their bodies or to cook their food, or both. As these laws produce far more good than evil to man we cannot say they are consequences of his sin. It may be replied that it is not the natural and good producing action of these laws which we consider the results of sin, but their disordered and disastrous action. But what are called disorders and disasters are but their natural action. It is probable that God created matter in its elementary and gaseous form. These elements coming together selected and combined according to the pre-established laws of chemical affinity, and formed all the material compounds of earth. In this combination, the condensation of these gases into solids, a degree of heat was produced which melted all minerals and rocks, all the solid matter. What a catastrophe is this, that the earth should be so heated that it would require millions of years for it to cool sufficiently to be a suitable abode for man! And yet without the law by which this heat is produced what would man be, and how could he exist?

These laws were busy combining, decomposing, and recombining matter through all the period of earth's embryonic state, fitting it for the uses of its after history—fitting it to be the theater of human birth, human happiness and achievement, human purity, human apostasy and redemption. But all this time it was a world of disorder and disaster. As the different substances floating in this liquid mass came in contact decompositions, explosions, new combinations would continually be occurring, keeping the whole mass in commotion, a boiling, rolling, hissing, thundering world of liquid fire, emblem awful of God's eternal wrath. And yet there was no human being there to stand in awe, no criminal to be scourged, no apostate race to be chastised or disciplined. Who will say that all these disorders and convulsions were consequences of sin? These chemical laws are still in force, and while they are the source of incalculable good to man, they are also the cause of disaster: buildings burned; cities laid in ashes; the accumulated wealth of ages, monuments of human industry and power, vanished in smoke; vessels burned, and thousands of human beings buried low in the depths of ocean; fields of battle red with the blood of the slain. In the producing of some of these God has given direction to these laws for the accomplishment of special purposes. But, as Dr. Bushnell very justly says, man is a supernatural power, and he may operate upon the laws of matter, giving them direction. Some of these disasters have been brought about by man in the accomplishment of infernal purposes, in conflict with God and man.

Again, God at the birth of matter instituted the law of expansion by heat. We have no reason to suppose that there was any change in this after the first creation of matter. And if we can place any reliance upon the revelations of geology, this was the agent by which mountains were raised, continents elevated above the overflowing waters; and this is the means, too, by which the primal earth, as well as the present, was watered by rains during all the ages of vegetation prior to man. This same law, operating since human history began, while it is indispensable to human accommodation and existence, causes the disasters of explosion, sweeps the ocean with tempests, desolates the land with tornadoes, and shakes the foundations of the hills with earthquakes. And these are the very disorders and disasters which Mr. Fletcher and others have presented as proofs of the fall of man. But who that looks at the physical law according to which these are produced, who that reads and believes the revelations of nature, and sees the number and magnitude of the uses secured by this law during the formative period of earth's history, can believe that winds began to blow and the earth began to heave from its internal fires after Adam sinned, and in consequence of that act? Or who can believe that this law or its disorders were anticipatory consequences of human disobedience?

But there is one physical law of which no one can question its priority to man—the law of gravity. It must have been coeval with the birth of matter. Without it the material universe would have been a medley of universal chaos and confusion. It was necessary to form matter into worlds, to hold worlds in their orbits, and to retain systems in their spheres. Without it earth and all its inhabitants would be as though they were not; and yet it is the cause of great calamities to man. Every one that falls, crushed by his own weight; every Lawrence mill disaster, falling bridges, plunging cars, the horrors of the avalanche, these are the evidence of its ruinous power. But it enters into almost every other kind of disaster. The ocean tempest would be nothing if there was no gravity to sink its victims. Earthquakes would be nothing if there was no gravity to pull down the tottering walls, and to bring to the earth the streams of lava and clouds of ashes that bury cities in their living tombs. And during all the pre-Adamic period of earth, gravity was active, causing, in a frequency and magnitude unknown to human observation, those very events which we now call its disasters. And shall we say that this law or its accidents are the effects of sin? or that those which occurred before man were the anticipatory consequences of Adam's sin?

Thus we see that what are called the disorders of nature result from the natural operation of the necessary laws of matter, and not from the fact that sin is, or that sin would ever be.

The same laws of matter govern other worlds uninhabited by intelligent beings. The moon is not inhabited. Its volcanoes have poured forth their streams of lava and clouds of ashes to bury no ruined city or sinful population; and dissevered rocks, from mountain summits, roll down to its dark caverns to startl and warn and punish no revolted race.

It is true that these catastrophes, occurring on earth, teach men the terrible power of that God against whom they are in revolt. And these imperfections teach us that God does not at first create every thing perfect, but that he creates matter, establishes laws to govern it which, in their operation, or he, by their agency, is improving, perfecting, completing the work of creation. He does not create ends, but means. And he is never in haste to attain the end. There is no occasion in the work of a whole eternity for precipitancy or haste. They teach us also that God, in his works, and in the establishment of his laws, looks at the final end to be accomplished, and not always at the individual and isolated events which may occur here or there in their operation. They are all at work bringing about the perfection of the new heaven and the new earth; but in their operation individual departures from perfect beauty and harmony may occur. So is it with the human race. Man is not now in his most perfect, but in his formatory and probationary state. The end is the elevation and perfection in character and happiness of as many of the race as he can induce to accept of his refining offices, his provisions of mercy and the redemption he has provided for them. In the working out of this end individual instances of a departure from the greatest present good, inequalities in the bestowment of the blessings of Providence and in the enjoyment of happiness, may occur, to be righted and compensated when the final end shall be attained. The history of these natural laws teaches us that what is designed for our good, and indispensable to our existence, may work our hurt; and that the laws of God and the provisions of providence effect our weal or woe according to the manner we use them. So is it with the provisions of grace. The message of glad tidings may become a proclamation of horror to us. As the law of the evolution of caloric by chemical combination may be an agent to warm and save our bodies or to consume us, according to the manner we use it, so the gift of the only-begotten Son may raise us to heaven or sink us to hell, according as we accept or reject him.

The abortions of nature resemble the unsuccessful attempts of natural laws to produce perfect things. If, during the ages of the pre-adamite earth, a bird dropped a seed into the crevice of a rock where there was little moisture and no soil, it germinated, sprang up, and tried to form a plant; but no sooner had the sun risen upon it, with a burning heat, than it withered and died. Or if, in the terrible convulsions of nature, a continent sunk below the level of surrounding waters, dragging down with it its forests of trees, its half grown fruit, its flowers and germs, its races of adult animals, its young of every species, its embryos and eggs, a multitude of abortions and failures occurred. But who can connect these with Adam's sin as effects, or as anticipatory consequences? They all occurred as incidental results of the operation of natural laws directed to the final end.

If, during the progressive creation of earth, an intelligent being from some other world had made several successive visits to earth, with intervals of perhaps several thousands of years, he would have found, on his first visit, a world of fire; on his second, a world of bare and heated rock; on his third, a world of water; on his fourth, a world partly covered with water and part land, a little elevated above the water, covered with enormous weeds and monstrous reptiles. On his first, second, and third visits, if he had known no more of the works and ways of God than the boasting philosophers of earth, he would have said: "What a useless world! For what could God create such a world? It is good for nothing in creation!" On his fourth visit he would have said: "What an imperfect world; fit for nothing but reptiles?" During all these visits he would have seen the yet unstable crust of the earth heaved, tossed, torn by internal fires; the yet liquid interior pouring out through fissures in torrents of devastation; he would have seen the disasters of explosion and gravity and tempest; he would have heard the groans of earthquake and the thunders of electricity almost continuous, and in a magnitude and power beyond the conception of the present inhabitants of earth.

After another period of uncounted years he concludes to visit the earth again. He now finds that portions of it, after having been admirably prepared by the distribution of a variety of soils and minerals, have been elevated high above the water, and are covered with advanced vegetation and a higher order of animal life. He says: "This world is greatly improved. It is now suited to be the home of intelligent but not yet perfect beings. This world is still imperfect. There is a larger portion of it covered with water than is necessary for the uses of its inhabitants. Here are forests blooming in fragrance and beauty, but there I see a portion of them has been swept down by a tornado. I see there are portions of this world on which no rain ever falls, and over that large tract the winds play with the sands of the desert, where no animal or vegetable life can be. I see that other portions of it are bare rock, on which nothing can live. Heat is so unequally distributed that that is an imperfection. Nearly one fourth of the surface enjoys so little heat that its eternally ice-bound surface is almost useless to life and being. The laws of matter are still working their occasional disasters. This is still an imperfect world, adapted to an advanced but not a perfect race of beings."

But as he continues his flight of inspection around the earth he chances to spy a spot more lovely than the rest. He pauses, and gazes with admiration and wonder. He sees nothing wrong there. The perfection of beauty sits upon the landscape. Flowers fill the air with the aroma of paradise. Fruits in luxuriant abundance and variety burden the soil. No disorders or disasters of nature are permitted to invade this sanctuary of repose. No ravenous beasts disturb these shades of innocence. No noxious plants grow among its fruits and flowers. All is harmony and adaptation as the home of innocence and perfection. Entranced with the view, he gazes long; and, finally, he discovers, issuing from a thicket of flowers and fruits, two beings, hand in hand, robed in the glory of innocence and purity and perfection. He joins his voice with the morning stars in their hymn of rejoicing. Now he sees them in personal converse with Deity. He listens—he hears the condition of their trial, the test of their obedience, and thus he soliloquizes:

"Immortal innocents, you are beings endowed with intelligence and conscience, and, as such, you are capable of holiness, obedience, virtue. The possession of these capabilities involves their opposites. No being that is not capable of sin is capable of holiness. All the intelligent beings in the universe of God are capable of uncaused and self-directed conduct. They are capable of obedience, and, therefore, of disobedience, as they themselves decide. So are you. And as I look upon you in your inexperienced and untried youth, I tremble at your prospective fate; for I see that the earth, outside of your garden home, is unsuited to such perfect beings as you are. From this I infer that He who created you knows that you will fail in your trial and fall, and become sinful and imperfect—such beings as are only adapted to the present period of earth's progressive history." Not wishing to witness the tragic scene he returns to his distant home.

Such was their fate. Such is man; such is earth. Earth is now the temporary and imperfect abode of an imperfect race. Earth is also the assorting-place of human souls. God gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever of this fallen race would believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. The same condition of salvation which was presented to Adam—choice, voluntary obedience, or voluntary disobedience—is presented to a redeemed world. Choose, accept or reject. Accept, and be delivered from all the consequences of the fall, restored to holiness and heaven; reject, and make your fall eternal. And now we look in expectation that when earth undergoes its next great revolution and renovation, purified by fire, we shall see evolved from its ashes a perfected world, freed from all the disorders and imperfections of the present, a universal garden of Eden, suited for a higher order of beings than now inhabit it, suited perhaps to be the dwelling-place of the restored and holy portion of the human race.

In this account of the progressive advancement of earth we have not designed to countenance the development theory, or the spontaneous evolution of animal life; but we have maintained that God saw fit thus to create a world and thus to advance it to perfection, and at each successive period he has, by direct creative power, brought into being animals suited to its stage of advancement. And all this time he has had in view the preparation of earth for man, whom he designed to create when it should be in a suitable condition for him.

We come now to consider the effect of the fall upon brutes.

There is no passage of Scripture which has a bearing upon this point. The false position that whatever a perfect God creates must be perfect, and the belief that whatever of suffering exists in the world must be the consequences of sin, have led to the belief that animals suffered equally with man in the calamities of the fall. If this be so they must be included in the redemption. Christ came to undo what sin had done, and restore what was lost in the fall. As far as the fall extends the redemption extends. Then a provision has been made for brutes of which they can have no knowledge, of the conditions of which they can have no conception, and we must found upon this belief for them a future paradise.

It may be thought that the fact that they were brought before Adam that he might name them is proof that they were then pacific and harmless. The fact that they were brought with Noah into the ark is greater proof that they were then so. If we have to suppose divine interposition to restrain their dispositions in the latter case, we may with equal propriety suppose the same in the former instance.

Those who believe that brutes experienced the calamities of the fall, suppose that before that event they did not possess those dispositions which now lead them to harm each other and endanger the life of man; that they did not eat animal food; that they did not prey upon each other; that they did not die.

We cannot see how the sin of man should change the nature of other beings. It is easy to see how Adam's sin and his consequent changed relation to God, and changed condition, should affect his own nature, and how, by the laws of procreation, his children should inherit his changed nature; but man may be changed from a saint to a demon, or from a demon to an angel, and it will have no effect upon the nature of other beings, except they be his offspring, or those who are influenced by his instruction or example. No change, then, could have resulted as an effect of man's sin. If there was any change it must have been produced by the direct creative power of God. It is not easy to see why God should, because one of his creatures had violated his law, arbitrarily and unconditionally change the nature of all the creatures with which he had peopled earth. We can see no motive that could influence the Divine mind to such a procedure. There would be no just demand for it, and no good end to be attained by it. It could not be part of the curse pronounced upon man that they should annoy him and put him in fear and peril. Though this might account for their depredations upon the human family, it will not account for the far greater consequence of what is supposed to be their evil nature, their preying upon each other.

Let it not be said that this argument will disprove the sufferings of the posterity of Adam for his sin. Adam's posterity are innocent of his sin. We can trace the moral changes which took place in Adam's mind to his sin and subsequent condition, as effects. We have discovered it to be an indisputable fact that like begets like; that the father transmits to his posterity his own nature in all its features and characteristics. It is easy to see the design and beneficial effects to fallen man of the physical evils imposed upon him; to see that labor to fallen and corrupt beings is a blessing, that the ills of his experience here are a necessary course of discipline to fit him for a future life, the best and only means of securing to free and intelligent agents future and eternal happiness; and there is no injustice in God imposing upon man the less evil as the only means of saving him from the greater and securing to him eternal good. But no such reasons can be assigned for the suffering of brutes.

Let us see what changes this would involve. The natural appetite of the carnivorous animals must have been changed. The form of their teeth must have been changed. They have no teeth adapted to the purposes of cropping and masticating vegetable food. They have no grinders with which to break it up. They cannot use their jaws in that rotary or grinding motion common and necessary to herbivorous animals. The form and muscular power of their mouth must have been changed. Their digestive powers must have been changed. Many of them cannot digest unprepared vegetable food. Their mental instincts and dispositions must have been changed. These changes—a change in nature, disposition, habits, and form—would destroy the identity of the animal. Take away from the lion all the peculiarities in disposition and form which seem designed to fit him for the purposes of prey, and you might as well call him a hog as a lion. Such a change would be a new creation. Then all the carnivorous animals were created after man fell.

The whole animal kingdom is perfectly adapted to the designs of God respecting each. He gave them their instincts. He arranged their form, and endowed them with their powers.

He gave the beasts of prey their strength, their agility, their claws, their long, sharp teeth. He gave the birds of prey their talons and sharp, hooked beaks. He gave the shark its sharp teeth, its power of rapid motion and blood-thirsty scent. All this for the express purpose that these might seize and feed upon other animals which he designed for their prey. He gave them keen sight and scent and art to hunt. He taught them to use artifice, to decoy, hide, lay in wait. Everything in their dispositions, habits, instincts, form, powers, is perfectly adapted and designed for the purpose of prey. He gave to the marauders of night their superior powers of vision with little light. He taught the spider to spin his web, the ant-lion to prepare his pit, the crocodile to set his fly-trap. And has he done all this because Adam sinned? On the other hand, he has adapted the objects of prey to their purposes and destiny. He has made them timid, slender, usually rapid, that they may not be too easily taken; and if they are not rapid he usually compensates their want of agility with additional means of defense, as the shell of the tortoise, the quills of the porcupine, or the disgusting odors of some other animals. He teaches them to be sly, to conceal themselves, burrow, and scent the danger afar, as though they had an instinctive apprehension of their end and destiny. All this that they may not fall a too easy prey to the sports of their destroyers.

God has made provision for the preservation of the equilibrium of the animal kingdom, and compensated the more frequent death of the objects of prey by giving to them greater fecundity. Half a dozen sheep begin to live to one wolf, fifty Guinea pigs to one ferret, a hundred flies to one spider. The power of increase in animals seems to be greater and greater in proportion to their smallness, their defenselessness, and their liability to destruction.

The objection to this view is the apparent cruelty and unkindness on the part of God thus to make one part of his creatures to be the prey of others. If it would be unkindness in God to make it so originally, it was no less unkind for him to make it so after man had fallen; as it could be so then only by his making, and that without any fault of theirs. But we think it is not unkindness. If animals live, unless they are immortal they must die. When they have fulfilled the purposes of their being, we know not that it is any more cruel that they should die by the teeth of another animal than by disease, or accident, or old age. They live, enjoy life, fulfill the end of their being, and die; and if they have contributed to the sustenance of some other animal they accomplish a purpose that they would not otherwise, and live not in vain. There would be as much propriety in saying that the winds that dash them, the flames that consume them, the waters that drown them, the frosts that freeze them are engines of God's cruelty to brutes as to say that the instinct of prey is. We know not that it is more unkind that part of the food of animals should be endowed with life than that it all should be vegetable. Indeed, we suppose it is greater goodness, for the number and variety of animals is far greater than it could be if all ate only vegetable diet. The earth will sustain a thousand animals now where it could only one if animals ate no animals. The ocean bed, with its continents waste of vegetation, with only here and there a shoal of sea-weed, could not support one in a million of its present inhabitants if they fed not on each other. If, then, there be joy in life—if existence is a blessing—the sum total of animal happiness is multiplied a hundred fold by the present order of things. If it be cruelty to take animal life for food, man should never again take the life of any living thing for his sustenance. But God clothed the first pair in the skins of beasts; he has given man permission, yea, commanded him, to slay and eat certain animals for food. So has he, with a voice no less direct and unequivocal, commanded the spider to slay and eat the fly; and so with all other animals to which he has given the instincts of prey.

But what would be the consequence if animals ate only vegetables? The number of animals would of course greatly increase, and soon every vestige of vegetation would be devoured, and earth would be as the blighted heath or desert waste; and then the whole animal kingdom would perish, except the few fortunate ones that had stored away enough to last till vegetation should again grow. If no animals devoured animals, with their present rapidity of propagation the lesser animals would soon overrun the earth. Each bird of the flock that frequents your garden in summer devours a thousand insects If they devoured none, the air would be thick and the day darkened by the clouds of insects. Birds are scarce, and insects destroy the fruits of your labors; birds return, and you gather your abundant harvest. Thus has God adapted all nature to preserve an equilibrium, to prevent excess and ruin, and all to work the general good, and especially the good of man.

If no animals ate animals, but each one of the rapidly increasing animal kingdom was left to die by other means, and lie and rot, the earth would soon be covered with carrion, and, like a charnel-house or dissecting-room, the whole atmosphere would be heavy with pestilence and the foul vapors of death. The poison in the air would then destroy the excess of animal life; but it would not be the greater prevailing over the less, as now, but the higher order of animals would fall victims to the lower. Man and the more delicate of the brute creation would sink in universal ruin; while the worm, the beetle, the raven, the buzzard, and the hyena would be sovereigns of a blighted world.

The present order of nature is arranged with the greatest possible economy in the consumption of organized matter. Unorganized matter can support nothing but the very lowest order of animal existence. The vegetable kingdom lies between unorganized earth and animal existence. It is the laboratory where dead matter is manufactured into organic form, fitted for the sustenance of animal structures. After it is thus prepared—as the vegetable manufactory can prepare but a limited amount—it is made to go the farthest and accomplish the most by passing through and contributing to the sustenance of a succession of individual existences. Matter after it is once organized may travel on for ages before it returns to its mother earth. Thus matter is revolving in organization, nutrition, decay, and reorganization in an endless circuit. And that none of it should be unused, God has made something to feed upon every form of organized matter. The most bitter herb, the most pungent, the most poisonous, each has its admiring feasters; and there is no animal living that has not its class of gormands waiting to eat him when he dies, whether he die by their violence or by the hand of others, or by disease or old age. Thus has God adapted his works for the preservation of the balance in the vegetable and animal kingdoms and among the different orders of animals; and any change, such as the cessation of animal eating, would throw confusion, disorder, excess, and ruin through the whole machinery of creation unless there were an entire and universal change and readjustment of the whole.

What would be the result if all animals were immortal, as it is supposed by the opposite of this question they were before the fall? We have dwelt too long on the previous question to elaborate this. One illustration will be sufficient. A cloud of locusts darkens the horizon, and spreads over the sky so as almost to exclude the light of the sun. They settle upon the earth and sweep over the land, leaving a whole state desolate with their ravages. A local famine supervenes. The only hope of man is that winter will soon come and put an end to their destructive progress and their life. But no, they are immortal. In the spring, multiplied a hundred fold, they recommence their work of devastation. Still living on, year after year, each successive year they spread wider and wider over states, nations, continents, earth. And not these alone, but each rapidly increasing insect, reptile, beast, in endless life, in endless increase, would overspread the earth. How long would man retain dominion? How long would flowers bloom? How long would fruits of paradise appear? How long would nature live?

We have presented these considerations upon this subject to show that there are other reasons besides the inferences of geology which might lead us to suppose that brutes did not suffer a change in disposition and habits as a consequence of the fall of man, and that, therefore, geology does not call upon us to admit an opinion otherwise unreasonable.

It is well known that fossil remains of animals have been discovered in the rocks and ancient strata of the earth, and that many of these have all the distinguishing characteristics of the carnivorous animals of the present day. From the fact that many of these animals are unlike any that are now found upon the earth; from the fact that among them are found no fossil remains of man; from the fact that they are found in rocks unlike any that are now forming on the earth; from the fact that they are covered by a thickness of strata which, according to the present rate of formation, millions of years must have been required to form; from the fact that they are found in lands which have been several successive times beds of ocean and gardens of vegetation; from these and other reasons these fossils are supposed to be the remains of animals that lived and perished before man was created..

For these reasons, and others which the limits of this article compel us to omit, we are satisfied that brutes were not affected directly in nature, disposition, habits, life, or death by the fall of man. As we have before intimated, there may have been no ravenous beasts in that particular part of earth where God had prepared a home for perfect man any more than they are now found in the thickly populated districts of our country. No lion may have lurked beneath its shades, or roared amid its melody; but over whatever hills he did roam, he roamed in search of prey. No vulture may have disturbed the retreat of those warblers that sung their chorus of welcome to new-born man, but whenever and wherever he took his repast his table was spread with something that had been living.

As they did not fall in the fall, so we do not expect they will be restored in the restoration. We regard those passages which speak of the leopard and the lamb, and the lion eating straw as the ox, figures representing the peaceful spirit that shall prevail in human society rather than a description of any change which is literally to take place in the nature of animals.

ART. VII.—PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE most perfect criterion for estimating the intelligence and tastes of a nation is the extent and character of its periodical literature. Books may be numerous and possess a high order of merit, and yet the great mass of the people be sunk into an abyss of ignorance and superstition the most profound, provided there be left, amid the general chaos, a cultivated and intellectual circle. Such works are expected to endure, and be studied as eagerly, and with as much profit, by future generations as by that which produced them. But periodicals are read as soon as issued, and cast aside, perhaps, never again to be taken up; and their preservation is of so little importance that after a few weeks or months they can only be found in those great depositories for every literature, whether valuable or worthless, the public libraries of our large cities. Monthlies and quarterlies, published in pamphlet form, are the only exceptions to this rule, and even they are but carelessly preserved by four fifths of their readers.

Periodicals were originally divided into two classes, organs of news and organs of opinions, the former being the more numerous; but nearly all of our modern publications are of a mixed character, giving a summary of the current transactions of the day, and at the same time advocating certain theories, either in politics or religion, thereby filling a double mission.

To Italy belongs the honor of conceiving the idea of publishing the news of the day to the masses of the people; but the method employed was of rather a clumsy character, and only adapted to towns or large villages. In 1563 the republic of Venice was engaged in an important and bloody contest with Solyman II., and, as the war bore a religious aspect, it absorbed the entire attention of the Venetians, and their anxiety to learn the details of the struggle was so great that reading-rooms were established, and men employed to write a summary of all that transpired and read it to the public. The price of admission into these rooms was a *gazetta*, a coin no longer in use, and from this, it is believed, that the term gazette has been derived, although it must be admitted that the etymology of the word is somewhat uncertain. These papers were published monthly, and files of the Gazette, in manuscript, for over sixty years, are still preserved in the Magliabecchin Library at Florence. The jealousy of the Venetian government would not permit the publishers to print them, lest matters be secretly circulated of an incendiary or inflammatory character, and all that was written was made subject to the severest scrutiny on the part of the government. Outside of Venice the circulation and reading, even of manuscripts, was prohibited, at the suggestion of Pope Gregory XIII., who appears clearly to have foreseen the consequences to despotism and bigotry of the spread of general intelligence.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of England, occasional publications, entitled "Newes from Spaine," etc., made their appearance; but no regular periodicals were published till May, 1622, the story of the existence of the “Mercurie,” previous to that period, having been clearly disproved by facts, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, but which are entirely satisfactory to all who have investigated the subject. This paper, which first made its appearance on the 23d of the month, was entitled, “The Weekly Newes from Italy, Germany, etc. London: Printed by J. D. for Nicholas Bourne and Thos. Archer.” Succeeding numbers had also attached to them the name of Nathaniel Butter, who had rendered himself celebrated by a number of occasional publications of a new character during the ten or twelve preceding years. These papers, and some others of a similar character, made their appearance within twenty years; but they chiefly confined their narrations to foreign affairs, as the jealousy of the Crown was so great that the publishers well knew that to discuss home politics would bring down the vengeance of the ruling powers. The first publication of the proceedings in Parliament was made in 1691, when a weekly paper, entitled “Diurnal Occurrences; or, the Heads of several proceedings in both Houses of Parliament,” was established; and soon afterward fifteen or twenty more periodicals, usually published at intervals of a week, were started, and, for the first time, they became organs of public opinion as well as news, thereby inaugurating the mixed features of journalism so conspicuous in modern times. The tone of these papers was of the lowest order, and the editors did little else than use harsh invective, which they called argument, and which, in that era of revolution, was well adapted to the tastes of the people, and served to urge them on in their career of madness which was sending hundreds of innocent men, on either side, to the prison and the scaffold. Among the editors of ability who figured at that time was the celebrated Nedham, who changed from a democrat to a loyalist, and back to a democrat, with as much facility as politicians of the present day, always carrying with him his virulence, which he manifested in the bitterest satire. His last paper, which was violently Presbyterian and anti-Carlist, was entitled the “Intelligencer,” the first number of which was published in 1655, and which, in conjunction with another journal, laid the foundation for the present “London Gazette.”

Soon afterward the newspapers began to discuss, with more freedom, domestic affairs, and to give a better summary of home news, and this gave rise to numerous expedients, on the part of the government, to rid themselves of an institution which promised to be troublesome. But the people had been so long in the habit of reading papers that it was deemed inexpedient to attempt their complete suppression, and therefore, immediately after the restoration, Roger L'Estrange was given a monopoly of the right to publish all matters which the government should adjudge suitable for the public, with power to seize and suppress all unlicensed books and papers. As the "Intelligencer" had become firmly established, he was given charge of that journal. In his salutatory he declares that, "Supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public mercenary should never have my vote, because I think it makes the public too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colorable right and license to be meddling with the government." Then, speaking of the perverted appetites of the people for news, he adds: "So that, upon the main, I perceive the thing requisite, and (for aught I can see yet) once a week may do the business, for I intend to utter my news by weight, not by measure." But this attempted monopoly was a failure, and periodicals multiplied despite the vigilance of L'Estrange, and in 1665 he abandoned the enterprise. His paper, however, was continued and made a semi-weekly, and has been published of uniform size for more than two centuries, having taken the title of "London Gazette" in 1666.

The first daily newspaper, the "London Courant," made its appearance in 1703, and as all efforts to suppress the publication of news by requiring a license had failed, in 1712 a duty of a halfpenny was levied on all papers of a half sheet, and a penny on all of the whole size; and it was believed by this that the publishers would raise the prices so as to prevent the further sale of papers, and in a number of instances these hopes proved but too true. The "Examiner," the "Observer," and the "Spectator" were crushed beneath the weight; even the genius of such men as Swift and Addison was unable to rescue them. But these papers were intended only for the select few; and while they perished those of a more popular character, but of a decidedly lower tone, flourished as before, and the duties were consequently increased, until they reached fourpence per number without regard to size.

But these efforts to hamper the press began to grow unpopular early in the present century, and by exertions of Lord Campbell and other liberals many of the restrictions which had formerly weighed heavily upon the publishers were taken off. Among these reforms we may mention the repeal of the principle that "the greater the truth the greater the libel," and the admission of the evidence of the correctness of a charge in a prosecution for libel. In 1833 the duty on advertisements, which had been eighty-four cents for each, without regard to length, in England and Scotland, and sixty cents in Ireland, was reduced to thirty-six cents in the former countries, and twenty-four in the latter; and twenty years afterward, in 1853, the tax was abolished altogether. In 1836 the stamp duty on all papers was reduced to two cents, and in 1855 it was taken off entirely.*

Before the stamp duty was removed there were none but high-priced papers in England, the lowest amount charged per number being eight cents, and the highest twelve. But, as might be expected, the tax had no sooner disappeared than cheap publications everywhere sprung up, as if by magic, to compete for public favor, and already more than seventy are issued in London alone, forty of which are sold for a penny each, or the same that is charged in this country for first-class papers; and ten at a halfpenny, or one cent, making them within the reach of all. There are, however, no halfpenny journals outside of London. In the southern and eastern counties, out of one hundred and twenty-nine papers, eighty are cheap and forty-nine high-priced, eleven of the former having belonged to the latter category prior to the abolition of the stamp duty. In the western counties there are fifty-three cheap and thirty-nine high-priced papers. In the eight counties embraced in the Oxford circuit, the number of both classes is precisely the same as in the western part; and in the six central counties there are

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* During the year ending January 5, 1830, the duties on newspapers and advertisements in the United Kingdom, not counting shillings and pence, were as follows:

	Papers.	Advertisements.
England..............	£438,667	£136,052
Scotland..............	42,301	17,592
Ireland..............	28,578	14,985

seventy-seven papers, including fifty-four low-priced publications. In York and Lancaster there are two hundred and four journals, of which only twelve are sold at the higher rates. In Scotland there are seventy-five cheap papers, of which forty-three are published at a penny, and the remainder at three halfpence and twopence. In Ireland the number of cheap journals is thirty, and in the Channel Islands eleven. To show the increase of British newspapers, since they were first systematically established, we subjoin the following table:

	1782.	1790.	1821.	1824.	1861.
In England	50	60	135	138	460
" Ireland	8	27	31	32	122
" Scotland	3	27	56	56	139
" Channel Islands	0	0	6	6	13
Total	61	114	228	232	734

It will be seen from what has already been said, that the term "cheap" in Great Britain has entirely a different signification, when applied to newspapers, from what it has in this country. A paper which is sold at four cents would be regarded as extremely dear by Americans. The "London Times," the leading journal, not only of England, but of all Europe, is sold at ten cents per number, although no larger than either of the three leading papers in New York, and not their superior in anything.

The French were a little behind their island rivals as to the time of establishing a periodical press, although their enterprises, being more directly subject to the influence of the government, because of the difference in the constitutions of the two countries, were on a far more limited scale both as to number and character. The first French periodical, the "Mercure Francois," was commenced in Paris in 1605, and continued its existence for forty years; but it never assumed the character of a newspaper, but was devoted exclusively to historical compilations. The first real journal, the Gazette, was issued by Theophrastes Renaudot, in 1631, and it continued, under the title of "Gazette des Recuils" and "Gazette de France," till 1789. It was usually issued weekly, but occasionally, when the public demands required it, it was published semi-weekly, and even daily. It contained a number of advertisements, a feature generally ignored by French periodicals at the present day. Toward the latter end of the seventeenth century, at the instance of Mademoiselle de Longueville, a scurrilous sheet was published at Paris for fifteen years by a man named Loret, and was of the same character with numerous papers printed in secret in the large cities of this country, but the circulation of which is prohibited under heavy penalties.

In 1672 a Parisian printer issued the first number of the "Mercure Galant," which under this title, and that of "Nouveau Mercure" and "Mercure de France," was continued till 1815. It was a purely literary periodical, and during eras of its existence it was conducted by some of the ablest men in France. Another paper, managed with great ability, called the "Journal Etroyer," closed its existence in 1763.

The "Moniteur," which, through all the changes to which the government has been subject, has continued to be the official organ, was commenced in 1760. Its stock is always sold by outgoing, and purchased by incoming ministers, and hence the frequent changes in its political tone. Its articles acquire all their significance from the fact that they speak the sentiments of the ruling powers, and indicate their action. But like all official papers, it is neglected by the people, and its circulation never exceeds 3,000, about half of which is gratuitous among persons holding places under the government.

The "Journal de Paris, ou Poste du Soir," was the first French daily, and was issued, as its name indicates, in the evening. It was soon followed by others, and some time previous to the revolution the "Moniteur," which had before been published weekly, was issued daily.

Paris is the center of periodical literature, as it is the center of everything else which is French; but notwithstanding this there are numerous well-conducted and well-patronized journals at Bordeaux, Lyons, Orleans, and indeed in all the provincial cities of France; and many of these have much more than a local influence. Among these we may mention the "Semaphore de Marseille" and the "Journal de Havre."

The total number of periodicals, issued at intervals not exceeding three months, is about 1,400, of which 1,100 are devoted exclusively to science, arts, literature, or particular trades, or professions, and are not required either to give security or to pay stamp taxes. The three hundred political papers are all required to give security for the payment of any fine which may be assessed against them; the amount for dailies and tri-weeklies being fixed at 50,000 francs, and that for all others at 30,000. Their proprietors are likewise required to pay a stamp tax of six centimes per number (a trifle over one cent) for all papers printed in Paris and Versailles, and half that sum for those published in other departments.

The legislation of France, in reference to the freedom of the press, has had, as might be expected, a great influence upon the periodical literature of the country. During revolutionary eras the widest liberty was permitted, and doctrines the most pernicious, which were well adapted to the spirit of the people, were spread broadcast, and their effects are familiar to every student of history. These outbursts were generally succeeded by the strictest censorship, which would become so intolerable that it would be followed by another revolution. The press, however, under recent regulations is made nearly or quite free, and as the change was effected gradually, and in consequence of a better education of the people, of course a healthier public sentiment will ensue, and it is to be hoped that French journalism will be elevated to a position it has never before occupied.

The first newspaper published in the United States was issued in Boston on the 25th of September, 1690, and although it contained very little else than current news, it created a profound sensation among the staid old Puritans of the colony of Massachusetts, and the legislature declared its publication to be a violation of the laws, and that it contained many "reflections of a very high nature." The publisher became frightened at the magnitude of his own innovation, and never issued a second number. The paper is still in existence in the state paper office in London, and is a small sheet of four pages, with one of them blank. Benjamin Harris was the publisher, and Richard Prince the printer. A London Gazette, containing an account of a battle with the French, was reprinted at New York the same year by order of Governor Fletcher.

The first regular newspaper published in the colonies was the "Boston News Letter," which made its appearance on the 24th day of April, 1704, and was a half sheet, eight by twelve inches, and contained two columns on each page, and was published and edited by John Campbell, a Scotch bookseller, and postmaster of Boston. The paper continued long after Campbell's death, being issued weekly till 1776. On the 21st of December, 1719, was published the first number of the "Boston Gazette," and on the following day was commenced the "American Weekly Mercury," printed by William Bradford, of Philadelphia.

But the most notable newspaper enterprise of the day was that of the Franklins, James and Benjamin. On the 18th day of August, 1721, the former commenced publishing the "New England Courant," which, unlike all its predecessors, assumed to discuss, with freedom and independence, all matters, political, social, and religious, and the result was that the editor soon became involved in a contest with the Puritan clergy, led on by Rev. Increase Mather, on the subject of vaccination, the virtues of which had been denied by the Courant, and the con sequence was that James Franklin's paper was suppressed, unless he would agree to submit all articles written to the secretary of the province. This he refused to do, but avoided the order by publishing the paper in the name of his brother Benjamin, then a lad of sixteen, but who had already given proofs of his powers by having written most of the articles which had been regarded as offensive. It was in the publication of this little sheet that the greatest of American philosopher commenced his public career.

The first regular newspaper published in New York was the "Gazette," and was commenced on the 16th of October, 1725, by William Bradford, the pioneer of Philadelphia periodicals, as already stated. The first newspaper in Virginia was the "Gazette," a popular name in those days, which was commenced at Williamsburgh in 1736, by William Park. During the first half of the eighteenth century periodical literature did not flourish much in the colonies for several obvious reasons. Postal facilities were very limited, the political transactions of the colonies unimportant, and the people were generally too poor to pay for such a luxury as a weekly summary of the news. In 1754 there were but nine newspapers in all the colonies, four of which were published in Boston, two in New York, two in Philadelphia, and one in Virginia, all of which were weekly. About this time colonial politics began to assume an importance never hitherto attached to them, on account of the efforts of Dr. Franklin and others to form a union, and because of the fear that it was the intention of the mother country to exercise arbitrary powers over the people whenever an opportunity occurred. In the mean time the transportation of the mails became more safe, and routes were extended, and the colonists grew more wealthy. The result upon newspapers was very marked and decided, and in 1775 there were thirty-seven papers published within the limits of the United States, one of which, the "Philadelphia Advertiser," was issued semi-weekly.

The first daily paper in the United States was the "Philadelphia Advertiser," changed from a semi-weekly in 1784, and which continued its existence till 1837. To show the increase of periodicals in the United States, we have prepared the following table from authentic documents:

STATES.	1775.	1810.		1828.		1840.		1850.	
	Weekly.	Daily.	All others.	Daily.	All others.	Daily.	All others.	Daily.	All others.
Maine	.	.	..	2	27	3	38	4	45
New Hampshire	1	.	12	8	17	.	33	.	38
Vermont	.	.	14	1	20	2	31	2	33
Massachusetts	7	..	32	8	70	10	95	22	187
Rhode Island	2	.	7	3	11	2	16	5	14
Connecticut	4	.	11	4	29	2	42	7	39
New York	4	7	59	15	146	34	268	51	377
New Jersey	.	.	8	2	20	4	36	6	45
Pennsylvania	9	9	62	14	161	12	217	24	186
Delaware	.	.	2	.	4	.	8	..	10
Maryland	2	5	16	6	31	7	42	6	61
Virginia	2	.	23	2	32	4	52	15	72
North Carolina	2	.	10	.	20	.	29	..	51
South Carolina	3	2	8	3	13	3	18	7	39
Georgia	1	.	13	2	16	5	35	5	46
Florida	.	.	..	.	2	.	10	6	54
Alabama	.	.	..	1	9	3	25	..	10
Mississippi	.	.	4	2	4	2	29	..	50
Louisiana	.	2	8	3	6	11	26	11	44
Texas	.	.	..	.	1	.	4	..	34
Arkansas	.	.	..	.	1	.	9	..	9
Tennessee	.	.	6	1	7	2	54	8	42
Kentucky	.	.	17	3	20	5	41	9	53
Ohio	.	.	14	4	62	9	134	26	235
Michigan	.	.	..	.	2	6	27	8	55
Indiana	.	.	1	.	17	.	76	9	98
Illinois	.	.	..	.	4	3	49	8	99
Missouri	.	.	1	1	4	6	29	5	56
Iowa	.	.	..	.	..	.	4	..	29
Wisconsin	.	.	..	.	..	.	6	6	40
Minnesota	.	.	..	.	..	.	..	..	2
California	.	.	..	.	..	.	..	..	3
Oregon	.	.	..	.	..	.	..	..	2
Kansas	.	.	..	.	..	.	..	..	..
Territories	.	.	..	.	1	.	..	..	..
Total	37	25	328	77	757	135	1,683	185	2,108

The result of the last census has not been made public, but it is believed that the number of periodicals in the United States will exceed three thousand. The increase in circulation, however, has been much more rapid than the increase of periodicals themselves. The immense cost of publishing a first-class metropolitan newspaper, since the invention of the telegraph, has prevented the rapid augmentation of the number of daily journals; while the quickness with which reliable information is imparted by those which have capital, added to the general spread of intelligence, has, in most instances, quadrupled the number of readers. The following comparison of the circulation of the daily papers of some of our principal cities in 1850 and in 1861 is not far from correct:

	1850.	1861.
New York	100,000	400,000
Philadelphia	40,000	150,000
Cincinnati	20,000	100,000

In all of the other cities of the Union the increase has been proportionately large. In 1775 the entire circulation of all the periodicals in the United States was 50,000; in 1810, 22,220,000; in 1828, 68,117,000; in 1840, 195,838,000; in 1850, 426,409,000; in 1861, 1,000,000,000. This latter number is at least twice as great as that of all the rest of the world combined, which must be a source of pride to all Americans, and which goes far to make good the assertion that ours is the most enlightened nation on the face of the earth; especially as our journals exceed those of other countries in enterprise and character, as will be shown in a subsequent article.

The "New York Commercial Advertiser" was commenced in 1797, and is the oldest New York daily now in existence. The "Evening Post" was begun in 1801, and has numbered among its contributors many of the ablest men in the country, and has always maintained a high literary and political tone. It is at present conducted by William Cullen Bryant, whose sweet poetry has been read and admired by all. He assumed control of the Post in 1826. The New York "Sun," the first penny paper, was begun in 1833 by Benjamin H. Day, and was a small sheet about ten inches square; but it is now a fair sized paper, and has reached a circulation of over 60,000. The

"Herald" was commenced in 1835 by its present proprietor as a penny paper, but its price was soon afterward raised to two cents. The "Tribune" was first issued by Horace Greeley in 1841, and the "Times" in 1850 by H. J. Raymond. In 1860 the "World" was started, which has since swallowed up the old "Courier and Inquirer."

The first paper published west of the Alleghanies was the "Pittsburgh Gazette." On the 18th of August, 1787, the "Kentucky Gazette" was first published in Lexington, Ky., by John and Fielding Bradford, which continued in existence more than half a century. It was printed on a large wooden Ramage press, still in existence, and used for the publication of the "Nicholsville Democrat." It is quite a curiosity in its way. The Paris (Ky.) "Citizen" was started soon afterward, and is still continued.

The first paper published in Cincinnati was the "Centinel of the Northwest Territory," and was commenced on the 9th of November, 1793, by William Maxwell. Although nominally a weekly paper, it appeared with great irregularity, on account of the absence of a supply of paper. In 1795 the "Western Spy" was issued by S. Freeman & Son; and on the 4th of December, 1804, John W. Browne published the first number of "Liberty Hall," afterward merged in the "Cincinnati Gazette," which is still the leading paper of Ohio. The daily was begun in 1823, and afterward attained unusual influence under the control of Charles Hammond. There are now in Cincinnati five English and three German dailies, the combined circulation of which amounts to over 100,000. Soon after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States newspapers were started in New Orleans, and a few years afterward in Natchez and St. Louis. The pioneer paper in Tennessee was the "Knoxville Gazette," which was commenced in 1793 by R. Roulstone.

In no city in the Union is the mercantile community so liberal as in St. Louis, and the result is that the papers published there are larger and better supported than in any other place of the same number of inhabitants. The "Republican" has been in existence more than fifty years, and is the largest paper in the West. The "Democrat" represents the liberal sentiment of the Mississippi Valley, and through its influence Missouri has been well-nigh revolutionized on the slavery question. It acquired its first reputation during the Kansas troubles, by condemning in unmeasured terms the outrages of the pro-slavery party, and its course has since been such as to increase the confidence reposed in it during the early part of its career.

Several German papers were published in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, but they were not well supported. Within the last quarter of a century, however, the great increase of Germans has created such a demand for periodicals in their own language that scarcely a town of 10,000 inhabitants exists but has at least one weekly German paper, and our large cities have several dailies each, many of which have a large circulation and a wide influence. There are likewise several German illustrated papers, with extended patronage. In New Orleans and New York there are daily French journals of influence; the "Courier des Etats Unis," of the latter city, having been a favorite with the Franco-Americans until it sold itself to the southern traitors. It, however, has recently changed hands, and bids fair to regain its former position and influence. In Louisiana a number of papers are published, half in English and half in French, to meet the demands of the creole population. There are also printed, chiefly in Wisconsin and Michigan, Dutch, Swedish, and Norwegian journals, and a small Croatian weekly is printed in St. Louis.

There are a number of journals in both the French and English languages in British America, and likewise in the West Indies. In the Spanish American republics newspapers are not numerous, although each has two or three; and in Chili there are twenty-four, Mexico thirty, and New Grenada forty-eight. This deficiency in journals is a natural result of the ignorance of the people, and the unstable condition of the governments, so that publishers can neither be assured of a liberal support nor of proper protection.

The first regular journal in Germany was the "Frankforter Oberpostampts Zeitung," which still maintains an obscure existence as a daily. The "Hamburgiche Correspondent" was first issued in 1714, and before the French Revolution was almost the only German paper which derived its information from original sources, the country papers being generally reprints of this, with the news somewhat condensed. At the close of the last century the "Allgemeine Zeitung," with correspondents in all parts of the world, was commenced, and has met with fair, but not brilliant success, its daily circulation reaching, perhaps, 8,000. The "Vossische Zeitung," of Berlin, has the largest patronage of any daily in Germany, amounting to perhaps 16,000 copies. The "Volks Zeitung" and "Kölnische Zeitung," both of liberal or democratic politics, sell about 15,000 daily. The circulation of the other papers is very limited.

The Revolution of 1848 gave a great impetus to periodical literature, and the number of papers soon reached 1,400; but this number has diminished, and in the monarchical and despotic states their character has been greatly changed. The strict censorship exercised by the greater portion of the local governments over the press has had a decided influence on the character of German journals, and until it is removed they cannot hope to attain to the influence of the English or American papers. Each writer is compelled to write over his own signature, or a fictitious one authorized by the authorities, and kept on record; and he is subjected to vexatious suits or summary punishments if he criticises any political personage or measure too freely.

In Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, and Portugal there are a number of papers, but censorship is so strict that they are of the most inferior type, principally valuable for the publication of official bulletins, and do not deserve any particular notice. The same remark would apply to Italy, with the exception of Sardinia, previous to the late revolution; but since that period a large number of papers, competing for the public favor, have been issued. Since the accession of Victor Emanuel censorship has been abolished, and political and religious matters are discussed without reserve. Among the leading papers are the "Gazetta del Popolo," the "Opinione," and the "Italia del Popolo."

A large number of journals in the English and Hindoo languages are now published in British India; and in China a paper under the title of "King Chau," or "Pekin Gazette," has been published by the government for the purpose of promulgating official edicts, and which is distributed by couriers to all the officers of the empire. English journals are likewise published at Canton, Singapore, and other towns, but they are all of recent origin.

A French newspaper was established in Constantinople in 1795, but it existed but a short period. In 1825 Alexandre Blacque began the publication of the "Spectateur d'Orient," at Smyrna. Other papers in Turkish, French, and English followed in different parts of the empire; but the principal ones now in existence in the Turkish capital are the "Journal de Constantinople," in French, and the "Djeridei Havodis," in the native tongue. At Smyrna there are thirty daily papers in the Armenian, English, French, German, and Italian languages, the majority in the first. Journals in a portion or all of these tongues are in existence in Alexandria, Cairo, and Beyrout. These are all of very modern origin.

The independence of Greece was succeeded by the simultaneous publication of a number of journals in modern Greek, their center being the famous city of Athens. The number of papers in the entire kingdom now exceeds one hundred, and they maintain a high tone, and will do much to revive literature in that land, so long associated with the names of the ablest philosophers and historians, and sweetest poets of the ancient world.

In all of the Pacific islands, colonized by or under the protection of the English and French, there are local journals; but their influence is not great, and none of them deserves special mention.

The following table, compiled from authentic sources, is very nearly a correct statement of the number of periodicals of all descriptions now in existence:

United States	3,200	Sweden & Norway	113	Portugal	12
France	1,400	England and Wales	488	Greece	110
Prussia	632	Ireland	111	Denmark	39
Austria	73	Scotland	112	Russia	63
Saxony	183	Asia, (ex. of Turkey)	300	Mexico	30
Other Ger'n States	580	Africa	40	Central America	3
Switzerland	77	Holland	168	New Grenada	46
Italy	150	Belgium	86	Equador	3
Turkey	130	Spain	60	Venezuela	3

Guiana...........	6	Chili.............	24	British America ...	160
Brazil............	32	Bolivia...........	2	Places not named..	100
Paraguay.........	2	Peru..............	27		
Uruguay..........	4	Spanish W. I......	10	Total	8,542
Buenos Ayres.....	10	British "	16		

London is the center of British, Paris of French, and New York of American daily journals, and in the first named there is no provincial opposition of consequence; indeed, we might almost say that the "Times" had the whole field to itself, its circulation being 51,000, while that of all other dailies in the United Kingdom does not exceed 26,000. The three leading dailies of Paris are the "Presse," the "Siecle," and the "Constitutionnel," which circulated 41,000, 36,000, and 26,000 respectively. None of their competitors, either metropolitan or provincial, have more than 10,000 subscribers. These exhibits are not flattering when we compare them with those of our New York city papers, the "Herald," the "Tribune," the "Times," and the "Sun," which circulate respectively 80,000, 60,000, 50,000, and 65,000 copies; and in the mean time it must be recollected that we have numerous provincial dailies, distributing from 30,000 to 45,000 each.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The controversy respecting the "Essays and Reviews" still engrosses the attention of the Established Church. The proceedings against two of the essayists, Dr. Williams and Rev. Mr. Wilson, have commenced, and have rekindled the general interest in the entire controversy. The pleadings in the case of Dr. Williams were opened January 19; and the defense took the ground that many of the criminated views of the author on the inspiration of the Scriptures were only reported by him as opinions of Baron Bunsen, while those professed as his own did not trespass on the liberty of thought allowed to clergymen of the Established Church. The Rev. Mr. Wilson, the author of the essay entitled, "Séances Historiques de Geneve—The National Church," has been proceeded against also, in the Court of Arches, by the Rev. James Fendall, the charges referring to the origin of the human race, the doubt thrown upon the narrative of the tempter, of the speaking of Balaam's ass, and other wonders of the Old Testament. The ablest among the essayists, Professor Jowett, of Oxford, has received from a number of friends, among whom are the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Russell, the Earl of Carlisle, Earl Granville, Sir Cornwall Lewis, and Canon Stanley, a present of £2,000. Mr. Goodwin, the author of the sixth essay on Mosaic Cosmogony, has undertaken the editorship of the Literary Gazette. Numerous replies to the essays are still forthcoming. Among the most important publications of the kind are two volumes, which may be regarded as the manifestoes of the two other great schools of the Established Church, the Evangelical and the High Church, the one (High Church) being entitled "Replies to the Essays and Reviews," with a preface by the Bishop of Oxford; the other, "Aids to Faith," prepared by Dr. Thomson, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and Dr. M'Caul, Dr. Mansel, Rev. Mr. Cook, Dr. Rawlinson, Dr. Browne, and Dr. Ellicott.

The Church of England is rapidly advancing toward a recovery of self-government. In the Convocation of Canterbury, which met again on February 11, and was most numerously attended, motions of great importance have been carried. In the Upper House, the Bishop of Oxford presented a petition in favor of the resumption of synodical action through the queen's dominions, and moved that the subject be referred to a committee. The motion, which was seconded by the Bishop of Chichester, was unanimously adopted after the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and Winchester, had expressed their high sense of the services, which had been rendered to the Church by Mr. Hoare, the originator and president of the Society for the Restoration of the Convocations. On motion of the Bishop of Oxford, it was also resolved to request the Archbishop of Canterbury to address to the Archbishop of York an earnest desire that measures might be devised by which both provinces might act together harmoniously, and with concurrent deliberation, especially with regard to the action which had been taken in reference to the twenty-ninth canon. The Bishop of Lincoln presented a petition from a large number of clergymen in his diocese, praying that measures might be adopted for a more extended lay agency in the Church, and, on his motion, a committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration. In the Episcopal Church of Scotland a great activity is displayed in furthering the object of the Endowment Association, which held on January 11 its first annual meeting. The Duke of Buccleuch occupied the chair, and the principal speakers were the chairman, the Earl of Haddington, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Moray, and Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Bishop of Moray stated that there were congregations in his diocese which did not contribute more than £11 a year to the support of their minister. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took the statements of the Bishop of Moray as a text for a sharp lecture to the laity of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, who were suffering such a state of things to exist, yet was hopeful that the Association would go on prospering. The Endowment Association has already been the means of greatly improving the condition of most of the lower clergy. A sum of £40,000, yielding £500 a year, has been raised, and from thirty to forty congregations are already in the way of obtaining endowments.

The cause of foreign missions is highly prosperous. The Free Church of Scotland is on the point of resuming her operations in India with new vigor. She has recently sent out two new missionaries, and four more will soon follow. The missionary societies will find in India an influential ally in the Christian Vernacular Education Society, which during the past years has efficiently stimulated the zeal of the native teachers by establishing competitive prize examinations throughout many parts of the country, and which now intends to take charge of two training colleges. In China, Dr. Lockhart has arrived in Pekin, and feels confident that he can soon establish a Protestant mission in the Chinese capital, and Protestant missionaries, mostly from England and America, are now traversing the country in all directions; yet England has to mourn the loss of one of the veteran missionaries in the Chinese empire, Dr. Bridgman, who died after having spent thirty-two years in missionary labors. The contributions in aid of the home and foreign misionary operations of the United Presbyterian Church, during the year 1861, have considerably exceeded any former period, notwithstanding the depressed state of trade and commerce throughout the country. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, following up one of the suggestions made at the recent Conference of Missions, have arranged for a series of lectures on the subject of missions, to be delivered to the students of the Free Church Colleges.

The strength and prosperity of the

Wesleyan body are remarkably indicated by the report of the "Chapel Committee," according to which, in the last seven years, about £400,000 of debts on chapels have been paid off. Last year the amount expended on the reduction of debt was £44,849, and for new buildings £97,334; making a total of £142,183.

The statistics furnished in the Congregational Year-Book give the following approximate results for the year 1861: Churches in England, 1,600; Wales, 636; Scotland, 101; Ireland, 30; Colonies, 208; Islands of the British Seas, 14. Total, 2,589. This is exclusive of smaller gatherings held in rooms and small chapels.—An important meeting of the English Presbyterians and United Presbyterians in London has been held in London, to promote the cause of union. It is thought that these bodies will soon unite, and thus give to Presbyterianism a more prominent position in England. In Scotland the Free Church has lost one of her leading men, Dr. Cunningham, who took an active part in the first organization of the Church.—The Baptist Handbook, for 1862, reports for England, Wales, and Ireland, 2,014 churches, 142,879 members, an increase over the preceding year of 14,334, and 1,493 stations.—The Unitarians, who have long been on the decline in Great Britain, have made an attempt to revive their association in Scotland, and have held, to this end, their first meeting in Glasgow.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The "Catholic Directory" of England gives this year a complete list of Roman Catholic peers, baronets, and members of parliament. The number of peers is twenty-two, among whom is one duke, (Norfolk,) five earls, (Newburgh, Fingall, Kenmare, Orford, Dunraven,) three viscounts, and thirteen barons. Nine are peers of England, four peers of the United Kingdom, two peers of Scotland, and seven peers of Ireland. There are besides some heirs-apparent of Protestant peerages. There are forty-three Roman Catholic baronets, and thirty-one Roman Catholic members of the House of Commons, of whom thirty sit for Irish, and one (Lord Howard) for English constituencies. There has been a small increase in the number of peers, but a decrease in that of members of the House of Commons, where the Roman Catholics a few years ago numbered thirty-seven. England had, in 1861, 1,215 priests, 824 churches, chapels, and stations, 50 communities of men, 153 convents, and 10 colleges; Scotland 173 priests, 195 churches, chapels, and stations, 9 convents, and 2 colleges. The increase in the last three years is, of bishops and priests, 166; of churches, chapels, and stations, 93; of communities of men, 16: of convents, 52; of colleges, 1.

THE MORMONS.—The Mormons are still active in England, and, if any reliance can be put on their reports, are still laboring with some success. They held on January 1, in Birmingham, a "General Council of the European Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," at which reports were given of the present condition and future prospects of Mormonism throughout the British Isles, and in some parts of the Continent of Europe. There were present three of the twelve apostles, two of the nephews of Joseph Smith the prophet, with a number of bishops, high priests, and Seventies, many of whom had traveled through more than one continent propagating their faith. Their Conferences of England and Scotland reported progress; but the Irish Mission had been attended with unfavorable results.

GERMANY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The result of the triennial elections for the Prussian House of Representatives, which took place on November 19, is another heavy blow to the system of State Churchism. The politico-religious party known as Feudal (ultra-conservative) party, which comprises the high aristocracy and high Lutheran and Romanizing element in the State Church, has suffered a defeat exceeding all expectations, as it will count only eighteen members among three hundred and forty-one. The immense majority of the deputies will be willing to vote for measures restoring to the national Church a larger share of Church government. The decided Progressives, (Democrat,) who are about eighty in number, and form the second largest party in the House, will generally favor the entire separation between Church and State. In the Grand Duchy of Baden the elections for local Church councils have resulted overwhelmingly in favor of the friends of the new Church constitution, which has so considerably reduced the influence of the secular government in religious matters, and prepared the way for the full independence of the Church. The opposition, to which, unfortunately, a very large portion of the clergymen of the evangelical school belong, have not elected a single candidate in any of the larger towns. A great progress in the same direction has been made in the free city of Hamburg, where, by a new constitution, the Church is completely seperated from the State. Hitherto the Church had been more subordinate to the State than in any other state. The Senate, as chief magistrates, were ruling elders. The twenty-three parish ministers met once a month to deliberate, but had no power beyond offering suggestions to the magistracy. The new constitution leaves the Church to take care of itself, and will be a great boon, as soon as a majority of the clergy shall be of the right stamp. At present the representatives of a negative theology in the college of parish ministers number two to one, and in a population of nearly two hundred thousand there are only about seven thousand regular Church-goers; but for several years Rationalism in Hamburg has shown unmistakable signs of decline, and the severance of the connection between Church and State will undoubtedly result in strengthening the evangelical element.

In Austria Protestantism is still steadily progressing. During the past year the Austrian government has called three distinguished scholars of German universities, Dr. Lipsius of Leipsic, Prof. Heppe of Marburg, and Professor Vogel of Jena, to chairs of the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Vienna, which now, at length, bids fair to be raised to a level with the other German universities. The Faculty has applied to the College of Professors of the University to be incorporated with the University, and to obtain all its rights, from which it has hitherto been excluded. It is understood that one or two of the four faculties will vote for the admission; but the Faculty of Catholic Theology is reported by a paper of Vienna to have resolved that, in case of the incorporation of the Protestant Faculty, all the Professors of Catholic Theology would resign. The Faculty of Catholic Theology itself would be declared abolished. Any professors who might accept an appointment in it would be excommunicated, no candidate for the ministry would be ordained who has studied theology at the Vienna University, and no degree of D. D. conferred by it would be acknowledged. The threats are little heeded, for if executed they would only hurt the ultramontane party itself. Next to the organisation of an able Faculty of Protestant Theology, the permanent establishment of Protestant churches and schools on the soil of the intolerant Tyrol is an event of the greatest importance in the history of Austrian Protestantism. On December 29 a General Assembly of all the Protestants of Vorarlberg (the northwestern district of the Tyrol) was held for raising the means of erecting a church and schools at Bregenz. Thirty thousand florins have already been collected, and the committee feel confident that, inclusive of the contributions expected from England, Germany, and Switzerland, they can raise sixty thousand florins more, the sum required for the projected buildings. A Presbytery was to be soon elected, and a branch society of the Gustavus Adolphus Association to be organized—an immense progress in a country which, in point of intolerance, has hitherto not been exceeded even by Spain and by Rome itself.

The Baptist missionaries in Germany give very painful descriptions of persecutions in different parts of Protestant Germany, especially in the States of Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg Strelitz. Some cases are fully as bad as the treatment of the Protestants in Spain. One missionary, for example, writes from Brunswick that, while holding a Church-meeting, he was all on a sudden arrested and carried off to a lonely cell, where he was treated like common crimininals, and remained for four days without seeing a living creature; then he was passed from prison to prison until he crossed the frontier and reached his home. Notwithstanding this continuance of persecution their cause is progressing, and their membership has largely increased during the past year.

Among the organs of the Lutheran Church quite a controversy has sprung up on the question whether it would be advisable to unite with the Roman Catholics for forming one great conservative party. Some leading men of the High or New Lutheran Party had held, in September, 1860, a conference with some Catholic priests and laymen at Erfurt to initiate the union scheme, and had even gone so far as to issue a strong declaration against the abolition of the temporal power of the pope. The Roman Catholic members were, of course, anxious to see this union consummated, and issued an invitation for a second conference in the latter months of 1861. The original participants had not enough courage to accept it; yet one High Lutheran theologian at least, Dr. Vilmar of Marburg, has expressed his entire concurrence with the resolutions of the conference of Erfurt. Several Old Lutheran papers have charged him, as well as the *Volksblatt*, an organ of the Prussian Lutherans, and several other papers, with Romanizing tendencies; the charge has been replied to, and the controversy springing out of this discussion has widened the breach between the High Church, or Romanizing Lutherans, on the one hand, and the Old Lutherans, who are unflinching opponents of Rome, on the other.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The advantages which the Church of Rome seemed, after years of hard struggling, to have secured in a number of German states by means of special Concordats, have now all been swept away. In the kingdom of Wurtemberg, even the First Chamber, consisting mostly of the high aristocracy, have voted for the rejection of the Concordat; and the principle may now be regarded as generally adopted, that the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the State must be regulated, not by negotiation with Rome, but direct legislation. Austria is the only state in which the Concordat is nominally still in force; but, in fact, it has become a dead letter, and it is announced that it will be soon revised with the consent of the Pope. Nowhere seems the ultramontane party to be so well organized as in Prussia, where they form a political party, and now count in the Second Chamber some seventy members. Being in point of numerical strength the third party in the Second Chamber, (the Constitutional ranking first, and the Progressive second,) they offered to the Constitutional party their votes for the election of the president of the Chamber if the first vice-president were to be taken out of their midst; but when only the second vice-presidentship was offered to them by the Constitutional party, they preferred to cast their votes for the two candidates of their most decided opponents, the Progressives, without securing either of the vice-presidencies.

FRANCE.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—We mentioned in a former number that the Rationalistic party in the Reformed State Church, which for some time has been losing ground, had formed a new society, called the Liberal Protestant Union, which was to rally, if possible, the scattered forces, and to secure, in particular, the election of Rationalists into the presbyteries. In January the renewal of the Presbyterial Council took place; both parties, the Orthodox and the Rationalist, had made great preparations for it, and the result was a total defeat of the the Rationalists. The Presbyterial Council of Paris is composed of twelve members, six of whom are renewed every three years. In 1856 500 electors took part in the vote; in 1859 only 400. This year the aggregate vote was about 1,500. The six retiring members of the Council being eligible for re-election, the Orthodox party determined to re-elect them all. The Rationalists asked only that the last three should be displaced; but their candidates obtained no more than from 450 to 496 votes, while the candidates of the Orthodox party had from 1,043 to 1,072. The *Lien*, of Paris, the organ of the Liberal Union, now finds consolation in the belief that "the relative strength of the two parties at Paris is still, notwithstanding ten years of Orthodox dominion, what is was of old."

The progress of Protestantism is so undeniable that it is even admitted by the Society of St. Francis de Sales, an instition expressly founded for the purpose of counteracting the influence of Protestantism. A recent number of the Bulletin of the Society shows that the Protestant schools of Paris contain more than 5,200 scholars, of whom the author calculates 3,000 must be children of Roman Catholic parents. These statistics have suggested to Rev. F. Monod an article in the *Archives du Christianisme*, contrasting the condition of French Protestantism at the present time with what it was fifty years ago. Dr. Monod shows that in 1807 there were in Paris three pastors of the Reformed Church and two places of worship, in each of which there was one sermon every Sunday. The Lutherans had not yet any regular pastor. Now there are forty-eight pastors of different denominations, thirty-one places of worship, eighty-three sermons weekly, (forty-nine in French, twelve in German, twenty-two in English,) of which fifty-nine are on Sundays, and twenty-four on week day evenings. The first Sunday-school was opened at Paris on September 22, 1822, with from fifteen to twenty scholars; now there are from twenty-five to thirty of these schools, with a number of scholars estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000. In the territory now belonging to France there were in 1807 227 Reformed and 224 Lutheran ministers, together 451. According to the "Protestant Year-Book of 1861," the present numbers are, of the Reformed Church, 653 pastors; of the Lutheran Church, 405; total, 1,058 pastors. The first religious journal was established in 1818, while there are now twenty-one such journals published, not including the French religious journals which come from Switzerland, Belgium, and elsewhere.

ITALY.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—While in most of the newly annexed districts, such as Lombardy, the Romagna, the Marches, and the Neapolitan provinces, the Protestants continue to enjoy religious toleration, Tuscany stands in a strange abnormal state, as the severe laws of Leopold I., enacted in 1849 and 1852, are still in force. The priests and public prosecutors have found out that the laws affecting the press can be made use of against the Protestants, and a number of suits have consequently been instituted. Gavazzi is under trial at Florence for an attack against the religion of the state, because he denounced confession to the priesthood. Signor Gregory, a student of the Waldensian Seminary, and Del Buono, a colporteur in the island of Elba, have been brought before the tribunal in that island, the one for having written, and the other for having sold, a controversial pamphlet. Their case has been transferred to the Supreme Court of Lucca, and the Professor of Law in the University of Pisa, who was applied to to be counsel for the defense of Gregory, declined, because as the law now stands the judges cannot but pass sentence of condemnation, which involves five years' imprisonment. There is a similar case in the tribunal of Leghorn against Signor Ribetti, the Depository of the Religious Book Society, and the printer, for having printed a reply to a pamphlet by Padre Romolo di Pistoja, and for having this reply posted on the walls of the city.

Notwithstanding these partial and temporary impediments to the preaching of the Gospel, the progress of Italy in a religious point of view has been very great. The Waldensian Seminary, now located at Florence, is attended this year by four ex-priests, who give fair promise. Another institution for the training of evangelists has been opened at Genoa under the direction of Dr. De Sanctis and Professor Mazzarella. A new weekly religious journal has been started at Turin, with the title, *Chiesa Libera in Libero State*, (A Free Church in a Free State.) It is edited by Signor Manina, a priest and very respectable man, who has succeeded Dr. Camillieri, at Florence, in the attempt to open an Anglican Italian Church there. Finding it unsuccessful, he returned to Turin, and is now become editor of this journal. Mr. Bruce, the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Italy, estimates the number of Bibles and Testaments sold during 1861 at about 30,000 copies. He has about thirty colporteurs employed in various parts of Italy. The National Bible Society of Scotland has at present sixteen colporteurs employed. The sale of religious and controversial books and pamphlets, to which the Scotch ministers in Tuscany have directed special attention, has been very large, and many new works are on hand for publication during the coming year. A work of special importance for Italy is announced by Dr. De Sanctis, being a weekly serial in the shape of dialogues, which will probably extend over two or three years, and will form a complete course of religious instruction. In order that this and other important works may be carried on with more rapidity and economy than has hitherto been possible, arrangements have been made to have the Claudiana printing press, which belongs to the Waldensian Church, removed to Florence, and set up in the Palazzo, lately bought for the Waldensian Theological College. The London Tract Society has given a grant of £500 to the Scotch ministers for their printing operations, and in order to extend this important field of missionary work a society has been formed, of which Dr. Revel has been appointed president, to be called the Italian Evangelical Publication Society. The Geneva Italian Committee has again brought out this year the almanac *Amico di' Casa*, compiled by Dr. De Sanctis, which has been so successful in years past. Last year 40.000 were published, this year 80.060, and there was a fair prospect of the whole edition being exhausted.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—The pope has summoned all the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, who can conveniently leave their sees, to be present at a grand assembly, to be held in Rome in May next. The circular states, as the cause of the invitation, that the holy father wishes as many bishops as possible to be present at the canonization of twenty-three Franciscan monks, who some centuries ago suffered martyrdom in Japan; but the Roman Catholic papers themselves do not believe that the circular speaks the plain truth, and expect that the pope will call on the assembly to pronounce, in the name of the entire Roman Catholic Church, upon the necessity of the temporal power of the pope. The government of France has, on that account, intimated its design to forbid the French bishops to take part in the Roman assembly.

Although at present but little is heard of any progress of Romanism among the Eastern Churches, and even the much-boasted-of Bulgarian movement, which, according to Roman Catholic papers, either had resulted, or soon would result, in the union of a population of four millions with the Church of Rome, seems to be entirely at an end; the pope is determined to pursue the proselytizing plans with unrelenting vigor. To this end a special congregation has been established, including theologians of Italy, France, and Germany, which is to occupy itself exclusively with the affairs of the Eastern Churches.

A number of Roman Catholic priests have come out during the past six months in pamphlet in favor of abolishing the temporal power of the pope. They already seem to form a considerable party, which has several periodicals under its control. The most important and influential organ of the party will be the new bi-monthly journal called the *Mediatore*, and edited by Passaglia, who has been appointed professor at the University of Turin. It proposes to reconcile pope and king, civil and religious interests in Italy.

SPAIN.

PROTESTANTISM.—Spain is reviving her bloody legislation of former ages. Matamoros and Alhama, the two imprisoned Protestants, have been sentenced to seven years of the galleys, and another, Trogo, to four years. They had been previously tried and acquitted for alleged political offenses, so that the present sentences are solely for reading the word of God. The *Journal des Debats*, of Paris, has the following interesting article on the subject, which gives some additional information on the Protestants of Spain:

"We have called attention to the persecutions suffered by the few Spaniards who profess the Protestant religion. One of them, Mr. Manuel Matamoros, convicted of having sold Spanish Bibles, has been condemned to the galleys for seven years. He is not the only victim of the intolerant principles inscribed in the Spanish code. From information which he himself has addressed to the Clamor Publico eight persons are still in prison at Malaga on account of their religion, seven at Seville, three at Granada, and many others have also been arrested at Barcelona, Cordova, and Jaen. Some of these are women, and one is a girl of only seventeen years of age. From Malaga, Granada, and Seville about fifty fathers of families have been compelled to emigrate to escape the rigors of the law, and have left their wives and children in a state of destitution. The Spanish authorities feel all the odium of these persecutions, and endeavor to divide public opinion by representing the persons arrested or condemned as guilty of conspiracy against the state, and by giving a political color to those absurd acts of violence which are an outrage on reason and humanity. But they adduce no fact to support these allegations. The truth is, that the police have seized all the papers of Matamoros and his fellow-sufferers, and yet not a single document has been published to prove anything against them. Mr. Matamoros is nothing but a sincere believer; the only faction he serves, at the peril of the galleys, is the Gospel; the only party he consents to follow, at the risk of liberty and life, is Jesus Christ."

SCANDINAVIA.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—The Rationalistic controversy has begun to agitate also the State Church of Sweden. In 1860 a clergyman of the name of Hallin, in the diocese of Strengnäs, laid a statement before the Consistorium, in which he denied, and attempted to disprove, the doctrine of the Saviour's divinity, the atonement, and other kindred truths. The Consistorium drew up and placed in his hands a distinct and able answer to his paper; and having in the mean time suspended him from the exercise of his ministerial functions, gave him a period of three months to reconsider his opinions. At the close of this interval of grace he was summoned before the Consistorium, and having intimated that he adhered to the opinions which he had formerly avowed, he was deposed from his office. The case has been largely discussed throughout the country, and a large class of secular newspapers have raised the cry of persecution, and denounced the sentence as an interference with freedom of thought, and a prohibition of free theological inquiry. This is not the only open display of Rationalism which at present interests the Swedish Church. A Mr. Ljunberg, one of the higher teachers at Gothenburg, and a member of the Consistorium, had in the course of last summer read a paper in defense of Rationalism before the Literary and Scientific Society of that city. This has led to a lively discussion, in which the bishop of the diocese has taken the most prominent part, answering and exposing Mr. L.'s arguments. It is quite well understood that there is a much greater amount of Rationalism diffused throughout the country than had been formerly imagined. It is said to prevail among the members of the medical profession, and to have a great hold on the more educated classes. Also among the clergy it has still a number of representatives. A Mr. Ignell, one of the ministers of Stockholm, has for many years been a zealous disseminator of Rationalistic publications; and a minister in the north, celebrated for his critical scholarship, is well known to be a Rationalist of the most advanced school.

A periodical, conducted by the leading members of the High Church party, looks with some alarm on such cases of Rationalism. "Every one," it says, "must see that it is impossible for the Church to continue to be governed or served by persons who publicly declare that to be a lie which the Church holds to be the truth. If such a state of things continue, before long a great and important ecclesiastical crisis is before us. Either those who now reject the Lutheran doctrine must see the dishonesty of their position and go out of the Church, seeking with their advanced views to form a Church such as the enlightenment of the times demand, and such as their allies, the Friends of Light in Germany, have already sketched, or if this is not the case, but, on the side of the rulers and judges, the office-bearers of the Church are tolerated in their denial of the Church's doctrines, and all attempts to subject them to censure are hindered, the crisis will appear in a much more serious disruption. We have then infallibly to expect the same spectacle which Scotland witnessed about twenty years ago, namely, that the National Church shall be deserted by a great multitude of her most faithful ministers and friends."

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

Observations on the attempted Application of Pantheistic Principles to the Theory and Historic Criticism of the Gospel is a title of a work by the late Dr. Mill, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and is esteemed one of the most valuable publications of the quarter. It is a collection of articles first published by the learned author in a periodical. It is said to be one of the publications of the century, devoted to high theology, which is destined to live. Its interest is increased by the fact that it refutes by anticipation much of the reasoning and many of the assumptions of the "Essays and Reviews."

A volume entitled *Jehovah the Redeemer: the Scriptural Interpretation of the Divine Name Jehovah*, by Thomas Tyler, M.A. Mr. Tyler claims that the theory of "a Mr. M'Whorter" in America, in regard to the divine name, was plagiarized from an article of his in the Journal of Sacred Literature. By a restoration of the true vowel points the divine name becomes Yahveh; the future tense of the Hebrew verb of existence signifies *He will be.* It thus becomes a prophetic name, indicating the future existence of "God manifest in the flesh." The theory, as presented by Mr. M'Whorter in this country, was not favorably received by the majority of scholars; but the Journal of Sacred Literature thinks that Mr. Tyler "has made out a good case."

The veteran Egyptologist, Mr. Samuel Sharpe, has published *Egyptian Hieroglyphics: being an attempt to explain their Nature, Origin, and Meaning.* It serves an excellent introduction to the knowledge of hieroglyphics. Mr. Sharpe maintains that the long catalogues of kings, which stretch the chronology of Egypt so far back of the Mosaic chronology of creation, are largely parallel pedigrees of cotemporary sovereigns of different kingdoms. He holds that no catalogue reaches back further than the age of Abraham.

GERMANY.

We receive from Germany several valuable additions to the literature on Rationalism. Of Tholuck's History of the Time preceding the rise of Rationalism, (*Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus.*) Berlin, 1861,) the first part of the second volume, treating of the religious life in the seventeenth century, has appeared. The object of the work is to trace the germs of Rationalism in an age which was yet directly opposed to it, and to show how it could spring from the strictest orthodoxy. Both the Lutheran and the German Reformed Churches are embraced in the narrative, which draws an interesting picture of the constitution, doctrines, government, and discipline of the German Churches and of the religious and civil life of the people. A thorough treatise on Rationalism itself may be found in the work of Professor Auberlen, of Basel, on Divine Revelation. (See Meth. Quar. Rev., 1861, p. 677.) The author considers a thorough discussion of the character of Rationalism, and a refutation of its fundamental errors, as necessary for reaching his object, an apology of divine revelation. To this end he gives us three elaborate chapters: I. On the Great Spiritual Contest in the Christian World; II. On Ancient Protestantism and Rationalism; and, III. On the Overthrow of Rationalism. A colleague of Auberlen, Professor Riggenbach, has published a treatise on "Modern Rationalism," (*Der heutige Rationalismus.* Basel, 1861,) especially in Switzerland, the substance of which was read before the Evangelical Alliance at Geneva. A brief, yet comprehensive survey of all the phases of Rationalism from its first rise to the present day, has been given by Prof. Wuttke in a late number of the Evangelical Church Gazette of Hengstenberg.

The new work of A. Sprenger on the Life and Doctrines of Mohammed, (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed,* Berlin, 1861,) which is mostly derived from sources not made use of before, will, when completed, undoubtedly rank among the standard works on the Literature of Mohammedanism. The author, by birth a Tyrolese, is known as one of the best German Orientalists, and was for twelve years the president of Mohammedan schools in India, where he had rare facilities for acquainting himself with the treasures of Mohammedan literature. The work is to be completed in three or four volumes, the first of which, the only one which has as yet appeared, contains seven chapters on the religious movements in Arabia before Mohammed; on the youth of the prophet, on hysterics, visions, and Arabic Paganism; on the public appearance of Mohammed, and his conversions from A. D. 612 to 617; legends of divine judgment; and, finally, Mohammed's threatening announcements of temporal punishments.

A new and comprehensive treatise of all the mystic phenomena in human nature has been published by Max Perty. (*Die mystischen Erscheinungen der menschlichen Natur.* Leipsic, 1861.) The author lays down three fundamental principles: 1. That there are agencies, and phenomena caused by them, and partly perceivable by the senses, which do not follow the natural and psychological laws as yet known to us, but laws of a higher order. Such agencies, and phenomena have been often designated with the collective name Magic. 2. Numerous phenomena, which former ages ascribed to deities, demons, etc., have been produced by men.* 3. All men are endowed with some magic power, which the author calls "geodemonic."

Dr. Will has published a collection of all the documents relating to the controversies of the Greek and Latin Churches in the eleventh century. (*Nota et Scripta quæ de controversiis Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Latinæ seculo undecimo composita extant.* Marburg, 1861.) All the documents (nineteen in number) had appeared in print before, with one exception, but they were scattered in different and partly rare works, and for theological scholars it is therefore a great convenience to have them now collected in one form. In an Introduction, (Prolegomena,) extending over forty-eight pages, Mr. Will gives a historical survey of the controversies of the two Churches from the second century until 1054.

Of the collective work, Lives and Select Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Reformed Church, vol. vi and vol. ix, part ii, have been published. The sixth volume contains the Life and the Select Writings of Beza, by Professor Heppe; and the second part of vol. ix the Lives of Joachim Vadian and Ambrose Blaurer, by Dr. Pressel, in Tübingen, and of Bertold Haller, by Pestalozzi. The entire collection will soon be concluded by the appearance of the second volume of the Life of Calvin, by Stähelin.

Among the exegetical publications of the last three mouths we notice the first volume of a new Commentary of Ewald on the Gospels and Epistles of John, (*Johanneische Schriften*, vol. i.' Göttingen, 1861;) the last (fourth) volume of the Commentary of Hupeld to the Psalms; a new work on the Tabernacle, by Neumann; and the second volume of a work, by Professor Wieseler, on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The second number of the "Studien und Kritiken" contains an article, by Professor Auberlen, of Basel, on the "Eschatological Discourse of Christ, Matthew xxiv, 25," being mainly a review of a recent work on the subject by Cremer, (*Die Eschatologische Rede Jesu Christi.* Stuttg., 1860.) An Essay, by Gumpich, on the Resuscitation of Lazarus, is concluded in this number. Dr. Cöster gives some interesting illustrations of the language of the Bible from the classic writers of Greece and Rome. Professor Hunderhagen, in a review of Dr. Henke's work on Calixtus, gives a brief history of the last years of this great theologian. Prof. Riehm, of Heidelberg, gives an extended review of the late Dr. Bleek's Introduction to the Old Testament. He calls the author one of the few biblical scholars of our times who know how to unite faith in the divine revelation of the Old and New Testaments with entire freedom and impartiality of historic-critical and exegetical investigation.

The "*Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*" is a quarterly journal, entirely devoted, as its title indicates, to questions of historical theology. It is the organ of the Historic-Theological Society of Leipzic, and is now edited by Prof. Niedner, of Berlin. The second number contains a valuable essay, by A. Bogen, on the attempts made in the seventeenth century for effecting a reunion between the Protestants and Rome, and has special interest at a time when Romanizing tendencies are again spreading in several Protestant communions. Another article treats in full of Bernard of Clairvaux's Views of Christian Life. The "Miscellaneous" Department contains a letter from Mosheim, and a document relating to the expulsion of the Protestants from Salzburg in 1732.

The "*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie,*" edited by Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena, is a continuation of the organ of the Tübingen school, and is now the only representative of Rationalism among the German quarterlies. The cover contains a complete list of the contributors, among whom are the following: Dr. Baur, of Tübingen, (died December 2, 1860;) Professor Hitzig, of Heidelberg; Professor Lipsius, of Vienna; Professor Volkmar, of Zurich; Professor Zeller, of Marburg; Prof. Rückert, of Jena; Prof. Schleiden, the celebrated botanist. The first number of this year contains a review, by Dr. Hilgenfeld, of the recent Critical Literature of Germany on the New Testament, the conclusion of an article by Volkmar on the Catholic Letters and the Book of Henoch, and of another by Egli on the Septuagint. The relation of Luther to the Confession of Augsburg is discussed by Dr. Frank, of Jena, with reference to a recent work of Dr. Calinich, (*Luther und des Augsburger Confession.* Leipzic, 1861.) Dr. Calinich thinks that the Confession was mainly the work of Luther, and that Melancthon's influence was mostly limited to the style. The reviewer, on the other hand, tries to show that the moderate language with regard to Catholicism, and the reduction of the denominational differences to a minimum, point to the contrary inference.

The "*Theologische Quartalschrift* (Theological Quarterly) has deservedly won the reputation of being the ablest scientific journal of Roman Catholic theology. Neither in Italy, France, England, or any other country has the Church a journal that can compare with it. Once it had among its contributors men like Möhler, Hirscher, and Drey, and among its present editors Dr. Hefele and Dr. Kuhn are respected as scholars, also by Protestant theologians. From time to time it still contains articles of great value; but, on the whole, it wields no longer that influence which it possessed at the time of Möhler. The first number of 1862 contains articles on "Nature and Grace," a subject which has of late again called forth a great deal of controversy in the Church of Rome, by Professor Schmid; another archæological one, by Meckel, on some old liturgical documents; and a third, on the Religious Condition of Germany before the Reformation, by Dr. Gröne, a young author, who attempted some years ago to whitewash the famous seller of indulgences, Tetzel. Extended notices are given of the work of the late Dr. Gfrörer on Pope Gregory VII. and his Age (seven volumes, concluded in 1861;) of Dr. Greith's work on the Mystic Writers on the Order of Dominicans; and also a review of the (Protestant) Introduction to the Old Testament, by the late Professor Bleek, of Bonn. The reviewer calls the author a "deserved veteran upon the field of biblical science," and his book "a work based on thorough studies, and really promoting the science."

The establishment of a Protestant journal, devoted to ecclesiastical law, had led to the enlargement of a Roman Catholic paper of the same kind, (*Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*,) which was established in 1857, and is now edited by Professor Moy, of the University of Innsbruck, and Professor Vering of Heidelberg. It counts among its contributors professors of the Universities of Munich, Vienna, Bonn, Tübingen, Breslau, Prague, and other eminent jurists and statesmen. The journal brings, besides other matter, editorials on the important questions respecting the relation between Church and State, and an abstract of the proceedings of parliaments and legislatures on such questions. In its present arrangement it contains valuable material for the current religious history of the age.

Professor Hagenbach, of Basel, has published another volume of his popular lectures on the History of the Christian Church, embracing the time from the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, (*Vorlesungen über die Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2. Leipsic, 1861.) This volume completes the course of lectures on Church history, which the author commenced about thirty years ago, with the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and which now extends to the end of the eighteenth century. As the several volumes were published at great intervals, and not in chronological order, there are, as the author himself says, some incongruities in them; but this deficiency he proposes to remedy by fusing all the separate and independent volumes into one work, to which a Church history of the nineteenth century will be added, thus forming a complete popular Church history from the beginning of the Church to the present day.

The controversy on the "Brothers of the Rough House" (see Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1862, p. 160) is being continued. The venerable Dr. Wichern, the founder of the institution, has himself undertaken its defense in a little work called "The Rough House: its Children and Brethren." (*Das Rauhe Haus, seine Kinder und Brüder*. Hamburgh, 1861.) It gives complete and official information on the organization of the association, and conclusively shows up the ignorance and malice of its assailants. On the other hand, a new pamphlet against the association has been published by Dr. J. Duboc, (*Die Propaganda des Rauhen Hauses und das Johannes Stift zu Berlin*. Leipsic, 1862,) which attacks the spirit of the German Home Missionary Society, and of evangelical Protestantism in general.

We learn from a biographical notice of the late Professor Baur, of Tübingen, in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, (October, 1861,) that besides the posthumous work on the Church History of the Middle Ages, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, Jan., 1862, p. 158,) a volume of the Church History of the Nineteenth Century may be expected from the manuscripts of the learned author, and perhaps still another on the time from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, thus constituting, with the former works of the author, a complete course of historical works extending over the entire history of the Christian Church.

Two important works have been recently published, bearing on the history of the Pietists. The one contains "Contributions to the History of Hermann Francke, inclusive of the Correspondence between Francke and Spener, (*Beiträge zur Geschichte H. Francke's.* Halle, 1861,) by G. Kramer, the Director of the Orphan House at Halle, one of the noble institutions which immortalize the name of H. Francke. These contributions consist of manuscripts recently found in the library of the Orphan House, and contain, among other matter, an account by Francke of "The Beginning and Progress of his Conversion;" a chronological summary of the principal events in Francke's life, also written by himself, and the correspondence between Francke and Spener, which fills the larger portion of the volume, about three hundred pages. The second work is a series of lectures on "Johann Winckler, and the Church of Hamburgh at his time," (*Winkler und die Hamburgische Kirche zu seiner Zeit.* Hamburgh, 1861,) by Dr. Geffcken. Winckler was one of the intimate friends of Spener, and a staunch advocate of the "Collegia Pietatis," (Prayer Meetings;) he is at the same time one of the greatest men whom the Lutheran Church of Hamburgh has produced.

By far the most important work of recent Roman Catholic literature is an elaborate treatise of the distinguished historian, Professor Döllinger, on "Pope and Popedom, Church and Churches." It has grown out of the two lectures which the author held last year on the temporal power of the pope, and which created so great an excitement, as it was understood that the greatest historian of the Roman Catholic Church, for such Dr. Döllinger undoubtedly is, had come out in favor of abolishing the temporal power. An account of the lectures was telegraphed to the papers of Paris, and from there was transmitted by the same way to Italy, and created in both countries a deep sensation. Dr. Döllinger designated at once the impression that he was an enemy of the pope's temporal power, as erroneous, and announced that he would publish his views in a more elaborate form, with the two original lectures as an appendix. This promise he has fulfilled by the publication of the above work, which has already been translated into French and Italian, and will soon appear in an English translation. The author still is, as he has always been, a staunch advocate of the ecclesiastical claims of his Church, and takes unnecessary pains in strengthening this reputation by a violent denunciation of the leaders of the national movement in Italy; but while his book has been reviewed by papers of all shades of religious belief, no party is more dissatisfied with it than the ultramontane, for he makes uncommonly large concessions as to the deficiencies of his Church, and again, at least, intimates that, in case of another political organization of the states, the abolition of the temporal power might be not only harmless, but even a blessing for the Church.

Another distinguished Roman Catholic writer of Germany, and colleague of Döllinger at the University of Munich, Professor Frohschammer, has commenced the publication of a periodical devoted exclusively to philosophy, and entitled "Athenæum." Professor Frohschammer, though still a young man, has already won a high reputation as an able and profound writer on philosophical subjects. Nearly all his works, especially the pamphlet in which he recently pleaded for the liberty of science, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, October, 1861, p. 677,) have been placed on the Roman index; but the author, we believe, has thus far refused to recant. He has passed from the theological faculty of the University of Munich to the philosophical, in which he is less incommoded by the inquisitorial superintendence of the Church authorities. The periodical which Professor Frohschammer has just begun to edit is the first of its kind in Catholic Germany, while Protestant Germany has already four, namely, *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, by Dr. Fichte; *Zeitschrift für exacte Philosophie*, by Dr. Allihn; *Der Gedanke*, by Dr. Michelet; and *Psyche*, by Dr. Noak.

Another professor of the same University of Munich, (which owes its great prosperity to the liberal policy of the present king,) Dr. Carl Prantl, has in the course of publication a "History of Logics in Western Europe," which is called by the most competent critics one of the very best works on the history of philosophy. The second volume, which has recently appeared, (*Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande.* Leipsic, 1861.) treats of the works of the Latin writers from the seventh until the thirteenth century, and of the Byzantine and Arabic literature. The author does not belong among the admirers of the civilization of the Middle Ages. He can find no true philosophy in that age; none of its writers, according to his opinion, developed original thought; but their work consisted only in an external raking together, and in translating the matter which presented itself to them. Neither Anselm nor Abelard are regarded by him as the deep and independent thinkers which they are generally represented. The important controversy on the significance of the universals, which pervades the entire Middle Ages, has found in the work of Professor Prantl for the first time a development which fully elucidates its causes and motives, and follows it in all its stages, turns, and ramifications, which are too manifold to be exhausted by the common appellations of Nominalism, Realism, and Conceptualism.

If from the number of books published on a particular subject an inference may be drawn as to the number of persons feeling an interest in it, the singular philosophical system of Schopenhauer, which we briefly delineated in the last number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, is still being extensively studied. In addition to the works named in our former notice, two new ones have made their appearance during the last three months, namely, Nagel's "Remarks on Schopenhauer's Philosophical System: 'The World as Will and Representation,'" (*Bemerkungen über Schopenhauer's System.* Bremen, 1861,) and Gwinner, "S. Schopenhauer, as seen in Personal Intercourse," (*Schopenhauer aus persönlichem Umgange dargestellt.* Leipsic, 1861.)

The philosophical literature of Germany is, as usual, very rich; but we have only room to mention the titles of a few other important works.

Loewe "On the Philosophy of Fichte and its Relation to Kant and Spinoza," (*Die Philosophie Fichte's.* Stuttgardt, 1861;) Mager, on "Materialism and Spiritualism," (*Zur Verständigung über Materialismus und Spiritualismus.* Giessen, 1861;) a translation of the Spanish work of Balmes on "Fundamental Philosophy," *Lehrbuch der Elemente der Philosophie.* Regensburgh, 1861, 2d ed.;) another work on fundamental philosophy by Chalybaeus, Professor at the University of Kiel, and a well-known writer on philosophical subjects, (*Fundamenta Philosophie.* Kiel, 1861;) an attempt to bring on what the author calls a "Reconciliation between Theism and Pantheism," by Bühler, (*Theocrisis.* Berlin, 1861.)

FRANCE.

In the article on the Critical Theology in France, in the number of January 1 of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Charles de Remusat gives an account of a new school of French Protestantism, which, though it has an independent origin and some particularities of its own, occupies, with regard to Christian doctrines, about the same position as the Tübingen school in Germany and the authors of the "Essays and Reviews" in England. The works which Mr. Remusat reviews, and which he designates as the most important of the school, are: *Melanges de Critique Religieuse*, par E. Scherer; *Essays de Critique Religieuse*, par A. Reville; *Sermons*, par T. Colani; *Histoire de la Theologie Chretienne*, par E. Reuss. Though not a theologian he has mastered his subject, and states the principal features of the school and of each of the above-named four works with great precision. He commends all the four works for their scientific value. He thinks that the Critical School has a mission to perform, and expresses a wish to see it become more widely known. But as to the results of their theology he pronounces it a failure. The radical distinction made by the theologians of the Critical School between subjective faith, which they pretend to preserve, and even to strengthen, within themselves, and theological science, which claims the right to discuss and to deny all the facts of the biblical history, and all the doctrines of the Christian Churches, he declares inadmissible. Faith, M. Remusat says, rests on and presupposes external and historical facts. If these objective facts are destroyed, faith has no longer any foundation. It will be an effect without a cause; in its essence it will be nothing. The Critical Theology has therefore, in his opinion, a very difficult task before it; it must re-establish a bond between the subjective and the objective. It must find in Christianity or in religion a *minimum* that is above critical investigation; for the great question to solve for the Critical School of Theology is not what the Christians feel, but what is Christianity?

The tenor of M. Remusat's article

throughout is very objective, almost skeptical. He does not express a conviction that no such scheme as the Critical School proposes to itself has a chance to succeed; but, as an eclectic philosopher, confines himself to speak of probabilities. And among the "probabilities" which he affirms is, that it will never be possible to explain away the supernatural element in the evangelical history. He seems inclined to look upon it as an impregnable fortress; but, as already stated before, he does not speak as one of its defenders.

The learned editor of the *Revue Chretienne*, E. de Pressensé, has published two more volumes of his Church History of the first three centuries, describing the great struggle of Christianity against Paganism: The era of the Martyrs and the Apologists, (*Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Eglise Chretienne.* Second Series. *La grande lutte du Christianisme contre le Paganisme. Les Martyrs et les Apologistes.* 2 vols. Paris, 1861.) The first two volumes of Pressensé have been generally pronounced to be one of the greatest historical works that have been ever produced by French Protestantism.

Professor Colani has published another volume of Sermons, (*Quatre Sermons prêches à Nimes.* Strasburg, 1861.) Colani is one of the leaders of the Critical School of Theology in France, and since 1850 is the editor of its organ, *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chretienne.* Charles de Remusat, in the above-mentioned article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on the Critical Theology of France, says of the works of Colani: "His sermons have produced an immense sensation in Strasburg. Three volumes have been published, and all Christian denominations, I think, might profit by them. It is easy, in my opinion, to find in him the first requisite of a preacher, the power to make us examine our own hearts. The human heart has few secrets for Mr. Colani. He traces with great truth all that cotemporary events and the manners and ideas of the age have made of the sinful soul. I do not believe that any one has known better than he to apply to the new state of society the ethics of the Gospel, and to show how the precepts and the examples of the sacred book are applicable to sentiments and wants which at first may appear to be so far from it. He is not the enemy of his times; he shares all the aspirations of modern societies which seem to be innocent or praiseworthy; his severity bears no resemblance to ill humor, and his rigor is no misanthropy." The great talent displayed in all the works of Colani is recognized by all his critics, yet the influence of the Rationalistic school, of which he is the head, is on the decline.

Among other recent theological and philosophical publications of France are:

Nicolas, *Etudes Critiques sur la Bible,* (Ancien Testament.) The author is Professor at the Theological Faculty of Montauban, and belongs also to the Rationalistic school.

Esteoule, (also Protestant,) *Essai sur l'autorité de l'Ancien Testament.*

Daurignac, *Histoire de St. Francois d'Assise.*

Foucher de Careil, *Leibnitz, la Philosophie juive et la Cabale. Leibnitic Observationes,* ad Rabbi Mosis Maimonidis librum qui inscribitur, "*Doctor Perplexorum.*" In Latin and in French. The author is also at present editing the first complete edition of the works of Leibnitz.

Véra, *Le Hegelianisme et la Philosophie.*

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. The Theological System of Emmons. 2. The Ante-Nicene Trinitarianism. 3. Memorial of the American Board. 4. The Two Schools of Philosophy. 5. Gardiner Spring, D. D., and the Brick Church, N. Y. 6. The Beauty of Holiness.

AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. The Ante-Nicene Doctrine of the Trinity. 2. The American Board of Foreign

Missions and the Oriental Churches. 3. The Provincial Synod of the Province of Canada. 4. Early Annals of the American Church. 5. Motley's History of the Dutch Republic. 6. Chrystal's Modes of Baptism. 7. Bishop Bowman. 8. The Two Regenerations.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. God and Revelation. 2. Memoirs of Philip de Mornay. 3. The Human Body as related to Sanctification. 4. Bilderdijk. 5. Are there too many Ministers? 6. England and America.

EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. Slavery among the Ancient Hebrews. 2. Remarks on Matthew vi, 25–34. 3. Reminiscences of deceased Lutheran Ministers. 4. Isaac blessing Jacob. 5. John Gottlieb Fichte. 6. A Call to the Christian Ministry. 7. Exposition on Romans viii, 33–39. 8. Dissensions among Christians. 9. Hymn from the German.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1862.—1. Chrysostom, the Pulpit Orator of the Fourth Century. 2. The Lake Region in Central Africa, South of the Equator. 3. How to accommodate a Worshiper. 4. Review of W. H. Dixon's "Personal History of Lord Bacon." 5. Adequacy of the Constitution. 6. The Justice of God as a Theme for the Preacher. 7. The Claims of the Higher Seminaries of Learning on the Liberality of the Wealthy. 8. Our Unity as a Nation. 9. "The Wars of the Lord." 10. Catalogue of the Boston Public Library. 11. Hautefeuille on some recent Questions of International Law.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. The Permanent in Christianity. 2. The Progressive Tendency in Knowledge. 3. The Holy Spirit. 4. John Bunyan, the Prose Poet. 5. The War for the Union. 6. The Okavango River.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY AND GENERAL REVIEW, January, 1862.—1. The Ulster Revival. 2. The Gospel and the Soul. 3. The Preexistence of Christ. 4. The Old and the New. 5. The Divine Power in Salvation. 6. The Hope of Salvation a Working Principle. 7. Olmsted's Cotton Kingdom.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, January, 1862.—1. Christ Preaching to the Spirits in Prison. 2. Saalschütz on Hebrew Servitude. 3. The Tübingen Historical School. 4. Life of Erasmus. 5. Close Communion. 6. The Imprecatory Psalms viewed in the Light of the Southern Rebellion. 7. Remarks on Renderings of the Common Version, (in the Epistle to the Galatians.)

The Bibliotheca Sacra has, during its entire existence, sustained the highest rank for profound biblical and theological scholarship and ability of any periodical in England or America. In the hands of its present editors, Professor Park and Principal Taylor, it amply sustains its reputation. With the commencement of the present year it assumes a new position, which entitles it to a new consideration by all the evangelical denominations of our country. Though in the hands of gentlemen of a particular denomination, it disavows the character of a "sectarian" or "partisan" periodical.

Its editors have been, and intend to be, liberal in admitting such articles as they do not, in all respects, indorse. They insert able essays from different evangelical schools. They are not to be held responsible for any statement which does not appear under their own names.

> They intend to insert a series of articles unfolding the distinctive principles adopted by different theological parties and sects, and exhibiting the peculiarities of meaning which the parties and sects attach to the terms they use. In order that these articles may *be*, and may be *esteemed*, authentic and authoritative, each one will be written by a representative member of the sect or party whose tenets are described. It is believed that such a series of articles will tend to prevent some fruitless discussion; for a large part of our theological controversies is occupied with the charge and the proof that the controversialists are misunderstood, and therefore misrepresented. It is a waste of time to refute what our opponents do not believe, and it causes a loss of charity to accuse them of maintaining what they do not mean to maintain, and what they think that they utterly reject.—P. 3.

This is very catholic ground; and we have no doubt, from the well-known character of the two Christian gentlemen who are its responsible editors, that their programme will be faithfully and honorably carried out.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1862.—1. New England Theology: the Edwardean Period. 2. Evangelism of the Eighteenth Century. 3. The Old Testament in the New. 4. That which may be Known of God—Mansel, Maurice, Young, and Calderwood. 5. The later Religious History of Scotland. 6. The Protestant Church in Hungary. 7. Discussions in France on the Supernatural. 8. The Moral Aspects of the Present Struggle in America. 9. Dr. Hickok's New and revised Edition of Rational Psychology. 10. The Pauline Doctrine of the Righteousness of Faith. 11. The late Principal Cunningham.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1862.—1. Anno 1662—Revision of the Liturgy. 2. Miss Knight's Autobiography. 3. Memoirs of De Tocqueville. 4. Goldwin Smith on Ireland. 5. The Fourfold Biography. 6. The Works of Charles Dickens. 7. Facts about Railways. 8. History of Mormonism. 9. The Free Churches of England.

Christian Remembrancer, January, 1862.—1. The Position and Prospects of the Church in Scotland. 2. Church Histories—Bright and Robertson. 3. Father Félix and his Conferences at Notre-Dame. 4. The Education Commission and the Revised Code. 5. The Codex Zacynthius. 6. Dr. Pusey's Commentary on the Minor Prophets. 7. Memorials of Mr. Sortain. 8. Social Creeds among our Novelists. 9. Two Years of Church Progress.

Edinburgh Review, January, 1862.—1. Life and Writings of William Paterson. 2. Sewell's Ordeal of Free Labor. 3. Max Müller on the Science of Language. 4. Military Defense of the Colonies. 5. Felix Mendelssohn's Letters. 6. Wrecks, Life-boats, and Light-houses. 7. Burton's City of the Saints. 8. May's Constitutional History of England, (1760–1860.) 9. The Lady of La Garaye. 10. Belligerents and Neutrals.

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, January, 1862. —1. The Mines and Metals of Antiquity, with Special Reference to the Bible. 2. The Gospel of St. Matthew. 3. The Early Life of Bossuet. 4. Critical Remarks on Isaiah xviii, 1, 2. 5. Hindu Philosophy and Indian Missions. 6. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 7. Remarks on the Papal Canon Law. 8. On the Divine Nature. 9. Hupfeld on Modern Theosophic Theology. 10. The Position and Meaning of the Apocalypse. 11. Arioch and Belshazzar. 12. Recollections, Early and Late, of Joshua Watson.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1862.—1. Railway Control. 2. Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight. 3. Popular Education—The New Code. 4. Iceland—and the Change of Faith. 5. The Revival of Spain. 6. The late Prince Consort. 7. Lord Castlereagh. 8. The American Crisis.

National Review, January, 1862.—1. Medieval English Literature—Chaucer. 2. Lucius Cornelius Sulla. 3. The Italian Clergy and the Pope. 4. The Question of Law between the Bishop of Sarum and Mr. Williams. 5. Bengal Planters and Ryots. 6. Mr. Charles Reade's Novels: the Cloister and the Hearth. 7. Ecclesiastes. 8. Mr. Martin's Catullus. 9. Lady Mary Wortley Montague. 10. The Province and Methods of Historical Study. 11. Peace or War with America?

North British Review, February, 1862.—1. The Writings of John Ruskin. 2. The House of Savoy. 3. Our Single Women. 4. Sir William Lockhart of Lee. 5. Peasants and Poets of Austria and Scotland. 6. Guizot and the Papacy. 7. Sanitary Improvement in the Army—Lord Herbert. 8. Recent Progress of Photographic Art. 9. Mr. Martin's Catullus. 10. The American Republic: Resurrection through Dissolution.

Westminster Review, January, 1862.—1. Law in and for India. 2. The Dramatic Poetry of Oehlenschläger. 3. The Religious Heresies of the Working Classes. 4. Income-Tax Reform. 5. Admiral Sir Charles Napier. 6. On Translating Homer. 7. Popular Education in Russia. 8. The American Belligerents: Rights of Neutrals. 9. The Late Prince Consort. 10. Cotemporary Literature.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. The Edinburgh Translation of C. W. Buch revised, with large Additions from the fourth German edition and other sources. By Henry B. Smith, D.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. Volume II. 8vo., pp. 558. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1862.

An adequate mapping of the entire doctrinal history of the Church, upon a full survey of the extended past, truly comprehensive of the entire, and yet accurate in the details, is a great achievement, which it required German research to accomplish. The best scholarship of the English and American theological world is proud to be able worthily to appropriate and improve the results of that research. For completeness, conciseness, and lucid order, the work of Hagenbach is without a competitor. Every American minister, inclined to master the field of Christian theology, will find it an aid unlike anything else in our language.

The history of Christian theology is divided into Five General Periods. The first, or post-apostolic, is the period of evidential defenses, or, as the technical term is, with an unfortunate ambiguity in our language, Apologetics; during which Christianity performed the task of asserting her own existence and nature as the sole true religion, against Paganism and Judaism. This work accomplished, next came the age of Polemics, in which the strife became internal, from the fact that the Church found herself obliged to enter into such an analysis of her doctrines as would enable her to meet the cross-examinations of the inquisitive mind of man with adequate answers. Through this transition period she attained an age of Systematic Theology. John of Damascus, a doctor of the Greek Church, is memorable as the author of the first complete symmetrical body of divinity. In accordance with the milder theology of the Eastern Church on the subject of predestination, John of Damascus taught, *ὡς πάντα μὲν προγινώσκει ὁ θεὸς, οὐ πάντα δὲ προορίζει, προγινώσκει γὰρ τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐ προορίζει δε αὐτά.* The influence of Augustine not only as the expositor of the doctrine of original sin, but as the advocate of a fatalistic predestination, pervaded the Western Church. An organic politico-ecclesiastical unity under the Roman see was reflected by a sort of general doctrinal unity, as the result of the discussions of former doctors and the decisions of councils. Yet the schoolmen, exerting their great intellectual powers with deep intensity upon the questions then open within the existing narrow limits of human knowledge, allowed themselves a considerable range of free discussion, and some of the master minds of the age but doubtfully hovered upon the boundary lines of orthodoxy and heresy. The rise of the human mind above the level of churchly morality, the incoming of new sources of knowledge, and the invention of printing, inaugurated the age of the Reformation. The first Reformers commenced theologically as Augustinians; but (as in the Methodism of a later age) a division soon commenced between the Melancthonian or Lutheran and the Calvinistic or Reformed (so-called) theologies. From the Reformed body an unexpected secession subsequently took place under Arminius; and the cause of a liberal yet evangelical theology was for a while by them maintained with eminent ability and learning. Still the successors of that eminent doctor did so decline toward Pelagianism and Rationalism, that the very name of Arminianism has, until very lately, among Calvinistic writers and preachers, been made the appellation of doctrines which Arminius would have promptly rejected. The fifth and last period, extending from 1720 to the present time, is the age of Criticism, of the struggle between faith and science, and the effort after reconciliation. Under the scrutiny of free unshrinking thought, aided by the facts of science, theology is revising herself, eliminating those errors, however nearly central, which are unable to stand the test of demonstrative examination, striving to bring her statements into accordance at once with the affirmations of Scripture, the deductions of science, and the intuitions of the human soul, without any surrender of her permanent truths and immortal hopes. It will at once be seen what an interesting and important field of thought is opened before us in these volumes.

The position of the author, as well as of his editor and reviser, is Augustinian. Of this he makes no secret. Doubtless, many turns of expression would have been different, and some different proportions of the respective parts would have resulted, had he occupied a different standpoint. But no one will doubt his intentional historical fairness.

The additions by Dr. Smith greatly enhance the value of the work. His extended sketch of American theology is a good beginning; why will he not prosecute it to a completion in an extended volume by itself? That his present sketch is complete mostly in the department of Calvinistic theology is, of course, to be expected, both as that forms much the largest proportion of American discussion, and as Dr. Smith is, doubtless there, as yet, most at home. It is scarcely correct to say (p. 440) that Dr. Fisk "criticising New Haven views was replied to by Fitch." Dr. Fisk knew nothing about "New Haven views" until Dr. Fitch "replied to" him in a review of a sermon of his, preached some time before, being one of the most compact arguments against general Calvinism extant. When Dr. Fitch did reply to him, Dr. Fisk rejoined that his opponent was upon the point in discussion "an Arminian."

A point of much value in the volumes before us is the immense number of references to the best authorities, which enable the reader to test the accuracy of the author's statements, and serve as a guide to the researches of the inquirer in every branch of Christian doctrine.

Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia. Revelation ii, iii. By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 12mo., pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

To a minister of the Gospel especially, as no book is so important as the Bible, so, next to the Bible, none are so valuable as those which aid in penetrating the depths of the divine word. During the last thirty years the best mind of Christendom has been brought to bear upon the exposition of the sacred text. He who at this late day is still repeating the old saw, that "commentators explain the clear and slur the difficult," is evidently talking in a very sound Rip Van Winkle sleep, blissfully unaware of the progress of things around him. There is no difficult text in the word of God that has not been analyzed with intensest power, and upon which any mind who is competent to understand what a difficulty is, will not find in some commentary the best of human powers exerted in its direct solution.

Equally absurd is the doctrine that a preacher must preserve his own mental independence in expounding Scripture by avoiding the consultation of the expositions of others. By the same rule we should avoid works of theology to preserve our theological independence, avoid a Moral Science to preserve our ethical independence, and avoid newspapers to preserve our political independence. We should keep everybody else's thoughts out of our brain, and reserve its capacious vacuity for home-born notion. As Leigh Hunt tells us, your only independent man is the man who has not a shilling, so your truly original man must be one who has never acquired an idea. Our view of a safe originality, especially in exposition of Scripture, is, the originality of the man who knows what opinions the best minds have proposed, and yet proceeds to present a solution still clearer and more conclusive. How have we been sickened by the self-complacent crotchets of men who bring forth, with an air of fresh revelation, interpretations of Scripture which any well-informed biblical student will tell them should never see the light, or have long since gone to the shades. Such men have, indeed, an electric appreciation of their own inventive capabilities, but their hearers will be very apt to feel a torpedo consciousness of their self-complacent shallowness.

There are commentaries, too, at the present day, plenty of them, that are awakening, stimulant, and full of seed-thoughts. These are *suggestive* commentaries. As Falstaff was not only witty himself, but made other folks witty, so these commentators are not only original themselves, but make the thoughtful reader original. Their master-touches lift some valve from the sacred text, disclosing a whole sermon, a whole volume of sermons, at a glance, all your own, your own by right of discovery. There are commentaries which are comprehensive in character and spirit. How few of our ministry learn to grasp the whole of an epistle of Paul in its unity, tracing the fine veins of thought, gathering the occult relations, and comprehending its symmetry! How few have a clear, connected conception of our Lord's entire evangelical history! To how many is a Scripture book mentally chopped into chapters and verses, of which a single verse will be understood and expounded as an isolated aphorism, with an interpretation totally different from its true meaning in its connection.

One of the most analytical as well as awakening and suggestive of commentators is Dean Trench. His works upon the Miracles and upon the Parables are properly extended commentaries. No one can read them without feeling their earnest eloquence, their affluent learning, their evangelical spirit. Upon the wonderful opening chapters of the Apocalypse he will be found an expositor worthy an attentive audience. Much will be left unexplained by any human powers. But he furnishes an abundance of rich illustration, new to most readers, upon the sacred text.

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Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ: being the Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1859. With Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory. By C. J. ELLICOTT, B.D., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, author of "Critical and Grammatical Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles." 12mo., pp. 382. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1862.

Professor Ellicott has in the volume before us furnished a valuable contribution to biblical and Christian literature. His work is written in the spirit of profound reverence for the sacred word and deep faith in the Divinity of the Redeemer. He takes prompt issue not only with the mythicism of a Strauss, but also with the readiness to admit the reality of contradictions in the Gospel history, so objectionable in Alvord. His style is earnest and sometimes eloquent. Still, we should have preferred an animated historical narrative instead of what might almost be called a perpetual declamation. His notes are remarkable as a model of condensation in stating the results of a very thorough research in both the text and the facts of the sacred history. His work has, therefore, peculiar excellences both as a biography and as a commentary.

It is of great importance for a Christian minister to acquire and possess within his mind a clear and complete view of the entire history, so far as furnished by the evangelists, of the life and ministry of the Lord Jesus. A mental map, too, he should possess of the country and scenes in which our Saviour lived and labored. As far as possible the entire image should be complete, every incident falling into its proper place. Unless we except the life of Jesus contained in Milman's History of Christianity, we know no aid for the attainment of this object, in the compass of our language, preferable to the volume before us.

A Commentary on Ecclesiastes. By MOSES STUART, late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Edited and revised by R. D. C. ROBBINS, Professor in Middlebury College. 12mo., pp. 364. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: John Wiley. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1862.

This volume is a reprint, in larger size and handsomer style, under the revision of Professor Robbins, of a work published in 1851 by John Wiley. It is a most valuable contribution for elucidating one of the most difficult books of the Old Testament canon. Says the learned author, with a unique simplicity: "In the earlier part of my professional labors here I undertook to lecture on Ecclesiastes. But at that time I could not satisfy myself, for I could not then obtain either competent or satisfactory aid. I therefore soon abandoned the attempt, telling my pupils my reason for so doing, that *I could not lecture on a book which I felt that I did not understand.*" A fuller mastery of the Hebrew language, and ample aid obtained from German sources, subsequently enabled him to form more satisfactory opinions of the general scope and real doctrines of the book. There have been plenty of pulpit lectures upon Ecclesiastes, and isolated texts are often made the themes of pulpit performances; but it may well be doubted how far any well-grounded views of the book as a whole have heretofore been clearly entertained by the great body of our theological and biblical scholars. It is a favorite point with skeptics in their attacks upon the Old-Testament canon. The last number of the National Review contains an article assuming to prove it to be a piece of Epicurean philosophy based upon the denial of the immortality of the soul. The Christian student will find in Professor Stuart's work a frank and thorough discussion of its difficulties in the face of the strongest things that German or English skepticism has to offer. An examination of the method of the book, a detailed criticism of the Hebrew, interspersed with an occasional excursus, and a new translation of every verse, constitute the features of the work. It would have enlarged the value much more than the size of the book had a complete translation been placed at the end, with proper paragraphing and titles.

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The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. Preached and Explained by MARTIN LUTHER, Wittemberg, 1523–4. Translated, with Preface and Notes, by E. H. GILLETT. 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph.

Mr. Gillett, in a well-written preface, tells us that this exposition has never before appeared in English, and that it is translated from the German of Luther's own first edition, a copy of which was by him found "among the dusty old piles of pamphlets stored away upon the upper shelves of the Union Theological Library." It was a true *antique*, and therefore a *novelty* and a prize. His translation bears intrinsic traits of fidelity to the peculiar original. Luther's stout German soul is still living in its pages. His penetrative power, his earnest downrightness, his hard blows at the pope and the devil, and his earnest piety, are all here. A gleam or two of his predestinarianism, with a blow at free-will almost as hearty as he levels at the tiara, does not diminish the piquancy of the style. It well repays perusal.

A Commentary, Critical and Grammatical, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. With a revised Translation. By CHARLES J. ELLICOTT, B.D., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 190. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: John Wiley. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1862.

So extensive is now the work of commentary, so has the mass of materials increased in the last half century, that Professor Ellicott moves for a division of labor. To others he leaves the field of the theological, and to others still the practical and the popular. His task is the critical and grammatical analysis of the original text. This is a department of the first importance, since it underlies all the others. A true interpretation, whether dogmatical or practical, must rest upon the exact construction of the words and sentences. It is, then, in this primary stratum, basing all the rest, that Professor Ellicott delves, seldom casting an outlook over the wide range of theological results which is likely to overlie the whole. The result of this concentration of labor is a singular perfection of the product. There is not by any means wanting a rich enthusiasm or a visible enjoyment in what to many would seem a very arid field of mental occupation. To no commentary can the biblical student, who is like-minded with the author, look for a more profoundly analytical discussion of the inspired word in the light of the best philological and grammatical science. Such works are a rich addition to our biblical apparatus.

The Book of Psalms in Hebrew and English. Arranged in Parallelisms. Pp. 194. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1862.

This beautifully printed work will be very popular with biblical scholars. It is unfortunate that our American scholarship is so imperfect as to need a translation to accompany the text. Yet we can comfort ourselves that this defect is not confined to us alone. The English popularity of a similar work among Bagster's publications shows the like state of things abroad. This volume has the Hebrew text and that of our received translation in parallel columns. It is portable, and to one who has become measurably acquainted with the original it must be a valuable *vade mecum*. We trust that all our Hebraist brethren, of whatever degree of proficiency in this holy tongue, will possess themselves of this volume and make its acquaintance. H.

Practical Christianity. A Treatise specially designed for Young Men. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT, Author of "Life of Napoleon." 24mo., pp. 302. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

When Abbott is good he is excellent. In his "Napoleon" he was neither; in this book he is both.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism, considered in its different Denominational Forms and its Relations to British and American Protestantism. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. Volume III. From the Death of Wesley to the Centenary Jubilee of Methodism. 12mo., pp. 524. New York: Carlton & Porter. London: Alexander Heylin.

The present volume closes Dr. Stevens's account of English Methodism, at the close of its first century. To some, the absence of the two grand characters of Wesley and Whitefield, and of the air of novelty belonging to the founding of a movement and a cause, will render the interest inferior to that of the former volumes. To others, the events being less known, and the characters as yet less historic, this first presentation in a connected view, will give the volume an interest specially its own.

At the death of Wesley there was a sudden change from a spontaneous monarchy to a sort of democracy that wonderfully looked like anarchy, and seemed to threaten disintegration. The crisis concentrated the moral forces of the Methodist body. But it was no doubt the powerful *religious life* which constituted the conservating and organizing power. The hour does not always bring the man; but this hour did develop and furnish the *men*. The working of a great Providence was scarcely more marked in the adaptation of the instruments for the *founding* than for this *continuation* of the movement. These first sons of the first founders proved amply competent to maintain, adorn, and extend their heritage. And nothing is more striking than the dramatic variety and fitness for their part of the individual characters of this second generation. There was first Watson, the systematic theologian, surpassing all his predecessors, and as yet without a successor; there was Bunting, the statesmanly "pilot that weathered the storm;" there was Clarke, the peerless among

English general commentators; there was Newton, the prince of preachers; and far into this age extend the labors of Coke, the world-wide missionary evangelist. Under the labors of such men Wesleyan Methodism stands out from the diverging and vanishing branches of Calvinistic and Church Methodism so called, vindicated, energized, extending, triumphing; overcoming its difficulties, and flinging out its projects with a bold and boundless expansion.

A striking feature of the entire movement is its *joyousness*. The true Methodist, the entire Methodist body, is jubilant with the thought that it has found a prize which is enriched by the privilege of impartation, and all the more enjoyable from the increasing multitude of its participants. In a large amount of modern evangelism we recognize a stern, solemn, not happy spirit, partaking less of the dispensation of Jesus than of John the Baptist. But the whole tone of the history as given by Dr. Stevens is rich and exultant. It reads like the Acts of the Apostles just after the day of Pentecost.

Surely every denomination of evangelical Protestantism ought to acknowledge in Dr. Stevens's work a spirit of graceful catholicity. Perhaps he would have been more true to his subject, though less apparently liberal, had he much more explicitly shown how largely the practical and successful working of Methodism proper is the result of its actual theology. There is a large number of well-read ministers who imagine that Methodism has pretty much no doctrines at all. They give our founders and our body credit for a congeries of religious notions, and many of them would, we suppose, be surprised to learn that a consistent, symmetrical system of THEOLOGY, strikingly accordant with the intuitions of the human soul, and dictated to us by the most obvious meaning of Scripture, forms, in our own estimate, a large share of our power to win sinners to Christ, to maintain the unity of our faith, and to spread the Gospel over the world.

In one more volume Dr. Stevens purposes to embrace the history of American Methodism. He best knows the amount of the extant materials; but to us this seems too narrow a compass for the magnitude of the subject. We trust, too, that he will treat points which have been made partisan questions in no partisan spirit. When completed it will then be a monumental work. So long as we are a people it will be a standard history for the period it covers. We do not hope, we can scarce ask, anything better. The amplest thanks of the Church are due to the talented author, and our earnest wish is that a copy should be possessed and read by every family within our wide-spread pastorate.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The Cotton Kingdom: a Traveler's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States. Based upon three former Volumes of Journeys and Investigations by the same Author. By FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 376, 404. New York: Mason Brothers. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co. 1861.

In regard to Southern institutions and general aspects, both in Europe and America, Mr. Olmsted is a classic. Though a Northener both by birth and spirit, he surveys Southern scenes with an intentional historic fairness, and whatever antislavery leanings he exhibits are simply the result of accumulated facts. His course lies through the Atlantic and Gulf states, including Texas. In his progress he records his wayside notes, not so much taking broad views of things in general as narrating incidents, describing scenes, and rehearsing characteristic dialogues. The South is thus made for the time being to show and speak for herself. But in the closing part of his work Mr. Olmsted deals extensively in comprehensive statistics and broad generalizations bearing upon the great questions of the day in regard to our Southern institutions and our national destiny.

The aspects presented are not pleasing, and the prospect for the future not cheering. Mr. Olmsted does not lead us much into the centers of that refinement and high-breeding to which Southern institutions are said to be so conducive, but we are permitted to take broad views of the masses of the population. Nothing is more cheerless than the aspects here presented. We are melancholy at the thought that this is *our* country. We rejoice, doubtless, with the great body of the North at the prospect of the restoration of our old nationality. We have the patriotic impulse that declares that not a star shall be erased from our banner. And yet, with this book in our hand, how can we ignore the fact that we are emphatically two peoples. In institutions, in temperament, in virtues, in vices, in industry, in principles, moral and political, how intense the contrast! Never did two peoples, so radically opposite, ever maintain a free united history. And when we think of the reckless character of the Southern soul, how big it is with the elements of evil omen, we almost shudder at the thought that ours should again be a united destiny. We dread the thought of the restoration of Southern planters to our national Congress. We like not the idea that the votes of such men, or of such a section, should decide our national destiny. Unless the old South can rapidly die out, and a new South be soon created, there are elements enough of destruction in a reunion to wreck the entire ship of state. We are not encouraged greatly by the present demeanor of slaveholding unionists. Men who can talk like the Garrett Davises, Saulsburys, and Carlisles, are no desirable acquisition to our halls of legislation. We all remember how long the presence of secession Congressmen at the commencement of the rebellion paralyzed the arm of the administration. The return of slaveholders in force into Congress with the undiminished impudence of "plantation manners," sustained by the revival of the old proslavery party, may re-establish the ascendancy of the old despotism, the feud between freedom and slavery may still be protracted, and rebellion and dissolution may return upon us in even a more fatal form.

Yet we trust, at the worst, something will have been gained by this great struggle to the side of freedom. The slave-trade can, we think, never be restored; and slavery, in consequence, has not the material for wide expansion. The balance between the free and slave states must preponderate more and more for freedom, and slavery without expansion must die. But we trust that Providence is in too great a hurry to await this process of slow decline.

The South itself should be Northernized. The best English authority has stated, long since, that the Southern monopoly of the cotton market could be maintained by no other means than the introduction of millions of free laborers into the fields, at present occupied or unoccupied, of the cotton states. Could a Southern emigration from the North take the place of the Western, could the lands of the South be raised in price by the incoming of a free population, could a diversity of industries be introduced, then might a homogeneity of our nation be created by the creation of a NEW SOUTH. Our nation would then be *one*. A material prosperity would be created in the South hitherto unknown in her history.

We are aware that it is often said that free white labor cannot exist in the cotton fields. This, with many other fallacies, is dissipated by the statements of Mr. Olmsted and the authorities by him quoted:

> There are grounds for doubting the common opinion that the negroes at the South suffer less from local causes of disease than whites. They may be less subject to epidemic and infectious diseases, and yet be more liable to other fatal disorders, due to such influences, than whites. The worst climate for unacclimated whites of any town in the United States is that of Charleston. (This, together with the whole of the rice coast, is clearly exceptional in respect of salubrity for whites.) It happens fortunately that the most trustworthy and complete vital statistics of the South are those of Charleston. Dr. Nott, commenting upon these, says that the average mortality, during six years, has been, of blacks alone, one

in forty-four; of whites alone, one in fifty-eight. "This mortality," he adds, "is perhaps not an unfair test, as the population during the last six years has been undisturbed by emigration, and acclimated in greater proportion than at any previous period." If the comparison had been made between native negroes and native or acclimated whites alone, it would doubtless show the climate to be still more unfavorable to negroes.

I quote the testimony of a Mississippi statistician:

"The cotton-planters, deserting the rolling land, are fast pouring in upon the 'swamp.' Indeed, the impression of the sickliness of the South generally has been rapidly losing ground [that is, among the whites of the South] for some years back, and that blessing [health] is now sought with as much confidence on the swamp lands of the Yazoo and the Mississippi as among the hills and plains of Carolina and Virginia."—*De Bow's "Resources,"* vol. ii, p. 43.

Dr. Barton says:

"In another place I have shown that the direct temperature of the sun is not near so great in the South (during the summer) as it is at the North. I shall recur to this hereafter. In fact, the climate is much more endurable, all the year round, with our refreshing breezes, and particularly in some of the more elevated parts of it, or within one hundred miles of the coast, both in and out of doors, at the South than at the North, which shows most conspicuously the folly of the annual summer migrations, to pursue an imaginary mildness of temperature, which is left at home."—Vol. ii, pp. 258–260.

Mr. Olmsted has an important chapter on the question of cotton supply, from the conclusion of which we make an extract:

> The simple truth is, that even if we view, in the brightest light of Fourth of July patriotism, the character of the whites of the cotton-producing region and the condition of the slaves, we cannot help seeing that, commercially speaking, they are but in a very small part a civilized people. Undoubtedly a large number of merchants have had, at times, a profitable business in supplying civilized luxuries and conveniences to the South. The same is true of Mexico, of Turkey, of Egypt, and of Russia. Silk, cloth, and calico, shoes, gloves, and gold watches, were sold in some quantity in California before its golden coffers were forcibly opened ten years ago. The Southern supply to commerce and the Southern demand of commerce is no more what it should be, comparing the resources of the South with those of other lands occupied by an active civilized community, than is that of any half-civilized community, than was that of California. Give the South a people moderately close settled, moderately well-informed, moderately ambitious, and moderately industrious, somewhat approaching that of Ohio, for instance, and what a business it would have! Twenty double-track railroads from the Gulf to the lakes, and twenty lines of ocean steamers, would not sufficiently meet its requirements. Who doubts, let him study the present business of Ohio, and ask upon what, in the natural resources of Ohio, or its position, could, forty years ago, a prediction of its present wealth and business have been made, of its present supply and its present demand have been made, which would compare in value with the commercial resources and advantages of position possessed to-day by any one of the Western cotton states.—Vol. ii, pp. 270, 271.

Nor is there any need of an amalgamation of whites and blacks for these ends:

> There is no physical obstacle in the way of our country's supplying ten bales of cotton where it now does one. All that is necessary for this purpose is to direct to the cotton-producing region an adequate number of laborers, either black or white, or both. No amalgamation, no association on equality, no violent disruption of present relations is necessary. It is not even requisite that both black and white should work in the cotton fields. It is necessary that there should be more objects of industry, more varied enterprises, more general intelligence among the people, and especially that they should become, or should desire to become, richer, more comfortable, than they are.—Vol. ii, pp. 269, 270.

Mr. Olmsted's discussions on the moral and religious aspects of slavery as a system, on slavery as a provision for a lower class, on the condition and character of the privileged classes of the South, and on the danger of the South, are of great value. By his showing, the standing boasts of Southern hospitality and Southern high breeding are somewhat humbug. Southern hospitality, according to his view, consists in the custom, in sections where hotels do not prevail, of entertaining travelers overnight in private houses and taking pay for it. Southern high breeding he illustrates by the following paragraph:

> There is one other characteristic of the Southerner, which is far more decided than the difference of climate merely would warrant, and which is to be attributed not only to the absence of the ordinary restraints and means of discipline of more compact communities in his education, but unquestionably also to the readiness and safety with which, by reason of slavery, certain passions and impulses may be indulged. Every white Southerner is a person of importance; must be treated with deference. Every wish of the Southerner is imperative; every belief undoubted; every hate, vengeance; every love, fiery. Hence, for instance, the scandalous fiend-like street fights of the South. If a young man feels offended with another, he does not incline to a ring and a fair stand-up set-to, like a young Englishman; he will not attempt to overcome his opponent by logic; he will not be content to vituperate, or to cast ridicule upon him; he is impelled straightway to strike him down with the readiest deadly weapon at hand, with as little ceremony and pretense of fair combat as the loose organization of the people against violence will allow. He seems crazy for blood. Intensity of personal pride—pride in anything a man has, or which connects itself with him, is more commonly evident. Hence, intense local pride and prejudice; hence intense partisanship; hence rashness and over-confidence; hence visionary ambition; hence assurance in debate; hence assurance in society. As self-appreciation is, equally with deference, a part of what we call good breeding, and as the expression of deference is much more easily reduced to a matter of manners and forms, in the commonplace intercourse of society, than self-appreciation, this characteristic quality of the Southerner needs to be borne in mind in considering the port and manners he commonly has, and judging from them of the effects of slavery.—Vol. ii, pp. 326, 327.

The True Story of the Barons of the South; or, the Rationale of the American Conflict. By E. W. Reynolds. 12mo., pp. 240. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1862.

The title of this book has a romantic sound, but its contents are as much superior to romance as truth is ever stranger and grander than fiction. It traces with a clear and steady hand the first incorporation of the contradiction of freedom and slavery in our national system; the development and culmination of the antagonism until the great rebellion of 1861, and the great danger that the power of slavery may even survive this struggle, to result in more protracted dissension and more complete ruin hereafter. Emancipation is held out as God's great ultimatum to our nation.

To a very few things we might except in the details of its most instructive narrative of the past. But as a review of this phase of our national history it is intensely interesting and profoundly instructive. No reviewer of the train of facts he details can doubt that an oligarchy hostile to republican principles has ever existed in our nation; no true-hearted freeman can doubt that the sole condition to our future peace and freedom is the entire abolition, immediate or gradual, both of the principle and the institution of despotism.

If this be not done, thoroughly and fundamentally, no conquering a peace or overthrow of the rebellion will bring us permanent welfare. The Southern oligarchs, even if compelled to ground their arms, will simply understand that they are forced to return to the repudiated task of governing us like despots. They will never dream but that they are coerced into being our permanent lords and masters. They will submit to resume the bluster, the menace, and the iron rod, never dreaming that they could fill any other place in the united whole. The error of our fathers who bequeathed to us this war will be worse than repeated by us against our children. All the past and all the future cry out to the present to do this work thoroughly and forever.

The following extract illustrates the early and permanent existence of the despotic principle from which the rebellion of 1861 has sprung:

> That principle had already become so potent, in the days of the Revolution, that South Carolina had been induced only by laborious efforts to adopt the Declaration of Independence, and had not been restrained, in the struggle that ensued, from tendering her submission to the British crown. The same principle had been so far dominant in the Southern mind, in the days of the Constitutional Convention, that Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, had said, while opposing a tax on the importation of slaves: "The true question at present is, whether Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union." And Mr. Pinckney had followed with the odious sentiment that South Carolina would never receive the Constitution if it prohibited the slave-trade.
>
> As far back as March, 1776, John Adams had declared—writing to General Gates: "All our misfortunes arise from a single source, the *resistance of the Southern colonies to republican government.*" And he adds, that "popular principles and axioms are abhorrent to the inclinations of the BARONS OF THE SOUTH."
>
> Facts have come to light during only the past year which conclusively show that the idea of dismembering the Union had been for a long time the settled purpose of the Southern leaders, and that, too, without respect to the conduct of the North, the alleged grievances being only pretexts to cover this all-pervading policy of rebellion, and gloss the odious atrocity of treason.
>
> In a confidential letter written by Jackson in 1833, and only recently made public, he says, in allusion to the Nullification movement: "The tariff was only the *pretext*, and DISUNION and a SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY the *real object*. THE NEXT PRETEXT WILL BE THE NEGRO OR SLAVERY QUESTION."
>
> The statement of Jackson is most emphatically confirmed by the confessions made in the rebel convention of South Carolina. Mr. Packer reminds his fellow-traitors that "secession is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us. It has been gradually culminating for a long series of years." Mr. Inglis said: "Most of us have had this subject under consideration for the last twenty years." Mr. Keitt ardently declared: "I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life." Mr. Rhett confessed: "It is nothing produced by Mr.

> Lincoln's election or the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."
>
> The real ground of Southern discontent, the true spring of the movement for dissolution, has been candidly admitted by Dr. Smythe, of Charleston: "It is not the election of a republican president nor the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. The real difficulty lies far back of these things. It consists in the atheistic, red republican doctrine of the Declaration of Independence; and until this is trampled under foot there can be no peace."—Pp. 157-159.

Very interesting are the chapters entitled, "The Plot of Aaron Burr" and "The Image of a Southern Empire," in which are touched the singular intimations of a wide-spread collusion in the South with that nefarious plot and the subsequent corresponding events.

The Habeas Corpus and Martial Law. By Robert L. Breck. Prepared for the Danville Quarterly Review, December, 1861. Cincinnati: Richard H. Collins. 1862.

Mr. Breck appears to be one of the numerous set of gentlemen who, under a professed solicitude for the preservation of the Constitution, are furnishing the most effective aid to its destroyers. He may be as loyal as he professes, but he cannot but know that his entire utterances are very pleasing to traitors. The loyal part of the nation is very well aware that if our government has in any case overstepped the limits of the Constitution it has been to preserve the Constitution in the midst of a most stupendous assault upon its existence. Rome, in moments of exigency, at the most palmy period of its republican freedom, gave to a temporary dictator summary power to guard the commonwealth from detriment, well knowing that extraordinary expedients in revolutionary crises are no precedent for ordinary action. The nation knows, too, that the action of the government, inspired by no desire for arbitrary power, has been even more moderate than the demands of public feeling. No wise and loyal man could think it otherwise than at least very ill-timed to hamper the honest action of the government against wholesale treason by outcries like Mr. Breck's at temporary summary necessities. It is creditable to the wisdom and fidelity to the Constitution of the conductors of the Danville Quarterly, that they excluded Mr. Breck's document from their pages.

The Uprising of a Great People. The United States in 1861. To which is added, a Word of Peace on the Difference between England and the United States. From the French of Count Agenor de Gasparin. By Mary L. Booth. New American edition. 12mo., pp. 298. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Count Gasparin has a right to be jubilant, in this "new edition" of his work, at the "prophetic" character of its contents. Its prevision was the foresight of a noble soul in sympathy with the best impulses of the age. The events still transpiring may call forth newer and newer editions. We earnestly recommend his work to the widest circulation. The chapter on the "Coexistence of the two Races after Emancipation," presents the true solution of a question difficult only from a bigotry founded in ignoble assumptions.

Educational.

Mayhew's Practical Book-Keeping: embracing Single and Double Entry, Commercial Calculations, and Morals of Business. By Ira Mayhew, A.M., Author of "Means and Ends of Universal Education." 12mo., pp. 224. Boston: Chase, Nichols, & Hill. 1861.

This neat manual has attained its sixtieth edition, a fact that sufficiently attests its popular acceptance and standard character. It bears marks of the peculiar powers of the author's mind in elucidating with great clearness a complex subject. Its practical directness and simplicity are such that an eminent teacher pertinently says: "My pupils like the book." The introduction of topics relating to commercial morality is original and important. A high commercial integrity is one of the most important desiderata of a free people.

Belles Lettres and Classical.

Songs in many Keys. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Pp. 308. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The muse of Dr. Holmes begins to exhibit the signs of middle age. For poetry, which is the inner life of the soul, like the body, which is its outermost expression, has, like the soul itself, its seasons of infancy, youth, and maturity. The marks of juvenility in Dr. Holmes are gone, those of maturity are come. His first poems overran with fun. A slight touch of the youthful and poetic disease of love, and a gush or two of patriotism, as in his ringing lyric on "Old Ironsides," were nearly all that kept his mirthfulness from overwhelming every page. Later issues showed that he was no longer playing with his wit, but was making it tell upon social errors and follies, whether of speech, manner, dress, "or e'en devotion." His "Urania" is an admirable specimen of a satire on society. This collection, begun with "The Atlantic," gives proof of a still farther advance in his powers, and especially in the service to which they are put. It abounds in keen hits at real defects. Nowhere is the *mere* logician so completely hoisted with his own petard as in "The Wonderful One-horse Shay;" nowhere is the pretense of resignation to our fate, provided the fate is a luxurious one, been more happily ridiculed than in the poem entitled "Contentment." "Latter-day Warnings" is a brilliant but almost irreverent satire on the Dr. Cummings school; and "The Ode by his Latin Tutor" an equally effective joke at "classic" composition. "The Sweet Little Man" is an exquisite thrust at those who, in the present crisis, seek to enlist in the home guard, which is only to leave its domestic quarters "in case of invasion;" and "De Sauty" is a merry laugh at the dying struggles of the Atlantic cable.

His patriotic odes, which have sprung to life since the war upon our liberties and nationality begun, are full of the fieriest fever of devotion. They are the only lyrics that the hour has brought forth except that most solemn and most truthful ode of Whittier's, rejected by our military leaders, but accepted by the people.

These songs of Holmes, from the first, written in that hour of uttermost debasement, the Buchanan fast, to the last, in the last number of "The Atlantic," are full of hope, courage, fervor, and duty. The war literature of the world, from Pindar to Campbell, has produced nothing superior to "The Army Hymn," "Under the Washington Elm," or "Union and Liberty." They are indeed "the blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire."

But Dr. Holmes's muse essays also the serious and even the religious. It has "experienced religion;" though none of those blessed and divine emotions pulse through these experiences that Methodists understand and enjoy by that phrase of their own creation. He dwells on the love of God, but never sees that expression of it which a Christian first beholds, and in which he beholds all the lesser light of his goodness. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish but have everlasting life," is the epitome of the Bible and of Christianity, but it finds no place in these devotional songs. He professes religion, but it is a *religio* that seeks to rebind the soul to God without any of the "new and living ties" of the Divine Sacrifice and Saviour. Hence his poems are not Christian hymns, for Christianity without Christ is far worse than "Hamlet" without Hamlet. And that is only *a* Christ, as false as any that appeared of old, or that do to-day, who is not the Divine, suffering, atoning, redeeming Saviour of sinners, the Christ of Christianity, of Scripture, of God. Yet he utters some of the truths of natural religion with point and fervor. His great defect is, that he seeks to make these the highest and the only truths, while their sole power is that of a physician at a deathbed; they unfold the disease, but can offer no remedies.

Considering these hymns in the obscure light of natural religion, which is immeasurable darkness beside the light of grace and faith, they have some beauty and utility. Infinitely below Watts and Wesley, they yet sing of some of the basal principles of religious truth. The sacredness of the body is unintentionally but finely set forth against all anti or pseudo-resurrectionists in the poem entitled, "The Living Temple." "The Two Streams" admirably describes the cardinal doctrine of the decisive character of our present state, of the dependence of this decisiveness on our will, and of the everlasting separation between those who here and now voluntarily bring themselves into communion with God, and those who here and now voluntarily separate themselves from him. We quote these lines as a specimen of the felicity and force of his style:

Behold the rocky wall
 That down its sloping sides
Pours the swift rain drops, blending, as they fall,
 In rushing river tides!

Yon stream, whose sources run,
 Turned by a pebble's edge,
Is Athabasca, rolling toward the sun
 Through the cleft mountain ledge.

The slender rill had strayed,
 But for the slanting stone,
To evening's ocean, with the tangled braid
 Of foam-flicked Oregon.

So from the heights of will
 Life's parting stream descends,
And, as a moment turns its slender rill,
 Each widening torrent bends

From the same cradle's side,
 From the same mother's knee,
One to long darkness and the frozen tide,
 One to the peaceful sea.

It will be noticed here that there is no hint of the *freedom* of the will any more than of the gracious co-operations of the Spirit of God. Modern Unitarianism is rapidly becoming more of a fatalism than the oldest Calvinism. Were this poem informed with the great truths of the unconditional liberty of this will, and of the abundant aids afforded to it through the atonement of Christ, whereby it need never go astray, it would beautifully express the whole truth of man's opportunity and responsibility.

We hope that as this volume exhibits a marked improvement on its predecessors in the *fact* of its religious exercitations, its successor will show that he has not only, as now, struck those depths of our being where the springs of natural religion rise, but he has pierced to the deeper sources of the divine, true, and eternal religion, the true Pierian spring, the exhaustless fountain of living waters. H.

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The Drama of Secession; or, Scenes from American History. By W. H. Barnes, A.M. 24mo., pp. 60. Indianapolis: Merrill & Co. 1862.

This is an ingenious production, done up in a neat external style, indited by one of our Western contributors, presenting the most remarkable phase of our American history in a dramatic form. The dramatis personæ are the states of the American Union, or its leading statesmen. By this poetic machinery the movements of the events in the history of slavery of more than half a century are synoptically presented in about as many pages. After the farewell address of Washington, Missouri seeks and, by proslavery compromise, obtains admission, nullification rises and subsides, California and Kansas, amid various vicissitudes, are admitted, and the rebellion is inaugurated. The denouement is, that the movement is crushed, some of its leaders die of lead, but Floyd, exceptionally, by the hempen method. The question, What shall be done with the negro? is answered by concentrating his race in South Carolina. The poetry of the drama does not claim a high order of inspiration; some critics would object to the commingling of men and states as associate persons. But the end is attained. A somewhat effective grouping of the events of our history in its proslavery phases is produced.

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Lessons in Life: a Series of Familiar Essays. By Timothy Titcomb Fifth edition. 12mo., pp. 344. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861.

Mr. Titcomb is perennial, a genuine evergreen. The freshness of his style is as yet unfaded, the fund of his philosophy is unexhausted. His lessons of life abound in practical wisdom, aided by a sufficiency of imagination to win an ample audience, and a brilliancy of occasional wit that gives his teachings point and permanent impression. He says some things we do not believe, and advises some things we cannot accept. But the popularity of his works is, on the whole, creditable to his genius and the public taste.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1862.

ART. I.—THE "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS."

Essays and Reviews. Seventh edition. 8vo., pp. 433. London: Longman, Green, Longmans & Roberts. 1861.

Recent Inquiries in Theology, by eminent English Churchmen, being "Essays and Reviews." Fourth American from the second London edition. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. FREDERICK H. HEDGE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 480. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

"INQUIRIES in theology,"—the phrase indicates an anxiety for the solution of religious difficulties. And what are these inquiries? They are such as these: "Is the Bible the work of God or man?" "Are its historic narratives fact, fiction, or allegory, or a blending of the three?" "Would Scripture lose any of its essential religious value to the world, if all its history, chronology, biography, in fine, all its statements concerning things physical, should be rejected?" "Would it not gain greatly, in spiritual power and efficiency, upon this advanced and enlightened age, if we could feel entirely relieved from all obligations to exercise faith in its physical statements?" "Can God be called the author of the Bible, in any other sense than he was the author of the dialogues of Plato, and the plays of Shakspeare?" "Was a miracle ever wrought? indeed, is such a thing possible?" "Has not man invented the religions of the earth as he has invented its steam-engines and printing-presses?"

And who are these inquirers? English Churchmen, clergymen, some of them, and some professors and teachers in well-known Christian institutions; and the American editor, to whom we owe the characteristic title on which we comment, is a Christian minister in the suburbs of Boston. Certainly, if men who have not yet settled such questions as these are to be called Christians, it cannot be in the same sense that the "disciples were called Christians first at Antioch." We do not complain just now of attacks on Orthodoxy, on the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Nicene Creed; but why, gentlemen, will you quarrel with the English Dictionary? When men use a word, especially professional writers, we have a right to demand that they shall use the word in the sense set down in the dictionaries, especially if all the dictionaries agree. What is the use of language if every man is to change the meaning of words according to his whim? Now the word Christianity has, in all literature, a definite signification; it is applied to a *professedly* supernatural system of religion. Whether this profession can be made out or not is another matter; but for a man to call himself "Christian" who is "inquiring" whether *any* supernatural system of religion is possible, is simply to sail under false colors, whether ignorantly, carelessly, or designedly we must decide by the circumstances. But, in the present instance, Christian charity bids us hope that this is the instinctive clinging of the moral nature to the name, even after it has been robbed of the spirit; as Adam cast a longing look back to the gate from which his sin had driven him into exile; as we fondly hang over the cold face from which the light of love has fled.

These inquiries are not all stated here in the direct style that we have used in repeating them. Most of them are rather intimated than expressed. To one accustomed to the frank utterances of American Parkerism, most of these essays seem strangely timid. Dr. Hedge promises us, in his Introduction, that we shall find here "breadth and freedom of view, an earnest spirit of inquiry, and resolute criticism;" but the authors themselves, in their brief prefatory note, express the hope that the volume will "illustrate the advantage derivable to the cause of religious and moral truth, from a free handling, in a becoming spirit, of subjects peculiarly liable to suffer by the repetition of conventional language and traditional modes of treatment." This sentence, so labored and clumsy, so carefully guarded and carefully indefinite, is all that they directly give us to show their common sentiment and spirit. And as we read on, we find in most of these essays a dainty reserve, a cautious wordiness, a smothering of the thought in remote suggestions and circumlocutory intimations that betrays a fear of some kind; whether it comes from a dissatisfied intellect or a dissatisfied conscience we do not decide; we hope from both. It would hardly be charitable to suggest that there may be mingled with these the more carnal fear of the loss of livings and professorships, did not the manner of its reception and defense across the water bear out the suggestion. It is evident enough that neither these authors nor their friends ever dreamed of such a storm of unwelcome notoriety as has lifted up these essayists and reviewers before the world. The knights who rush to their defense, and who, we may fairly suppose, speak for them, beg that we will not imagine them to be ambitious for the martyr-crown of the reformer. It is the wicked Westminster, they tell us, that has done all the mischief by its shout of welcome. These scholarly men want to lead a quiet life; they had no idea of being bandied about in cheap editions among the million; they wrote for the learned, and not for the *ignobile vulgus*, and so on.

Now we confess that we have not the least admiration for an author who winds round and round his heresy in spirals of intimation, or sends us chasing after his error through a dozen pages of insinuation, and even then leaves us to *infer* what he really believes. Instead of finding here what the American editor promises us, "breadth and freedom of view," and "resolute criticism," we find oftentimes not merely a cowardly caution in the avowal of real belief, or attempted belief, but a dishonorable evasion of the inevitable conclusions from their own premises, a shrinking from legitimate logical consequences. They begin to build, and drop their tools in alarm; while they, or their friends for them, beg that we will not think that they ever intended to finish.

It is unnecessary to say that this characteristic makes the book far more mischievous, just as well-covered pitfalls and carefully masked batteries are the most dangerous. This criticism does not apply equally to all the authors. The review of Bunsen is outspoken, being mainly a bald statement of Bunsen's characteristic conclusions and learned eccentricities. The Edinburgh critic, who breaks a lance in behalf of these cowering knights, reproaches this author with inexcusable rashness, in that he has gathered up the inferences which Bunsen reached after a lifetime of learned toil, and attempted "to pitchfork them into the face of the British public."* Professor Powell, now, alas! gone where the natural is swallowed up in the supernatural forever, contributed the essay on the "Evidences of Christianity," which fairly avows the impossibility of miracles.

But there are radically important presumptions, presuppositions essentially unchristian, nowhere distinctly and categorically stated and defended, but pervading every essay and every sentence, forming the very atmosphere in which these and swarms of kindred errors always breed spontaneously. Here is the virus of the book. The mischief is not in new facts presented, for there is little or none of this; not in a fresh grouping of old facts, not in new doctrines, or in new or clearer statements of old doctrines; but in the views of God's government, man's nature and relations to God, which underlie the whole, and which, when admitted, not only legitimate these conclusions, but a thousand other and more startling conclusions, which would not only sweep away the Christian Church and the Christian Scriptures, but leave man an outcast orphan in the universe, without religion, without God, without hope.

The whole battle with modern infidelity is a battle of *presuppositions*, moral or metaphysical. These are the artillery of the combat; critical, historical, and scientific arguments are but the small arms, pushed forward under their fire. For example, Gesenius comments on Isaiah, presupposing that the prophet never did nor could predict future events; Hengstenberg writes, presupposing that he both could and did. Strauss writes the "Life of Jesus," presupposing that Christ's superhumanity is unprovable and impossible; Neander writes, presupposing that it is both possible and provable. These seven essayists all write, presupposing that *there never has been any supernatural influence in human history.* Probably all would not admit this statement of their underlying dogma, but this is the real key-note of the book. Now, if these manifold errors are to be routed, of course this is the point of attack, this is the key of the position. But before attending to this let us take a rapid glance over the volume.

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* Edinburgh Review, April, 1861.

Everybody that has read the book has remarked the great inequality and diversity in its component Essays and Reviews, both in style and in grasp of the themes discussed. It would be tedious and unprofitable, at this late day, to follow up the track of each of these seven authors, examine each position, beat down every difficulty, and impale every objection that is here raised to what all the world calls Christianity. We rather aim to direct attention to the general principles that pervade the whole. The opening essay, however, being altogether the most carefully written and highly finished production of the series, we notice more in detail. This is, substantially, a discourse delivered about a year before the volume appeared. Learning and culture appear on every page, rich suggestive thoughts and wide generalizations form a graceful and seductive drapery for the mortal error coiled within. The human race (Dr. Temple tells us) may be compared to a colossal man, who has passed through his prattling babyhood, his artless, docile childhood, his ardent, sensitive youth, and is now rejoicing in his ripened manhood. The successive generations are his days; discoveries and inventions his works; creeds and doctrines, his thoughts. This is "no figure, but a comprehensive fact." Childhood is trained by rules, youth by example, manhood by principles. So God gave man first the Law, then his Son, then the Spirit. The earliest commands were adapted to the childhood of the race, and refer to bodily appetites and animal passions; for example, the prohibition of murder and of the eating of blood. These were given to all mankind before the dispersion; but the great lessons of humanity were too manifold to be taught all at once, so the race was "broken up into classes and sent to school." In Greece man learned the love of the beautiful. Here specially the intellect was trained, so that the logic and rhetoric of the race came from Greece. In Rome man was taught the love of order, reverence for law. In Asia the "spiritual imagination" was cultivated, so that to Asiatic mysticism and contemplative musing we owe the doctrines of the Trinity and of human immortality. In the Hebrew nation the conscience was cultivated, and there man was taught to love the holy. There were two great results of the Jewish discipline, "a settled national belief in the unity and spirituality of God, and an acknowledgment of the paramount importance of chastity in morals." (A more discriminating generalization, we should say, would sum it up in the Divine unity, spirituality, and purity, and from these flowed naturally all the precepts of morality ever taught, chastity included.) Moses treated the Hebrews as a child-nation, disciplined them by precepts, some important and eternal, others trivial and transitory. The prophets are more spiritual, and appeal to the moral sense; "sacrifices and ordinances recede, and moral duty comes forward;" and after the great lesson of the captivity the Pharisees appear, who give more attention to the moral law and to prayer. Probably prayer was offered with the Mosaic sacrifices, "but it was not positively commanded. . . . As a regular and necessary part of worship, it first appears in the later Old Testament."* . . . Christ came in the world's youth; the race was just fitted then to learn by example. Man had then, too, all the flush and enthusiasm of youth; he had not yet attained the cool critical discrimination of these riper years. No man can reproduce the glow of his youth; its visions have fled forever, yet he would not part with their memory; they are an inspiration to him in his ripest manhood. So the race in its maturity looks back for inspiration to its youthful visions and glowing flush, in classic Greece, aspiring Rome, and in the early Christian Church. Could we, however, return thither with the ripened faculties and critical culture of the nineteenth century, we could not see and feel as they did, and might wonder how an ardent disciple could cry out, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" but the visions of early youth must not be scanned too critically. Be content to catch the enthusiasm of the early Church, and do not seek after statements of doctrine in these fragmentary Gospels and familiar apostolic epistles. . . . Youth is also the period of hasty generalization. The man revises and remodels, in the light of experience, these superficial

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[*] But compare the ninetieth Psalm, "A prayer of *Moses* the man of God," David's Psalms everywhere, and *Solomon's* prayer at the dedication of the temple! And still further back, Abraham and Jacob!

theories of his early life. And (we are fairly left to infer) the time has come when the doctrinal theories of the early Church are to be remodeled by the "free handling" of a "resolute criticism." The true use of the Bible is to evoke the conscience, not to override it, or to suffer it to exercise despotism over the spirit. Let not the historic statements and doctrinal theories of the Bible fetter the free motion of the spirit, but read them in this book precisely as you would in any other; take what will feed the conscience and quicken the spiritual life, and leave the rest. All men have not advanced, it is true, where they can do this safely; each must judge for himself how far he can go without harm. If a man finds that bold and independent thinking imperils his spiritual life, he must turn his thoughts into a new channel. Conscience will tell us when we get beyond our depth; but we must not forbid bolder and stronger swimmers from plunging out where the waters are too deep for us. We must also be tender of the consciences of others in speaking what we think. If you should shake some men's confidence in the real presence, or in the immaculate conception, you might utterly destroy their religious faith. Do not disturb errors where, by so doing, there is danger of ruining the souls that cherish them. The author finally reaches and enforces the conclusion that toleration is the great lesson of the age. This is a pretty fair synopsis of Dr. Temple's essay, though we have omitted the side thoughts, and often taken the *radius-vector* of direct statement, instead of sweeping around the spiral intimation. Of course a skeleton synopsis gives no idea of the rounded elegance of the essay, for, artistically speaking, it is a beautiful specimen of workmanship. All history is the quarry, and the architect comes to it with his ideal temple already complete in his own mind, and selects just the stones which will realize his ideal. He thus builds a beautiful structure, no doubt, admirable as a work of art if it claims to be no more. But if it is displayed before us to teach us the geology of the quarry we demur and protest. Yet this is just what the author does.

In the first place an illustration proves nothing but the illustrator's opinion. Before this truism the whole structure melts like frostwork, for this essay, or discourse, is simply an extended illustration. This mode of writing furnishes astonishing facilities for suggesting opinions where a categorical statement would be odious, for leading the reader all along the margin of the precipice of error, and yet evading the responsibility of leading him off, and these facilities the author has used to admiration. But illustrating the antediluvian and patriarchal eras by babyhood, and proving Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham to be babies, are two very different things. Figuring the nineteenth century as the age of the world's manhood may give our vanity a delightful titillation; but it is much easier, very much, than proving Comte to be a riper intellect than Plato and Parker; and Newman to be more spiritually minded than John and Paul. Fancy-work must be kept out of the sun and rain of the actual world. The facts of history brush away this fabric like gossamer.

The author scatters through his parable various undoubted facts from history, sacred and profane; but he leaves behind, on the same pages, numberless other facts that ruin his hypothesis. He makes the primitive man a naked savage, and dwells on the brutish violence and sensuality of the first generations. Yet the very record to which he appeals declares that this savage cultivated the ground, had the gift of language, and extensive knowledge of the works of God—for this the giving of names fairly implies—that he prayed, and acknowledged God as creator and preserver; that his son kept domesticated animals; that he himself saw his descendants separate iron and copper from their ores, build cities, invent useful arts, and even instruments of music. Instead of the besotted spiritual ignorance that the author imagines, with its gross sensualism and fetish worship, we read of men calling on the name of Jehovah, the self-existent, and read the luminous line, "*Enoch walked with God and was not, for God took him;*" prayer, holiness, immortality.

Moses commanded unquestioning, unreasoning obedience, as men do to their children, says Dr. Temple; but we, who deal with the adult race, must appeal to principles. How does anybody know what Moses taught except from the Pentateuch? And what do we read there? Why, that Moses always appealed to the deepest and mightiest motives of human nature. "Be ye holy *for* I am holy," sums up all the precepts and all the motives; and can the Head-master of Rugby go deeper into *principles* than this? Can he find, in all the literature that he inherits, principles of moral action more nourishing than these with which Moses fed the infantile Israelites? When giving his highest lessons to his most advanced pupils, can he do better than to pick up sentences dropped by this old "Head-master" in the world's infant school, such as, "God shall circumcise thy heart," "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," "Love thy neighbor as thyself?" When his classes get out of this primer, will he be so kind as to let the world know?

But the illustration breaks down from end to end when we attempt to string on it the facts of history. For example, where is the propriety of assuming that our race was in the period of youth eighteen or nineteen hundred years ago? Were the vices of Caligula and Heliogabalus of the youthful or the senile type? And the thinkers of that epoch, the writers and speakers, do they betray this loose-jointed adolescence? Is Sallust so florid and flighty? Do our Grotes and our Hallams smile at the hasty generalizations and youthful exuberance of Tacitus, and pat him on the head as a promising boy? Pliny and Seneca, were they raw and sophomoric? And our old friend Horatius Flaccus, is he then so very verdant?

"*Imbertis juvenis, tandem custode remoto?*" We seem to see the bard look up with a droll leer at the question, between the sips of the old Falernian—and then Cicero—do these Tusculan disputations seem specially romantic and sentimental? Did Paul preach to gaping wonderers ready to gulp down every new marvel? Were not Epicureans and Stoics as keen and relentless thinkers as French materialists and German transcendentalists? Was not the Jewish Pharisee as astute as the English Newmanite? Was the epistle to the Romans written for boys? Then why do these broad-shouldered men so reel and stagger under a single line or phrase? Never was there a finer specimen of Procrustean criticism, (to use the much hackneyed figure once more,) chopping off, and stretching out facts to fit a theory, than this attempt to make out the apostolic age an age of blind, heedless belief; for that is just what all this rhetoric about youthful flush and enthusiasm signifies. But why is the author so anxious to paint that age thus? Simply to damage the authenticity of the New Testament history, to evaporate the facts of the Gospel narratives into myth and legend. This he does not avow, but we legitimately infer it, as he intimates that though all the alleged historic facts of the New Testament should vanish in the crucible of criticism, yet all that is of real and permanent value for man's spiritual culture will remain.

By a similar "free handling" of historic facts, the author might prove the race to-day in its infancy or its dotage, just as he should please. We have, doubtless, made great progress in a thousand things; but does the mammoth press throw off greater books than those which slowly trickled from the ancient calamus? Does not the whole world to-day go to school to Aristotle and Quintilian? Who to-day could repair a broken frieze from Phidias's hand? or mend a broken string of Pindar's lyre? What Bridgewater treatise has added one new argument to Socrates's proof of the existence of God? How much farther can Reason, with all the telescopes that man has invented, penetrate the great Unseen to-day, than when she gazed from the Porch and the Academy? Which of these essayists can foil the blows with which the ancient doubter of the Phædo stunned Socrates himself? Who of them could teach Paul to wave aloft his chain like a scepter, or tune again the harp which a royal minstrel once swept on Mount Zion? And if there be no loftier faith, no purer holiness to-day than in the days of apostles and patriarchs, let those who would be teachers of faith and holiness go back a little longer to the old school, and have done with this babbling about the ripe maturity of this materialistic age.

The third essay is mainly an attempt to show, that what is called the argument from the external evidences is worthless. All evidential reasoning in behalf of Christianity, says the author, must be adapted to the age that is to be convinced; and he shows how often the argument has shifted from time to time to meet the exigencies of different ages. This obvious principle he applies by stating, that in view of the wide-spread scepticism of our age on the subject of miracles, arguments that once might have been convincing are comparatively worthless now. He tells us that the vast generalizations of modern science, and, in fact, the whole spirit of the Baconian philosophy, have educated the modern mind into such a conception of the omnipresence of law that it recoils from all suspension of the established order of the universe, such as miracles or prophecy suppose. But further, he argues that the Paleyan argument, from the external evidences, is not only unadapted to this age, but intrinsically irrelevant. He tells us that "universal order and constancy of causes is one of the primary laws of belief," the "very basis of the inductive philosophy," by which he means that the very axioms of modern science assert the impossibility of miracles. Yet the author thinks that it was well enough for Christ and his apostles to appeal to miracles and prophecy, for the arguments were adapted to that age! His objection to the external evidences arises from the general principle, which he assumes as an axiom, that external facts, which can appeal only to the reason, never can prove internal truths, which appeal to the moral sense, such as are all the *essential* truths of Christianity. He stringently separates the province of reason from that of faith. All alleged facts of history, in fine, all physical facts, are to be judged of by the reason alone, and Faith is not to intrude upon Reason in making up her decision; all spiritual and religious truths are to be examined and judged by faith alone, unmolested by reason. It is, therefore, he goes on to argue, foolish and absurd to *blame* men for declining to believe any of the historical incidents, or alleged physical facts of the Scripture, such as the accounts of the birth of Christ, the incidents of his life, death, and resurrection; and, of course, the Scripture accounts of the creation, deluge, etc., would come under the same head. These are physical facts, with which the reason alone has to do; and man is no more to be commended for his belief, or condemned for his disbelief in them, than (to quote his illustration) he is to be commended or condemned for his belief in regard to Cesar's invasion of Britain. "Christianity, as a religion, must be viewed apart from its connection with physical things." In the same strain the second essayist tells us, that the great service which Bunsen has done for biblical truth is to have cut it loose from the external evidences, though now that this is done, he significantly admits, "a discrepance is likely to remain between our feelings and logical necessities." We fully agree with him, that there will long be a "discrepance" of this kind in the mind that admits this theory, and we add, a sadder "discrepance" between the logical and spiritual necessities also. This is also the fundamental thought of the essayist who discusses the "Mosaic cosmogony." No matter, he intimates, whether the cosmogony of Moses be true or false; all we want of the Bible is its religion. "No chronological element in revelation," is an aphorism which the second essayist quotes as an utterance of eminent wisdom. In other words, all the alleged physical facts of Scripture may be proved to be no facts; all its astronomy, geography, chronology, ethnology, history, and biography may be swept away, yet the Bible will even then be as true and as valuable to us as ever! In fact, after this process of purification it will be more valuable, because reason will then be delivered from the bondage in which it groans to-day, and faith be directed to legitimate objects; for then religion will not be hampered by scientific theories and genealogical tables. Man's moral faculty will lay hold of what spiritual aliment there is in the Bible, and receive the strength and quickening that Providence designed. Let the moral sense, unfettered by the reason, examine the spiritual truths of the Bible, and leave the reason unhampered to accept or reject all its statements concerning physical things.

As this is a favorite position of these progressive religionists let us examine it a little. But before doing so, we notice that this anxious separation between truths discernible by the reason, and those discernible by the moral sense, is also the fundamental thought of the closing essayist, Professor Jowett, who discusses the "Interpretation of Scripture." He tells us that no facts of science or of history can confirm Scripture, or conflict with it, when rightly interpreted. He laments that for so long a time the Scripture has been interpreted on a wrong theory, and so has been shorn of so much of its Divine power. In fact, he goes so far as to reckon among non-essentials the mode of its origin. No matter how two interpreters may differ as to the real author of Scripture, or the mode of its composition; if they understand their business they will both get the same meaning from the same page, for interpretation is a matter of grammar and lexicon, and both use the same.

Now, to put the thought in another shape, to interpret Scripture so as to get from it real religious benefit, we should have such a theory of interpretation as will take in *any imaginable* facts of science and history. Whether earth should prove to have been created six or sixty thousand years ago, or never created; whether man is to have a resurrection or not; whether he be immortal or not, (for these are certainly incidents of human history,) would, on this theory, make no difference whatever with the essential value and verity of the Scripture when properly understood and interpreted. The Scripture does not come to tell us "physical facts" like these, but to "quicken the moral sense."

Now, how much "moral quickening" would a plain man receive from a teacher who came to him with a lie in his right hand? And would it make any difference whether his reason or his moral sense detected the falsehood? or whether both jointly did the work? No clear-headed man can believe the whole Scripture history to be fiction without also believing that the Bible is full of lies. The Scripture authors perpetually and solemnly assert external facts; shake these facts and you shake their moral character; destroy the one and you destroy the other. Prove that Christ never rose, and you clearly prove John a liar, who declares that he saw him with his eyes, handled him with his hands, ate with him on the shore of Tiberias; for as to the hypothesis that John imagined all this, it is simply idiotic. Prove that Moses originated the laws of the Pentateuch, and you make him a liar when he said to Israel, "Thus saith the Lord." With how much earnestness and fervor will a man go to the New Testament to have his moral nature quickened and invigorated who has been taught, and believes, that it is crowded with deliberate falsehoods? Yet this is just the book to which these progressive theologians send him, to get the grandest religious conceptions within his reach! They all glorify the Bible as the very fountain-head of religious life!

These writers admit that Christ and his apostles appealed to miracles and prophecy as evidences of the truths that they proclaimed. Good arguments for that age, they tell us; but they will not answer for ours. The people of that age expected "signs and wonders" from eminent religious teachers; but the "inductive philosophy" and the "vast generalizations of modern science" have so enlightened our age that we cannot now use these arguments successfully. Now to say that the first preachers of Christianity used illogical arguments is one thing—this they might do ignorantly and innocently; but to say that they made false statements concerning matters of fact, is another and totally different thing; for this they never could have done innocently. For example, as they proclaimed everywhere, in almost every discourse and conversation, the resurrection of Christ, they knew by the evidence of the senses whether it was fact or fiction; and if fiction, then these men used, not an illogical argument, but a falsehood, as their grand lever for lifting men from the depths of sin to the heights of holiness. Did a sane man ever invent a more absurd hypothesis? Men loving truth enough to die for it, yet pouring forth falsehoods at every breath. The purest morality, the holiest religion that the world has yet seen, our enemies being judges, disseminated and established by systematic falsification!

But, to go a little deeper, this attempt to rigidly separate the decisions of the intellect from those of the moral sense is unphilosophical, untrue to human nature. It would seem unnecessary to say, that this dividing up the mind into various faculties and groups of faculties is in reality but a theoretical fiction for the convenience of philosophers, just as imaginary parallels and meridians are drawn for the convenience of geographers. Man is a unit, not a loose bundle of independent faculties. One man arrives at a truth by a tedious process of reasoning, another sees it in a flash of intuition, another feels it in a throb of sensibility. Reason, conscience, and desire interact upon each other, so that reason affects a man's decision as to what is right, conscience affects his decision as to what is true, and desire affects both. To say that this ought not so to be is simply to say that man ought to be differently constituted; and if these essays are written for man as he ought to be, and not as he is, we suggest that their conclusions are wholly illogical for the present human nature and the present world. In mathematical reasonings no man can doubt the conclusion reached, though desire plead against it ever so strongly. No man who can go through the demonstration can doubt the Pythagorean proposition, however much he may wish to; but it is not so with conclusions reached by moral reasoning. One man's reason decides human slavery to be financially profitable; another, from the same data, decides it to be ruinous; one a national blessing, the other a national curse; so one man's conscience decides that it is a tissue of abominable crimes, and another a means of grace and channel of salvation. Need such a truism be repeated, as that passion, appetite, desire, becloud the sense of the true and right? Man's decision as to what is true affects his decision as to what is right, and *vice versa*. Therefore it is that both Scripture and sound philosophy declare man to be responsible, to a great extent, for his belief in spiritual things; and Christ bid his disciples declare "he that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned."

Hence, then, for Professor Powell to demand, as he does here, that the decisions of the reason shall not affect the decisions of the conscience, is to demand that man should be differently constituted. To expect man's reason to reject the physical statements of Scripture, and yet his moral sense accept the spiritual statements, is to expect what will never be seen till human nature is remodeled. And as to Professor Jowett's use of this theory in his essay on "Interpretation," these writers themselves furnish a ready-made illustration of its absurdity as apt as we could desire. Professor Jowett tells us that interpretation of Scripture is a matter of dry reason; the intellect alone has to do with it. Why, he asks, should not men agree about the meaning of a page of John as of a page of Sophocles? Men can agree upon Sophocles; but Athanasian, Arian, and Socinian, each gets a different meaning from the same words in John. Let, now, John be interpreted by the dry reason and all will agree. Why, we ask in turn, do heirs at law ever differ and litigate about the interpretation of a will? Is it not a mere matter of grammar and dictionary? Why do lawyers, statesmen, and nations differ about the interpretation of the text of a statute or treaty? Can their fierce controversies be calmed by assuring them that all their strife is utter folly and absurdity, since it is all a question of dry reason, with which conscience and desire have nothing to do? Would it not be well to recommend this grand panacea to Mr. Elihu Burritt and the peace societies? But see these writers refute their own theory. Here are seven Churchmen who have signed the Thirty-nine Articles—articles formed expressly to exclude the identical opinions with which this book is full. How does it happen that, in the interpretation of the real meaning of these articles, they differ so widely among themselves, and differ *toto cœlo* from the men who framed them? The author of the essay on the "National Church" furnishes the most ludicrous illustration of this absurdity, for he not only is continually wondering what certain phrases of the articles mean, that are expressed in as lucid English as ever could be written, but gravely raises a doubt as to what the prescribed act of *signing* the articles really signifies! Cannot these gentlemen take some of their own medicine, or do they themselves demonstrate what utter nonsense it is to prescribe such a medicine to anybody?

The fact is that the faculties of the whole man are brought into play in the process of interpretation, and if the work be not well done the evil is to be remedied, not by running artificial partitions through human nature, but by a harmonious culture and exercise of all the mental and moral powers. It is well enough to mention finally that Prof. Jowett fairly gives up his own theory when he tells us (p. 383) that "the same thing cannot be true in religion and untrue in science," thus virtually conceding, after all this sophistry about separating the moral sense from the intellect, that both may decide upon the truth or falsity of the same fact, and that their testimony must agree.

The essay on the "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England" is really a discussion of the Theory of Belief in the English Church. Rome (says the essayist) rests belief on the authority of the Church; and when the English Church shook off that yoke at the Reformation she attempted to substitute her own authority for that of Rome. The Laudian divines appealed to the authority of the Church of England as an adequate guarantee of the divinity and right interpretation of Scripture. But the Revolution of 1688 broke this staff; on what now should belief lean? The eighteenth century substituted reason for Church authority. The first part of that century worked on the internal evidences as manifest to the reason; Bishop Butler is the illustrious name of this epoch, and the "Analogy" the grand fruit of this effort. The last part of the century was devoted to the external evidences, and to that era we owe the works of Lardner and Paley.

In this effort to commend Christianity to reason, it is assumed that revealed religion completes what natural religion begins, and that man, when unbiased, will acknowledge this claim;

and hence, when he does not acknowledge it, moral obliquity is at once assigned as the cause. The author proceeds to show how some have thus rested belief on Church authority, some on reason; others again on the inward witness of the Spirit, and still others declare truth to be its own witness; and, finally, he thinks that whoever should attempt to show on what the Church in general now grounds its faith, would find that he had undertaken a difficult task.

We fully admit the author's statement that the eighteenth century did this good work; it demonstrated the impossibility of proving the supernatural by an appeal to the naked reason. It was a great mistake to attempt to make Christian theology an exact science, and the apologetic literature of that epoch is deeply tainted with this mistake. The cold blasts of the deism of that period so refrigerated the Church that it shrunk behind the wall of the external evidences for shelter. The divines of that period seem like distressed and bewildered mariners, who cast their cargo into the sea, and strip off the very rigging to save the ship; with this difference, however, that the ship, thus emptied and dismantled, seems hardly worth saving. It was assumed by them that men can be brought to believe in Christ as in Cesar or Socrates; in the miracles of the New Testament as in any other historic facts; and, finally, to assent to the truths of Christianity as they assent to the theorems of geometry. Unbelief would thus be not *wrong*, but *absurd*. If our veterans of that warfare had succeeded they would have demonstrated that there is no virtue in Christian faith, and that the last words of Christ on earth were most unjust words: "He that believeth shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned." This is one among the many instances where Christianity, had it been but human, would have been smothered in the embraces of its warmest friends. We experience the natural reaction from the Paleyan syllogism, in the ultra spiritualism of the modern Newmanite, and in these "Essays and Reviews." The pendulum has swung from Huet of the seventeenth century, who offered the world a geometric demonstration of Christianity, to Newman of the nineteenth, who asserts that reason has nothing whatever to do in proving the Gospel's claims upon man. Both extremities of the arc are equally distant from the plumb-line of truth. But these essayists assume that there is no path between the exclusive use and the utter abnegation of reason. They are very severe upon what they call the rationalistic extreme, the resting Christianity too much on the external evidences, and in this respect, amid all the mischief, they may perhaps do some little good; but they will unwittingly do more good by demonstrating in themselves the folly and absurdity of the spiritualistic extreme, the attempt to do without reason altogether. And between these centrifugal and centripetal ultraisms, theological opinion will at last find its regular and orderly orbit-curve.

A word or two now in regard to the presupposition from which this book and all its kindred set out. That presupposition may be concisely stated thus: "There is no supernatural influence in human affairs." Prof. Powell's essay even strongly intimates that there is no supernatural influence in the universe. The whole drift of this literature assumes that there is no spiritual power behind and above nature that uses nature for wise and holy ends. It does not deny God's existence, but denies his direct influence in nature and the affairs of men. "Miracles are impossible," is its axiom. Let a man open the Bible and undertake to interpret it whose mind is thoroughly impregnated with this axiom, and it is easy to see that he will make fearful havoc of its contents. He denies at the outset what the Bible assumes on every page. We are to bear in mind that we are treating now of a man who calls himself a Christian, who believes the Bible to be the world's great spiritual light, and in some sense a revelation from God. Now, to such a man, opening on these records of miracles that are scattered from the Pentateuch to the Apocalypse, there are just two alternatives: the writers were grossly deceived, or were gross deceivers; and in either case, how totally disqualified were they for the work to which he believes they were called by an all-wise Providence! Some choose one of these alternatives, some the other; and some vibrate between the two, according to the exigencies of the text in hand. Think of a man sitting down to write annotations on Cesar's Commentaries who had already fully made up his mind that Cesar never set foot in Gaul or Britain. Yet this is just the procedure that these essayists recommend as eminently rational and "progressive" in writing annotations on the New Testament history. Think of a man's picking up minute historical and critical objections to the alleged authorship of a book when his theory of interpretation *assumes* that the professed author never could have written it, whether these objections existed or not! Yet it is thus, for example, that Gesenius comments on Deuteronomy and Isaiah. The fact that the book of Deuteronomy predicts kings in Israel, is to him proof positive that its author lived as late at least as the time of Saul; the fact that Isaiah mentions Cyrus, perfectly satisfies him that at least a portion of the book called Isaiah was written during or after the reign of Cyrus; the fact that the last twenty-five chapters predict or assume a deliverance from the Babylonish captivity, makes it, with him, a critical axiom that they were written after the return from Babylon, and so he labels them as the work of the "Pseudo-Isaiah." And all this because to admit a real prophecy would be to admit a miracle. And this binding criticism hand and foot with such dogmatic presuppositions as these, this taking a book which has been received for ages as the work of one author, chopping it into fragments and scattering the mangled, disjointed limbs through half a dozen centuries at the whim and caprice of a theory, is what Dr. Hedge here commends as "resolute criticism!"

But Dr. Hedge tells us, in his introduction, that "criticism, guided by a true philosophy, is the key to revelation;" and we now see clearly enough what this "true philosophy" is. It is the philosophy that wholly denies the supernatural in human affairs. And if this be so, what do we want of any key? what revelation is there to unlock? what intelligible meaning can be attached to the word "revelation" in the light of this "true philosophy?"

Both the moral and the intellectual faculties, in full health and vigor, must be used in the discovery of religious truth. Reason is as necessary as faith, faith is as indispensable as reason.

Take, for instance, Luke's two narratives in the New Testament. Let reason read alone, and there are paradoxes or absurdities in almost every paragraph; there are motives and purposes that it cannot penetrate; there is a glow, a life that it cannot understand; above all, there is behind the whole a power which it never discovers, and it is not wonderful if reason, when spurning the aid of faith, pronounces the whole to be a fable, a myth, or an imposition.

But, on the other hand, let the aid of reason be spurned, and all the truthfulness of the narratives to human history and to human nature is lost to the reader. He reads of spiritual truth, but it is in the abstract; it is cold, it does not quicken and inspire. He sees truth bald and isolated, instead of being blended into the history, habits, manners, and language of living men, yea, into the very processes of nature. But let him come to the page with intellectual and moral faculties both alive, and he sees this same truth woven into the tissues of human life, intertwined among the very laws of nature, by myriads of subtle threads, that the toil of the critic, the historian, the antiquary, and the naturalist is ever freshly unraveling to our view. Who will rend out a fragment from a beautiful robe, and offer it to us as more beautiful than the robe itself? But let reason go forth with faith, and spiritual truth is no more seen alone, but surrounded by a crowd of witnesses. The cruel Herod, the dancing Herodias, the scornful Pilate, the bearded Stoic, the sleek Epicurean, the shouting Ephesians, the savage Lycaonians all stand forth as witnesses; yes, the very lilies of the field, the birds of the air, the stones of the temple, the beasts of the desert are witnesses. The earnest seeker spells out the truth he seeks from straggling inscriptions on broken arches and columns; he washes it from time-worn coins and medals; it is reflected on him from the pages of heathen historians, and from the edicts of heathen kings; it glances from the ruins of the Acropolis; it flashes in the spray that flies from the prow of the Alexandrian corn-ship, gliding "close by Crete;" it tinges every headland, gilds every isle of the glorious Ægean.

Faith is the right and reason the left wing of the soul, as she goes flying through the universe to find her Father. Let the right wing be crippled, and she veers around and falls upon the frozen waste of rationalism; let the left be broken, and she plunges into the fiery floods of superstition; but let each pinion be strong and fleet, and she lifts herself sublimely from earth, shuns the realms of ice and of fire on either hand, and soars home to her Father's bosom.

In another article we propose to examine the literature that has gathered around this volume, and glance again at the atheistic axiom which is simply expanded and illustrated in the "Essays and Reviews."

ART. II.—THE UNIVERSITY OF OTHO AND EDUCATION IN GREECE.

MORE than thirty years have elapsed since the independence of Greece was secured by the combined arms of her patriotic soldiers and of foreign sympathizers; about forty years since the struggle which led to this auspicious result was initiated. This period, short as it is compared with the whole lifetime of the nation, has witnessed an extraordinary change in the intellectual culture of the portion of the Hellenic race that has been subjected to the influence of the new economy. At the commencement of the present century, and for the two decades succeeding, a state of deplorable ignorance prevailed not in Greece alone, but on the islands, and wherever representatives of the Greek race were established. We need not for proofs of this peruse the pages of Leake and other observing travelers, who visited those regions less for the purpose of studying the character and manners of a degraded people than for that of making themselves familiar with the works of art of which they were the unappreciative possessors, and the sites of cities now fallen into ruin. Native writers, distinguished above their countrymen by superior talents and thirst for erudition, have left us the same testimony, with this difference, that their picture of the mental and moral depression of the masses is more minutely studied and darker in its leading traits. The clergy, the traditional conservators of learning during the Middle Ages, had almost to a man lost all taste for literature. From the cloisters of the monks came no report of diligent, though misapplied exertions. There were no more such students as those who, in the fifteenth century, issued from their retreats to spread through western Europe the knowledge of letters and the fine arts. The denizens of the numerous monasteries perched on the sides of Mount Athos, or "Hagion Oros," "the holy mountain," as it was more commonly called, were scarcely less noted for their ignorance and sloth than for the reputation of sanctity in which they were held by the common people. While scientific explorers from the West were examining and rifling their rich libraries of the most valuable of their manuscripts, the fat abbots felt no other solicitude than lest they might part with these useless treasures for a sum too much below that which a little additional haggling might have secured from the avidity of the mad Frank. The secular clergy were equally ignorant. No learned commentator comparable to Eustathius could be pointed out as occupying an archiepiscopal see. The prelates of Constantinople employed the advantages afforded to them by their superior station and revenues to dabble in politics, and, to do them justice, no more skillful intriguers could be found in all the Fanar.

Such being the dimness of the light issuing from the centers of influence, the darkness enveloping the lower orders of the population was appalling to the few who had reached such a point of cultivation as to be able fully to appreciate it. Their exertions for its removal were, we must admit, deserving of all commendation. Schools had been established in many places, although the lack of educated teachers too often compelled parents to intrust their children to incompetent instructors, such as Coraes was wont to deride and deplore in his works addressed to his countrymen. Even with such poor instruments, however, the work of enlightening the Greek mind was steadily advancing year by year, and the aged were already fond of contrasting the dawn, which greeted their dying eyes, with the thick darkness in which their childhood had been passed. The amelioration was most apparent in the islands, and those cities which, situated on the seaboard, were affected by the liberalizing influences of commerce and an intercourse with foreign nations. From their less sedentary population, a larger number of young men had visited the West for purposes of traffic, or had taken up their abode at the German, French, and Italian universities, to qualify themselves for stations of respectability and trust. These, on their return, in their personal intercourse, and even before their return, through their letters, communicated such glowing descriptions of the superior civilization of the great European nations as caused even those who remained at home to desire to rival their intelligence and power. Undoubtedly this had much to do with the eagerness with which the masses espoused the cause of Grecian independence, even when the burden of the Turkish administration was not felt to be oppressive; for to the loss of freedom they attributed their present degradation, and felt confidence that its recovery would bring in its train a repetition of their days of ancient glory. While this desire of intellectual progress was making itself felt among many of the more active and enterprising, others became absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, for whose acquisition unusual opportunities were afforded to the commercial communities of Chios, Hydra, Spetzia, Ipsara, and other conveniently situated ports.

We will not say that all the dreams of the patriots, founded upon the success of their struggle for independence, even those relating to education and literary distinction, have been realized. But it may be asserted, with strict conformity to truth, that of all their undertakings the measures of the Greeks to secure the advantages of free and ample public instruction to themselves and their children have proved by far the most successful. While the brief attempt at self-government under republican institutions was in no wise satisfactory, on account of the turbulent spirit of faction manifesting itself in the people, and the ambitious designs of the executive, and while the present monarchy has secured respect neither at home or abroad, those who have traced the development of the educational system of Greece cannot deny that it justly deserves the admiration of the world.

During the first few years that succeeded the conclusion of peace between Greece and Turkey all the efforts made to instruct the youth were the result of voluntary exertions. Among the first schools were those established by Rev. Jonas King and Rev. John H. Hill at Athens, and Rev. Messrs. Leyburn and Houston among the mountaineers of Maina. The results of the labors of these devoted missionaries were by no means inconsiderable, notwithstanding the hostility which the government was not slow in evincing to all institutions whose object was even suspected to be the introduction of a purer form of religion. As the means of instruction provided by the government increased, the schools founded by individuals became less indispensable to the literary development of the nation; but the American schools were not closed until, by the enforcement of a regulation making it obligatory upon the teachers to allow the catechism of the Oriental Church to be made a text-book, the very aim of their establishment was apparently frustrated.

Not a few of the pupils of the American missionaries are, however, at this moment occupying stations of influence, while the girls' school of Dr. Hill has continued to send out yearly a large number of highly accomplished graduates.

The present educational system of the Hellenic kingdom comprises a complete series of schools, commencing with those in which the merest rudiments of knowledge are imparted, and culminating in the university, which, framed on the model of the great academies of Western Europe, is designed to furnish the most thorough acquaintance with the arts and sciences. The superintendence of this extensive department is committed to the Minister of Public Instruction, who holds a seat in the king's cabinet. To his functions is very unwisely superadded the management of the bureau of ecclesiastical relations, and from this circumstance has arisen much of the bigotry which has characterized the management of the inferior schools. On the other hand the connection has not been effectual in giving a more liberal tone to the clergy.

It may be remembered, that among the questions which divided the Greek statesmen of the period immediately succeeding the independence of their country, was the selection of a site for the future capital. Ægina, Corinth, and Athens were prominent in the rivalry; and Nauplia, with its strong fortress, the Palamede, put forth no slight claim to this distinction. Finally, the beautiful position of Athens, "the eye of Greece," supported by the undying glory of its ancient history, secured the prize, and the commercial advantages of Corinth and its ports on either sea were disregarded. We must acknowledge that no scholar would have been gratified by any other decision, although, had the choice been left to men of practical views, we fear that the material importance of Corinth would have outweighed all the fame of the city of orators and poets.

The removal of the capital from its temporary to its permanent situation led at once to the concentration of the literary men and of educational establishments at the same point. Until this time the greatest facilities for the prosecution of study had been found on the island of Ægina, where a gymnasium had been for some time in existence. That faithful and patriotic teacher, Neophytus Doukas, was among its most successful, as he was certainly among its most self-sacrificing instructors. The government determined at once to organize an academic institute of the highest grade, which, in honor of the present king of Greece, was named "the University of Otho." It was believed that this establishment, attracting to itself not only the most distinguished of Greek scholars, but also many from abroad, would in the course of time obviate the necessity of a long and expensive sojourn in foreign lands, as well as furnish a training more in accordance with the requirements of the present condition of the country. In carrying this plan into execution the projectors of the university resolved to follow and reproduce, as far as practicable, the most successful of the systems prevailing in Europe. The German origin of the monarch, as also of most of his constitutional advisers, induced them to discard the "collegiate" system which has absorbed the "university" proper at Oxford and Cambridge, and the detached professional schools, which, scattered over France, constitute but one university for the entire kingdom, and to adopt the German plan, in which, while the various departments are distinct from each other, and present a separate curriculum of study, they are combined in one local institution, governed by a single council and rector. A healthy situation at the base of the lofty hill Lycabettus, which commands the Acropolis from the north-east, was chosen for the purpose of erecting an edifice sufficiently spacious to furnish lecture rooms for a large corps of professors, and halls for an extensive library, and the various museums necessary for instruction and research. The limited resources at the command of the government long delayed the completion of the building, of which for many years but one wing was ready for occupation. This contained not more than four or five lecture-rooms, in which over two hundred hours of instruction were weekly given by forty professors, on the various subjects allotted to their chairs. One single hall, in which the numerous lectures of the school of philosophy were chiefly delivered, was occupied uninterruptedly during the winter session from seven o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening. When the more distinguished and popular professors occupied the platform, it was an ordinary occurrence that three or four hundred persons were crowded in this ill-ventilated chamber. But since the whole building has been thrown open this serious inconvenience, so detrimental to health, has been obviated. In shape the university may be described as consisting of two parallel structures, united by a third, stretching from the middle of the first to the middle of the second. That which faces the city is decorated with a wide portico, built in imitation of the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis, and provided with short pillars resting on a wall, which half incloses it. The two elegant Ionic columns that grace the portal are monoliths of the resplendent white marble of Pentelicus, the rest of the walls being coated with stucco, according to the fashion of the better class of houses at Athens, where this mode of construction is admired and proves durable.

The professors and students are classified according to the subjects which they teach or study, and are embraced in the four schools of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy; but the numbers of instructors and pupils in these different departments are very unequal. Philosophy, both from the multitude of subjects it comprehends, as well as the great taste developed for some of its divisions, for instance, philology, antiquities, the art of inscriptions, history, chemistry, is by far the most frequented, and the body of professors nearly equals the number of those who officiate in the other three schools combined. The greatest number of matriculated students is, however, to be found in the departments of medicine and law, and theology stands quite in the background. Of forty-six professors, there were a year or two since twenty giving instruction in philosophy, or, as we should term it, the department of science and letters, twelve in medicine, eleven in law, and only three in theology. It is more difficult to estimate with accuracy the number of regular attendants upon the lectures, since the records of the university take into the account only those students who, intending to undergo, at the conclusion of a course of four or five years' study, the rigid examination required of applicants for degrees, have inscribed their names for that purpose in the office of the secretary. Of these, during the year to which we have made reference, there were 583, or 192 in medicine, 263 in law, 71 in philosophy, and only 28 in theology.* Here it must be noticed that the majority of those inscribed in the other departments attend one or more courses in philosophy. The total number of matriculated students must be understood to be at present far in advance of this recapitulation. It is probably not below seven hundred. But besides these *φοιτηταί*, as they are termed, there is a class of several hundred students who, although in constant attendance, have no intention to protract their term of study beyond one or two years, and make a selection of the branches which they prefer to pursue. We must still further notice a large and fluctuating class of persons, laying no claim to the title of students—merchants, mechanics, soldiers, and even day-laborers—who, in the vacant hours which they can find in the midst or at the conclusion of their daily toils, are wont to attend some course of more than ordinary interest to them. It was thus that at five or six o'clock every afternoon a crowded audience, partially composed of Athenians, engaged in other avocations than those of the closet, could be seen in the lecture-room of the late distinguished Professor Manouses, listening to his eloquent and stirring portraiture of the grand events of modern history. No stronger proof could be given of the thirst of the *people* for knowledge; none more convincing of the great utility of a national institution so entirely public in its character as to exclude none from its benefits.

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* There were twenty-nine additional students in the special school of pharmacy.

The body of professors, numbering at present over fifty in all the four faculties, consists of four grades of instructors. About one half are of the highest grade, or *ordinary* professors; the remainder belong to the classes of *extraordinary*, *honorary*, and *adjunct* professors, differing from each other in rank and emolument. Any graduate who has attained the degree of *διδάκτωρ*, or doctor, can, by applying for permission, be admitted to teach at such time and place as may be determined under the sanction of the university. His services are not remunerated unless, in consequence of his success in teaching, and his acceptable deportment, he attracts the special notice of the ministry of public instruction and religion, and is promoted to one of the lower grades in the professorial career. The ascent to the more conspicuous and better paid professorships is slow, and is, or ought to be, the reward of distinguished scholarship and skill in communicating knowledge. Let it not, however, be supposed that the Athenian professor has reached a position of great pecuniary worth. The government pays him only six hundred dollars a year as salary, and there are no perquisites. Yet it must be borne in mind that the expenses of living at Athens, or in any part of Greece, are exceedingly small. Many of the professors live with great simplicity, and occupy only a room a two, in which they manage to surround themselves with a host of books which the visitor finds much in his way when he penetrates into their literary sanctum. Books of reference are rarely to be met with outside of the valuable library of the university. Of the entire number of professors, there is but one who is not a native born Greek, the distinguished teacher of chemistry, Mr. Landerer, whose lectures, both from the entertaining and practically important nature of their subjects, and from the grace of their delivery, are among the most frequented of all the courses. A foreigner by birth, Professor Landerer is an adopted citizen of Greece; and, although his pronunciation betrays his German origin, his command of the language is so complete as to satisfy even the fastidious ears of the Athenians. Formerly there was no small representation of foreigners, and of Bavarians in particular, in the several faculties. But the odium attaching to the retention of so many aliens in the civil and military service of the state extended also to the precincts of the university, and the revolution of 1843 (or of the third of September, as it is commonly called) compelled the king to dismiss his countrymen from the chairs of instruction, as well as from his cabinet and body-guard. The education of the people, as well as their legislation and defense, must henceforth be intrusted to those of the same race. Yet no discrimination has, we believe, hitherto been made between "free" and "enslaved" Greece. At least several of the present professors are natives of Turkey and the Ionian Islands. This is in conformity with the intention of the government in founding the institution, which was to be a means for the elevation of the entire Greek nation, irrespective of geographical lines or local prejudices. It has therefore happened on more than one occasion that the number of matriculated students coming from without the kingdom has exceeded that of those from within its boundaries.

Of the professors as a body, it may be safely asserted that they are not only learned and thorough in their departments of instruction, but of liberal and enlightened sentiments, such as are the natural and legitimate fruit of familiar acquaintance with the religion, modes of thinking, and scientific advancement of other lands. Not a few have added to the acquirement of a complete system of education at home the advantage of study in the more celebrated universities of Germany or the professional schools of France. All, we believe, without exception, are masters of at least one or two of the languages of Western Europe. French, the universal language of polite society, is understood and spoken by all who lay a claim to enter the most intellectual circles of Athens, and German is found indispensable for the satisfactory prosecution of the studies of accurate scholarship. The importance of English is not sufficiently appreciated, and a smaller proportion of the professors are able to gain access to its rich literature. Upon the majority this intercourse with foreign nations, and familiarity with their philosophy, while it has freed them of bigotry and superstition, has, we fear, weakened the foundation of their religious convictions. Religion has ceased for them to be a motive power and a means of individual moral improvement; if not secretly rejected, it has degenerated into the mere bond of union, by whose means their national existence has been conserved through the long ages of barbarism, and is still to be protected in the minds of the ignorant. No open attacks, however, upon the truth of Christianity, or upon the dogmas of the Oriental Church, are possible where the care of religion and education is intrusted to a single ministry of government, and there are few avowed infidels. Some of the professors even lean to views which we regard as evangelical, and stand up nobly, when occasion offers, for the rights of private judgment, and of the profession of religious tenets within the limits of mutual respect and toleration.

Instruction is imparted in the University of Otho by lectures exclusively, if we leave out of consideration a single exercise intended for the training of students who are preparing to become teachers themselves. The mode of delivery varies, according to the character of the professor's elocution, from the slow and deliberate enunciation of Paparegopoulos to the rapid and indistinct discourse of Asopios. Some of the lectures are of a highly finished composition, prepared with scrupulous care as to their diction as well as their arrangement; while others, especially those which consist of comments upon classical authors, are from their very subjects more colloquial in their tone, and of less formal structure.

Notwithstanding this necessary diversity, these courses of lectures, influencing so large a number of cultivated auditors, become an important element in the gradual modification and improvement which is taking place in the spoken language. Through their means the ear of the Athenian student becomes accustomed to words and to forms of speech which, from their novelty, are unintelligible to the inhabitants of the provinces. But these same innovations, or returns to ancient usage, are carried by the graduates of the university, in the course of time, to the most distant parts of the country, and the very currency which they thus obtain opens the way for fresh alterations and still greater improvement. In this manner the professors are partly enabled, and partly compelled, to introduce very important modifications into the diction of their public discourses from year to year. There has been some danger, we must confess, that the language would be unduly influenced by the naturalization of idioms peculiar to the foreign tongues most familiar to the modern Greeks, and thus depart from its natural spirit. Yet the greater part of the changes have been the judicious revival of obsolete phraseology, or the invention of original expressions rendered necessary by the advance of the age. The pedantry of attempting, as it were, to galvanize the dead language of the men of twenty centuries ago, and give it a factitious existence, is rarely witnessed. The best modern Greek writers and scholars aim only at enriching their mother tongue, and rendering it, if possible, worthy of the illustrious language of which it is the offspring. Now and then, it is true, they make the ancient Greek the vehicle of their thoughts; but it is rather as a medium of communication with the learned of other lands, or to practice their powers by a species of intellectual feats of strength. As such we must view an ode presented by the Senate of the University to the king and queen of Greece a few months since on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage, a copy of which, forwarded by the prytanis, or president of the institution, lies before us. It was composed by Professor Philippos Ioannou, a senator, and the

President of the Athenian Archæological Society. It is written in the meters of the eighth of Pindar's Olympic Odes, whose Æolo-Doric dialect is closely imitated throughout five strophes, and as many antistrophes and epodes. To gratify the curiosity of any who may be desirous of comparing this modern imitation with the original of the Theban bard, we reprint the introductory lines:

> *'Αγρόταν Δίρκας ποτὶ νάμασι καὶ Κάδμου πύλαις*
> *Στυφλὰν ὀρύσσοντα χθόνα πρίν ποτε φαντί*
> *Ἔγκασιν γᾶς δηθάκι κευθομέναν φόρμιγγ' εὔπακτον ἀνευρεῖν,*
> *Τὰν ἑλελιζομέναν αὔραις ὕπο,*
> *Χειρί περ ἀθιγέα*
> *Βροτέᾳ, θαῦμ' ἐννέπειν,*
> *'Αδὲ' ἐξαχεῖν μέλη.*

The thoroughness of the instruction imparted in the University of Athens is guaranteed by the fine natural abilities and accurate scholarship of the principal professors of the four faculties. Until recently the department of theology boasted of two eminent scholars widely divergent in their views: Misael Apostolides, a vigorous writer, whose devotion to the party which may be styled the "High Church," or Russian, has been rewarded by his successive elevation to the bishopric of Patras, and within the present year to the metropolitan throne of Athens; and Theocletus Pharmakides, a far more exact and impartial explorer in the wide domain of ecclesiastical history, of whose activity in promoting the independence of the Church of Greece an account was given in a previous volume of this Review.* Of the professors in the law department Mr. Pellikas is perhaps the most eminent both for extensive acquirements and skill in the exposition of principles. As a lawyer, he is inferior to none of his many rivals, and he has distinguished him self more than once by his pleas in behalf of the principle of religious freedom consecrated by the constitution of his country. His acknowledged pre-eminence has been evinced by his selection as *prytanis*, or president of the University, an office of honor which is filled by members taken from the different faculties in turn. His predecessor was Misael Apostolides, and his successor Philippos Ioannou, of the school of philosophy.

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* In the number for October, 1857.

The last named occupies the chair of ethics. One of his most prominent colleagues is Professor Asopios, whose lectures on the Greek classics are the most frequented of all those in the department of philology. He has twice occupied the post of *prytanis*, and his discourses pronounced on the occasion of his assuming the office, as well as his more labored writings on syntax, and on the history and true character of Alexander the Great, display an extraordinary familiarity not only with the languages, but with the literature of other nations. The late Professor Manouses, the historian, and Professor Paparegopoulos, lecturing on the same theme, may be mentioned as among the more distinguished and popular instructors. Professor Rangabes combines the qualities, rarely found associated, necessary for the dramatic poet and the successful archæologist. In the medical school Professor Olympios, honored many years since with a complimentary degree by the university of this city, has the reputation of remarkable ability in the pursuit of his favorite branch.

Even a very limited acquaintance with the body of the students will convince a stranger that there is to be found in their midst the ordinary diversity of character and application. Their average age is very considerably in advance of that of the majority of the students in our American colleges, while their studies correspond very nearly to those which occupy the attention of our professional students in the schools of theology, medicine, and law, or in the course of their private reading. There is consequently more manliness than is to be expected from a younger age, and there is but little call for the exercise of discipline on the part of the government of the institution. The young men are even permitted to express their approbation by clapping of hands; and not infrequently the utterance of obnoxious political sentiments is the signal for a slight manifestation of disapproval in the way of stamping or scraping of the feet. In general, however, the utmost decorum prevails, and the interest of the pupils is evinced by the full and minute notes which they take. This laborious system, which is prosecuted by some during as many as six or seven different lectures on the same day, is unavoidable from the great lack of suitable textbooks in the Greek language. Almost all the important manuals in use are the productions of persons connected with the university, and it is a pleasing fact that the number is rapidly increasing from year to year. The students, finding no apartments in the public edifice of the institution, and being furnished with no colleges where they can live together, are scattered over the city. Few are possessed of any large pecuniary means, and it is only by exercising great frugality that the majority succeed in defraying their necessary expenses. A small room, ill-furnished, and by no means orderly in the arrangement of its scanty contents, is their home during the sessions of study, which generally extend from the month of October until that of June. Their meals the students procure in the restaurants and coffee houses, whose appearance is, even at the present time, not unlike that of similar establishments in Turkey.

The patriotism of private Greeks, at home and abroad, has striven to connect with the university all those accessories which are ordinarily combined with similar institutions in Europe. The library has already attained a size which places it in the first rank; the number of volumes, we believe, is at the present time between 100,000 and 125,000. It is augmented every year by the addition of several thousand new books. The nucleus of a museum of natural history, and a small cabinet of antiquities, some of them belonging to the medieval period, are also to be found in the university edifice. A numismatical collection, now embracing about 8,000 coins, it is intended to make the basis of a special museum which shall illustrate, by well-preserved specimens, the entire history of Greece, as also that of the principal other states of the ancient world. A circular, requesting contributions of valuable coins from all parts of Europe and America, has been recently sent to a number of literary men in both hemispheres. Another and more important foundation, auxiliary to the university, is that of the astronomical observatory, built and fully equipped with instruments by the liberality of a single wealthy merchant residing in Austria. It crowns the summit of the former "Hill of the Nymphs," and commands an extensive view of the plain of Athens.

We have devoted our attention hitherto exclusively to the university, or "*Panepistemion*" as it is termed. Our view of that institution will not be complete without a glance at the inferior grades of schools which constitute a preparation for it.

The *gymnasia*, corresponding in their character partly to our high schools and partly to our colleges, stand next in order. Here instruction is given not by lectures, but by recitations, and the attention of some of the most able and thorough teachers in Greece is devoted to their management. It is the intention of the government that there shall be at least one gymnasium in the capital of each of the ten *nomes*, or provinces, into which the kingdom is divided; but as yet it has succeeded in establishing only seven gymnasia, of which two are in the city of Athens, and the remainder at Nauplia, Patræ, and Tripolis, in Peloponnesus, at Lamia, on the borders of Turkey, and Hermopolis, on the island of Syra. There were recently 1,124 scholars in the gymnasia, taught by 50 professors. Their instructions do not comprehend philosophy and the sciences in general; but the study of the ancient classics, and of the Greek language in particular, is prosecuted as it is in most of our colleges.

Next come the *Hellenic* schools, 79 in number, with 155 teachers and assistants, and 5,342 scholars. And to those schools which are supported by government are to be added 12 private schools of the same rank for boys, with 718 pupils, and 10 girls' schools, with 900 pupils. Below these again are the *demotic*, or common schools, in which the rudiments of all science are imparted; of these there should be one in each *demus*, or canton. They number 458, with 533 teachers, and 42,353 scholars of both sexes. The 32 private institutions of the same grade comprehend 42 teachers and 2,880 scholars. In some places there are primary, or *reading* schools, distinct from the demotic; they amount to 300 for the entire kingdom, and contain about 10,000 children. From the Report of the Minister of Public Instruction and Religion, made in the year 1859, from which the foregoing statement is drawn, it is seen that there were at the commencement of that year 64,061 pupils attending 901 institutions of learning, and taught by over 1,200 teachers. The numbers are creditable and encouraging for a kingdom which boasts little over a million inhabitants, and which has so recently entered upon a course of systematic improvement. And it should not be forgotten that besides the series of educational establishments of which mention has been made, there are several which, from their peculiar character, cannot be enumerated among them. For instance, there is provision made for the theological training of candidates for orders, in four schools entirely distinct from the theological department of the university, and one hundred and four pupils were in attendance upon these. There are likewise agricultural, military, and polytechnic colleges, some of which have met with signal success.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—Since the foregoing article went to press the Greek journals have brought us the intelligence of recent commotions, both in the university and the gymnasium of Athens, in consequence of which the government has ordered both institutions to be temporarily closed. Intelligent Athenians deplore the necessity of such a step, entailing upon many a student the loss of an entire year. The disturbances seem to be connected with the formidable rebellion which has broken out in Nauplia among the soldiers quartered in that important town. Unhappily, we have little reason to anticipate any advantage either to the cause of civilization or religion from the success of a movement headed by ambitious and bigoted demagogues. The Bishop of Mantinea, who stands convicted by common report of having taken an active part in it, of having sprinkled the conspirators with consecrated water, and administered the oath to them, is a prelate most decided in his hostility to evangelical religion and its advocates. When, by the exertions of the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the sacred Scriptures had been distributed in the cells of the common prison of Tripolis, (Tripolitza,) in Arcadia, a year since, it was this false pastor who tore from the hands of the degraded convicts the pages of the Word of life which solaced their solitude and comforted their troubled hearts. To such impiety he added hypocritical measures, in order to secure all the copies of the Bible which might have been bought by the peasantry of his diocese. From such a source can come no remedy for the evils of a bad administration of government and a worse system of religious training.

ART. III.—THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

TRANSLATED, ARRANGED, AND ANNOTATED.

ACT (day) I.

(Part) Scene I. (Chapter i, 2–4.)

TIME. Fifth day before marriage. Morning.
PERSONS. Shulammith, (the bride elect,) her attendants, and charioteer; in the distance Solomon, attendants, and companions.
PLACE. An eminence on the way to the Palace, overlooking the company awaiting.

SHULAMMITH.

2 May he kiss me with the kisses of his mouth.[1]
For better[2] are thy tokens of endearment than wine.

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[1] That is, may our greetings be of the most affectionate and sincere character.

[2] Query. More exhilarating, intoxicating.

3 For odor thy ointment is excellent.
Ointment poured forth is thy name;
Therefore do the maidens love thee.
(To her charioteer.)
4 Move on.[1]

LADIES AND ATTENDANTS, *(to the charioteer.)*

After thee we will hasten.[2]
(Exeunt omnes.)

(Part) Scene II. (Chapter i, 4–8.)

TIME, PERSONS, AND PLACE. A room in Solomon's Palace, (the Harem)—Shulammith with the Ladies of the Harem taking a survey of the apartment.

SHULAMMITH *(to Ladies of Harem.)*

The king hath caused me to enter his chamber:

LADIES OF HAREM, *(apostrophising Solomon.)*

Heartily will we rejoice and be glad in thee.[3]
We will remember thy tokens of endearment more than wine.

SHULAMMITH, *(aside.)*

Sincerely do they love thee.[4]
(To the Ladies.)
5 I am dark—

LADIES, *(interrupting.)*

Yet beautiful.

SHULAMMITH, *(not noticing or regarding the interruption.)*

O daughters of Jerusalem!
As are the tents of Kedār,
As are these curtains[5] of Solomon.
6 Ye will not look with delight upon me because I am swarthy;
Because the sun hath scorched me.
The sons of my mother were angry with me, they set me as keeper of the vineyards.
My own vineyard, even my own I have not kept.
(She pauses thoughtfully, and then proceeds.)
7 Tell me, O thou that lovest my soul,
Where thou feedest,
Where thou causest thy flocks to lie down at noon?

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[1] *Q. d.* Draw me onward, let me advance, *drive on.*

[2] *Q. d.* Yes, proceed; we will follow after the chariot.

[3] Sc. "O Solomon."

[4] Query. Referring to and affirming line 5.

[5] Query. The tapestry round the walls of the rooms, or the curtains of the bed.

For why should I be as a vailed one,[1]
Near the flocks of thy companions.

LADIES OF THE HAREM.

8 If thou dost not thyself know,
O most beautiful among women!
Go thou thyself in the tracks of the flocks,
Even feed thy kids near the tents of the shepherds.[2]
(*Exeunt omnes.*)

(*Part*) *Scene III.* (Chapter i, 9–16; Chapter ii, 1–6.)

Time. Fifth day before marriage. Evening.
Place. Room, door open, showing green grass-plot surrounded and enriched by costly and variegated flowers.
Persons. Shulammith and Solomon, their respective attendants and Ladies of the Harem, all seated around near Shulammith and Solomon.

SOLOMON.

9 To a superb steed[3] in the chariots of Pharaoh
Do I compare thee, my spouse.
10 Beautiful are thy cheeks with rows (of pearls.[4])
Thy neck with strings (of gems.[5])
11 Bands of gold will we make for thee,
With studs of silver.

SHULAMMITH, (*aside.*)

12 So long as that the king is in his divan[6]
My spikenard diffuses its odor.[7]
13 A bag of myrrh is my beloved to me,
Between my breasts shall it lie.

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[1] *Q. d.* Why like a harlot should I seek thee, etc. (Gen. xxxviii, 15.)

[2] *Q. d.* Assume the garb and occupation of a shepherdess, etc. It may be literally understood as a direction to go (apparently on her own business, but really to) seek him in his accustomed place of business, etc., among the people. Kings are often compared to shepherds, (ποιμενες,) and their subjects to flocks.

[3] י is here doubtless paragogic, points out superiority. Literally, "a mare."

[4] "The golden diadem binding the forehead, and dropping from each extremity of the polished temples a roleau of pearls, which, after traversing the cheeks, unite below the chin," etc.—*De Quincey*, from Hartman, Toilette of a Hebrew Lady.

[5] The Hebrew women wore necklaces composed of multiple rows of pearls or precious stones, or coral and golden chains, which fell down to the girdle.—Ib., and Bruyn's Travels.

[6] That is, the company of persons seated around the room.

[7] That is, I rejoice and am soothed as in the midst of perfumes, or, "the influence of my attractions is increasingly great upon him."

14 To me is my beloved a cluster of alhenna
In the vineyard of Engeddi.

SOLOMON.

15 Behold, thou art fair, my spouse;
Behold, thou art fair; thine eyes are doves!

SHULAMMITH.

16 Behold, thou art nobly beautiful, my love, even a delight!
Yea, more; our flower beds are vigorously putting forth their leaves;[1]
Our carved work is of cypress: *(She pauses.)*
(Rising.)
1 I am a narcissus of the field,
A lily of the valley.[2]

SOLOMON, *(also rising.)*

2 As the lily among thorns,
So is my consort among the daughters.
(He slowly retires.)

SHULAMMITH, *(musing.)*

3 As the citron-tree among the trees of the forest,
So is my beloved among the youths.
(To her Ladies.) *(Exeunt Solomon and retinue.)*
In its deep shade I desire that I may sit down,
And its fruit is sweet to my taste.
4 He hath brought me to his house of wine,
And his banner over me is love.[3]
5 Refresh me with confections,[4]
Revive me with citrons,
For I am faint with love.[5]
6 Would that his left arm were under my head,
And his right arm were embracing me.
(Exeunt omnes.)

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[1] *Q. d.* And that is not all, for thou hast caused these flowers to spring forth, and these apartments to be thus elegantly carved and decorated for me.

[2] *Q. d.* I am unworthy of all this, and of thee. I am but as a simple, unpretending, humble flower from the open fields, a mere meadow flower.

[3] That is, his love like a banner waves over me—is the cause of my submissive delight and obedient homage.

[4] Cakes of grapes or raisins.

[5] My love relaxes my powers; the strength of my affection produces faintness, and overcomes me with delicious softness.

Act (day) II.

(*Part*) *Scene I.* (Chapter ii, 7–16.)

Time. Fourth day before marriage. Early morn.
Persons and Place. Shulammith in her chamber, the lattice closed: Solomon without (in the court?) under the Palace windows.

SOLOMON, (*without.*)

7 I adjure ye, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the antelopes,
Or by the hinds of the field,
That ye awake not, that ye arouse not the beloved until that she desire it.[1]

SHULAMMITH, (*starting to the window.*)

8 The voice of my beloved;
Behold, he hath come![2]
Leaping upon the mountains,
Springing upon the hills:
9 My beloved is like a roe,
Or a young antelope.
Behold him standing behind our wall,
Looking in at the windows;
Glancing through the lattice.
10 My beloved addresses me, and says:
"Rise, my consort, my fair one, and come away,
11 For, lo, the winter is over;
The rain hath passed by, hath ceased.
12 The flowers appear upon the earth,
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our grounds;
13 The fig-tree ripens[3] its winter-green figs,[4]
And the vines are in blossom; they emit their fragrance.
Arise; come, my consort, my fair one, come away;
14 My dove, in the clefts[5] of the rock, in the secret places of the precipices
Let me behold thy form,[6]
Let me hear thy voice,
For thy voice is sweet, and thy form is comely."

---

[1] Or, "until she herself pleases."

[2] Literally, "this (one) hath come;" or perhaps, "Lo, here he comes," etc.

[3] Literally, "spices;" that is, fills with its sweet aromatic juice.

[4] That is, figs that have hung on the trees over winter.

[5] Literally, "refuges," "asylums."

[6] *Q. d.* Thou art now hiding like a dove in the clefts of the rock, in the secret recesses of a precipice; but show thyself now; let me see thee, etc.

SHULAMMITH, (*modestly declining, asks as a favor.*)

15 Catch for us the foxes,
The young foxes which destroy the vines,
Even our vines when in blossom.
16 My beloved is mine, and I am his;
Who delighteth[1] in lilies.
17 Until that the day breathes,
And the shadows lengthen,
Turn thou to the chase; be thou (in agility) like the roe,
Or the young antelope upon the craggy mountains.[2]

(*Exeunt omnes.*)

(*Part*) *Scene II.* (Chapter iii, 1–4.)

Time. Fourth day before marriage. Late at night.
Persons and Place. Shulammith in her chamber laments the absence of Solomon,[3] who, since morning, has not visited her.

SHULAMMITH, (*sola.*)

1 Upon my couch in the night
I may seek him whom my soul loveth.
I may seek him and not find him.
2 I will arise now and go round in the city;
In the streets and in the broad ways
Will I seek him whom my soul loveth.

(*She pauses as in reflection.*)

I might seek him and not find him.

(*Another pause.*)

3 The watchmen going their rounds in the city would find me.
(I might ask them,) "Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?"
4 It might be little that I should pass from them[4]
Until I should find him whom my soul loveth.
I would lay hold upon him and not let him go,
Until that I had brought him to the house of my mother,
Even unto the chamber of her that conceived me.

(*She retires to her couch.*)

---

[1] Literally, "feedeth."

[2] That he may not feel too keenly her refusal, she covertly suggests the evening interview.

[3] Query. Was Solomon in the morning interview offended at her refusal to accompany him, and hence his absence? or had he been belated in the chase?

[4] That is, I might go but a little way from them before, etc.

ACT (day) III.

(*Part*) *Scene I.* (Chapter iii, 5.)

TIME. Third day before marriage. Early morn.
PERSON AND PLACE. Solomon outside the Palace.

SOLOMON, (*without.*)

5 I adjure ye, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the antelopes,
Or by the hinds of the field,
That ye awake not, that ye arouse not the beloved until that she desire it!

(*Receiving no response, Solomon withdraws.*)

(*Part*) *Scene II.* (Chapter iii, 6–11.)

TIME AND PLACE. Later in the forenoon. Shulammith looks from the window and beholds a palanquin approaching.
PERSONS. Shulammith and Ladies of the Harem.

SHULAMMITH.

6 What[1] is this ascending from the open country,
Like columns[2] of smoke?
The smoking incense of myrrh and frankincense
From every (odoriferous) powder of the merchant.

LADIES OF HAREM.

7 Lo! it is his palanquin; Solomon's own;[3]
Sixty mighty men surround it,
Selected from among the heroes of Israel;
8 Every one of them grasping a sword,
Expert in war; each with his sword upon his thigh.
Each one without fear, even at night.

SHULAMMITH.

9 A palanquin?[4]

---

[1] "Who," more literally; but the gender of זֹאת shows the reference to be to the palanquin, (fem.,) and מִי (mas.,) is used doubtless as implying the person within it. The vehicle was one with which she seems not to have been very familiar. Its construction was perhaps peculiar, or it might be indistinctly seen by reason of distance, the fumes of the incense, or the crowd of retainers around it.

[2] I conjecture תִּימְרוֹת to be here for the absolute, not construct form, and would translate, "Like columns is the smoke," etc.

[3] That is, Solomon's private palanquin, for his own special service. The ladies call it מִטָּה.

[4] אַפִּרְיוֹן is the name given it by Shulammith. I query now if this be not a name given it as well by the Canaanites or Phœnicians as by the Hebrews, while

LADIES OF THE HAREM.

King Solomon made it for himself
Out of trees from Lebanon.
10 Its pillars hath he made[1] of silver;
Its curtained canopy[2] is of cloth of gold;
Its seat is of purple;
Its central floor is delightfully tessellated[3]
From (the looms of) the daughters of Jerusalem.

SHULAMMITH.

11 Go forth! Gaze, O daughters of Zion, at King Solomon,
At the diadem wherewith his mother crowned him
In the day of his espousals,
Even in the day of his heart's gladness.[4]

(*The Ladies go to take a view of the pageant, (from the terrace,) Shulammith remaining at the window.*)

(*Part*) *Scene III.* (Chapter iv, 1–8.)

TIME. Late in the forenoon. Third day before marriage.
PERSONS AND PLACE. As Solomon draws nearer, Shulammith, in her desire to view the procession, unwittingly brings her person more into view, her vail also being slightly drawn aside, which, Solomon observing, causes a halt beneath the window, and thus praises her beauty:

SOLOMON.

1 Behold, thou art beautiful, my consort; behold, thou art beautiful!
Thine eyes are doves,
(Looking out) from behind thy vail;[5]
Thy hair is like a flock of goats,[6]
Which are descending from Mount Gilead;

מִטָּה (v. 118) is strictly Hebrew; hence Shulammith seems not at first to have understood what they meant. *Q. d.* And now as I see it more clearly I understand *you*; it is a palanquin, called in our tongue אַפּ. The root of this latter word is very widely disseminated, both in the Semitic and Indo-Germanic families.

[1] Query, Plated.

[2] רְפִידָה, "sides," (Ges. Lex.;) "sides and back," (Analyt. Lex.;) *ανακλιτον*, (LXX;) "reclinatorium," (Vulg.) Yet I cannot but think that the *cloth spread over the wooden frame-work, and falling in folds all around*, is intended, the root meaning "to spread," "to strew," etc. What more magnificent than cloth of gold for this purpose, for canopy and curtains?

[3] That is, covered with checkered carpet, lovely in color and arrangement.

[4] Or in (this) the day of his espousals. In (this) the day of his heart's gladness.

[5] Query. "Locks," "tresses." The root means: 1. To braid; 2. *To cover*.

[6] Wavy, with dark, glistening, curling tresses.

2 Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep smoothly shorn,[1]
Which—all of them—are paired,[2] and no one is bereft;
3 Thy two lips are like a thread,
And thy mouth lovely;
Like cuttings of pomegranates are thy cheeks
Behind thy vail.
4 Thy neck is like the tower of David,
Built to support the armor;
A thousand shields are suspended upon it,[3]
All shields of mighty men;
5 Thy two nipples are like twin fawns of the antelope,
Delighting themselves in lilies;
6 Until that the day breathes past,
And the shadows lengthen,
I shall betake myself to the mountains of myrrh,
And to the hill of frankincense.

(*He pauses as in meditation.*)

7 Thou art altogether beautiful, my consort,
And there is not a blemish in thee!
8 O that with me, from Lebanon, my spouse,
With me from Lebanon, thou wouldst come and look,[4]
(Wouldst look[4]) from the top of Amana,
From the summit of Shenir and Hermon,
From the lions' den,
And from the leopard mountains.

(*Exeunt Solomon and retinue. Exeunt omnes.*)

(*Part*) *Scene IV.* (Chapter iv, 9–16; v, 1.)

Time and Place. Third day before marriage. Evening; apartment of Shulammith.

Persons. Shulammith and Ladies of the Harem. Solomon and his retinue, or companions.

SOLOMON.

9 Thou hast carried captive my heart,[5] my sister spouse,
With one of thine eyes hast thou taken my heart,

---

[1] It is not difficult to see the appositeness of this figure. What can better express the beauty and regularity of a good set of teeth than a distant view of a flock of white sheep, as, close one after the other, they wind up a steep bank from the river where just washed, their healthy soundness being indicated by their non-bereavement—"pairs."

[2] Literally, "twins."

[3] That is, as trophies of conquest.

[4] Or, "take a survey."

[5] Literally, "thou hast hearted me;" that is, thou hast taken from me my heart, seized upon my affections. Compare our idiom, "He barked the tree;" that is, he stripped the bark off the tree.

With a single strand of thy neck chain.[1]
10 How pleasant are thy tokens of endearment, my sister spouse,
How much more excellent thy tokens of endearment than wine,
And the odor of thy unguents than all aromatics!
11 Liquid myrrh do thy lips distill, my spouse!
Honey and milk are under thy tongue;
The odor of thy garments is like the fragrance of Lebanon;
12 A garden inclosed[2] is my sister spouse;
A fountain shut up—a fountain sealed.
13 Thy offshoots[3] form a garden of pomegranates,
With fruits most precious.
Al-henna with spikenard.
14 Spikenard and saffron—calamus and cinnamon,
With all the trees of frankincense,
Myrrh and aloes;
With all the best of the spices.
15 A fountain of gardens,
A well of living waters,
Which flows from Lebanon.[4]
16 Awake, O north wind! and come, O south breeze!
Breathe upon my garden, and let its spices flow out!

SHULAMMITH.

My love shall enter his garden,
And shall eat his most precious fruit.

SOLOMON.

1 Should I enter my garden, my sister spouse,
I would pluck my myrrh with my balsam,
I would eat my honeycomb with my honey,
I would drink my wine with my milk.
(Then would I say,) "Eat, comrades!
Drink and be merry, beloved ones!"
(*Exeunt omnes.*)

---

[1] *Q. d.* "Thy slightly-opened vail suffers only a part of thy fair countenance to be seen. Yet that small part, though but a cheek or an eye, ravishes my heart; yea, when the still smaller opening of thy vail suffers but a single link of thy necklace to be seen, that single link partly inclosing thy beauteous neck fills me with rapture."

[2] Query: Thou art so inclosed in thy vail that thy delightful person is not visible, etc.

[3] Literally, "sprouts;" Eng. vers., "plants."

[4] That is, pure and refreshing as a mountain spring or stream.

ACT (day) IV.

(*Part*) *Scene I.* (Chapter v, 2–16, and vi, 1–3.)

TIME AND PLACE. Second day before marriage. Morning. Shulammith's chamber.
PERSONS. Shulammith, Ladies, Attendants.

SHULAMMITH, (*recounting her dream.*)

2 I slept, but my heart was awake.[1]
(Methought I heard with rapture)
The voice of my beloved, as knocking,[2] (he said:)
"Open unto me, my sister, my consort, my dove, my innocent,
For my head is full of dew,
My forelocks are full of the dew-drops of night."
3 (I replied:) "I have put off my garments,
How shall I clothe myself?
I have washed my feet, why should I soil them?"
4 My beloved withdrew his hand from the door-way,[3]
And my bosom heaved with tender regret for him.
5 I myself arose to open to my beloved,
And my hands distilled myrrh,
And the myrrh overflowed from my fingers
Upon the handles of the bolt.
6 I myself opened to my beloved;
But my beloved had turned away, had departed;
My soul went forth to speak with him;[4]
I sought him, but found him not;
I called him, but he answered me not.
7 The watchmen going their rounds in the city smote me, wounded me,
Took my vail from upon me;
Thus did the watchmen of the walls.
8 I adjure ye, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,—
Would that ye would find my beloved!
What will ye say to him?[5]
(Say to him) That I am faint with love.

---

[1] That is, my imagination was awake; affections and thought active; that is, I dreamed. With them the heart was the seat of the mind.

[2] Or, "The voice of my beloved while he knocked," etc.

[3] Literally, "hole." Query, "key-hole." The idea is that he withdrew from the door, or perhaps ceased to try the latch.

[4] Or, "I went forth to speak to him."

[5] *Q. d.* "Do you ask what you shall say to him when you find him? say," etc.

LADIES.

9 What is thy beloved above another beloved,
Most beautiful among women!
That thou dost thus adjure us?

SHULAMMITH.

10 My beloved is dazzlingly fair and ruddy;
Illustriously conspicuous among ten thousand:
11 His head[1] is like pure gold,
His forelocks are like waving branches,[2]
Black as a raven;
12 His eyes are like doves by the rivers of waters,
Bathing[3] in milk,
Sitting by full streams;
13 His cheeks are as beds of spice,[4]
Beds of aromatics;
His lips are as lilies,
Dropping down liquid myrrh;
14 (Upon) his hands are rings of gold,
Set with gems of Tarshish;
His body-vest is as of wrought ivory,
Covered with sapphires;
15 His limbs are like columns of white marble,
Founded upon bases of pure gold;[5]
His appearance is like Lebanon,
Elegant as its cedars;
16 His palate is sweets,
And his whole person is loveliness;
This is my beloved; yea, this is my consort,
O ye daughters of Jerusalem!

LADIES.

1 Whither can thy beloved have gone,
O fairest among women?
Whither can thy beloved have turned?
(Tell us) that with thee we may seek him.

---

[1] Query. His head-piece; that is, his helmet.
[2] That is, like pendulous, flexible boughs.
[3] Washing, laving themselves; the pupils surrounded by milky whiteness.
[4] Perhaps the balsam plant.
[5] Shoes embroidered with gold.

SHULAMMITH.

2 My beloved may have descended to his garden,
To the beds of balsam plants,
To delight in his garden,
And to gather lilies.
3 I am my beloved's, and mine is my beloved,
Who delighteth in lilies.

(*Exeunt.*)

(*Part*) *Scene II.* (Chapter vi, 4–12, and vii, 1.)

TIME. Second day before marriage. Evening.
PERSONS AND PLACE. Shulammith and Ladies. Solomon and attendant retinue. Apartment of Shulammith.

SOLOMON.

4 Thou art beautiful, my spouse, as Tirzah;
Comely as Jerusalem,
Terrible as an army with banners![1]
5 Turn away thine eyes from me,
For they overcome me;
Thy hair is like a flock of goats,[2]
Which are descending from Mount Gilead;
6 Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep smoothly shorn,
Which are coming up from the washing-place,
Which, all of them, are paired,
And no one is bereft;
7 Like cuttings of pomegranates are thy cheeks,
Behind thy vail;
8 Sixty are they — the queens —
And eighty are the concubines,
And the damsels innumerable;
9 She only is my dove, my perfect;
She, her mother's only one,[3]
She, the delight of her parent.
The daughters of Jerusalem saw her,
The queens and the concubines, and they (thus) praised her:[4]

---

[1] Or, "Terrible as bannered ranks;" that is, formidable, conquering, victorious over every heart. Query. "Dazzling."

[2] See line 139, et seq.

[3] Literally, "she alone (only) is to her mother;" that is, her mother's darling, not her only daughter. (See line 364.)

[4] "Extolled," or "they thus uttered her praises."

10 "Who is this that looketh forth as the morning,
Fair as the moon, brilliant[1] as the sun,
Terrible as (an army) with banners?"
11 'To a garden of filberts I had descended,[2]
To look at[3] the verdure of the brookdale,
To see whether the vine had blossomed,
Whether the pomegranate flowered;
12 Suddenly, unawares[4]
I placed myself
In the chariot of my generous people.

(*Shulammith rises, and turns to retire.*)

COMPANIONS OF SOLOMON, (the עַמִּי נָדִיב?)

1 Return, return, O Shulammith!
Return, return, and let us feast (our eyes) upon thee!

LADIES.

How will ye feast (your eyes) upon Shulammith?

COMPANIONS OF SOLOMON.

As upon the mazes[5] of the heavenly host!

(*Exeunt.*)

ACT (day) V.

(*Part*) *Scene I.* (Chapter vii, 2–6.)

TIME. First day before marriage. Morning.
PERSONS AND PLACE. Shulammith—Ladies of Harem. Shulammith's apartment.

LADIES.

2 How beautiful are thy feet

(*Describing Shulammith's dress.*)

---

[1] "Clear."

[2] Does he here answer the question, "Where have you been?"

[3] Contemplate; (meditate upon.)

[4] Literally, "I knew not—my soul set me—chariots of a עַמִּי נָדִיב." This is a very difficult passage. Gesenius renders it: "I knew not—my soul made me as the chariots of a princely train," thus making י in עַמִּי paragogic on const. sing., a very dubious expedient. The meaning, I apprehend, to be this: that at the remembrance of her charms, while making the inspection referred to, sudden desire so overwhelmed him, that in a kind of dreamy and confused unconsciousness as to the attractiveness and beauty of everything around him, almost unconscious of what he did, he, under a sudden and vehement impulse, ascended the chariot, and with his generous (willing) retainers or companions hastened to the presence of the object of his absorbing affections. It might perhaps be rendered, "I knew not (unconscious) my soul (vehement desire) made me (sc. to hasten to thee more swiftly than move) the chariots of my willing people, (retainers or companions.")

[5] Literally, "dances;" (root חוּל, to whirl;) Eng., whirlings, intricacies, mazes.

In these shoes,[1] O generous daughter;
Thy drawers[2] are (worked) like a necklace,
The work of an artist's hands;
3 Thy girdle[3] clasp is like a round goblet,
Which is full of wine;[4]
Thy body-vest is like a sheaf of wheat,
Bound round with lilies;
4 Thy two breasts are like two twin fawns, the twins of the antelope;
5 Thy neck is like a tower of ivory;
Thine eyes like the pools of Heshbon,
Near the gate of Bath-rabbim.
6 Thy nose is like the tower[5] of Lebanon,
Which looketh toward Damascus;
Thy head is like to Carmel;[6]
The tresses of thy head are as woven purple;[7]
The king is fettered by the locks.[8]
(*Exeunt.*)

(*Part*) *Scene II.* (Chapter vii, 7–14, and viii, 1–8.)

Time. Day before marriage. Evening.
Persons and Place. Solomon, Shulammith, and respective attendants, in Shulammith's apartment.

SOLOMON.

7 How fair, yea, how sweet art thou,
My beloved, with delights!
8 This thy stature resembles the palm-tree,
And thy breasts are like clusters of dates.
9 I said: "I will ascend the palm,
I will lay hold upon its branches."
And let now thy breasts be as clusters of the vine,
And the odor of thy breath[9] as (the fragrance) of citrons.

---

[1] Slippers that covered the entire foot are still to be seen on many of the principal figures on the monuments of Persepolis.

[2] Literally, "Thigh concealers."

[3] Or, "buckle."

[4] That is, set with rubies.

[5] Query. From which the watchers (the eyes) look toward Damascus. May not this, however, refer to the buttress of the tower on the Damascus side?

[6] That is, rising like that mountain in shape, and rough with jewels as that mountain is with protuberances.

[7] Or, "The plaiting of thy head (hair) is like braids of purple."

[8] "Curls," "tresses," or "braided hair"—fascinated, captivated thereby.

[9] Literally, "Odor of thy nose," by metonomy for "Odor of thy breath."

10 And let thy palate[1] be as excellent wine flowing straight to
my beloved,
Gently stealing o'er the lips of sleepers.

SHULAMMITH, (*aside.*)

11 I am my beloved's,
And upon me is his desire.[2]

SOLOMON.

12 Come, my beloved, let us go to the fields;
Let us pass the night in the hamlets;[3]
13 At early morn let us go to the vineyards;
Let us examine whether the vine puts forth, or its blossoms
open,
Whether the pomegranates flower;
There will I give my loves[4] to thee.
14 The mandrakes diffuse their odor,
And above our portals[5] all most delicious (fruits)—
The new as well as the old—
For thee, my love, have I laid in store.

SHULAMMITH.

1 O that thou wert to me as a brother,
Sucking the breasts of my mother;
Should I find[6] thee without I might kiss thee,[7]
Yet would they not contemn me.

---

[1] "Salutations, greetings, etc.," a metonymical expression. This most difficult passage (320 and 321) is variously rendered. Gesenius, "Thy palate is like sweet wine flowing straight to my beloved; gently stealing o'er the lips of sleepers." Park., "As good wine causes the lips of those that sleep to mutter or murmur, (as in dreams.") The LXX and Vulgate read שִׁנַּיִם, "teeth," instead of יְשֵׁנִים, "sleepers." We have given substantially the rendering of Gesenius, but would suggest nevertheless the following:

"Let thy salutation be as excellent wine, flowing on account of my love to the upright,
Moving the lips of sleepers;"

that is, let the kiss with which thou shalt salute me be as cheering and exhilarating as the excellent wine, which, on account of my regard for them, I give to the upright; yea, let it be such as would move even the lips of sleepers with delight, or would move even the lips of sleepers to respond, so thrilling and hearty, yet gentle be the touch of thy lips. (See also line 246 as to "palate," and 336.)

[2] That is, his affections are fixed upon me.

[3] Or, "villages."

[4] דּוֹדַי, tokens of endearment or affection.

[5] Or, "doors," "gates." Query. In a store-room over the gate.

[6] Or, meet.

[7] Has this any bearing upon line 320, etc.?

2 I might conduct thee,
I might bring thee to the house of my mother (who) brought me up;[1]
I might give thee to drink of spiced wine,
Of wine of the pomegranate.
(*Aside.*) (*She rises to retire.*)
3 (Yea,) his left arm might be under my head,
And his right arm might embrace me.
(*Exeunt.*)

ACT (day) VI.

(*Part*) *Scene I.* (Chapter viii, 4.)

TIME. Marriage day—Early morning.
PERSON AND PLACE. Solomon, without the Palace or Harem.

SOLOMON.

4 I adjure ye, O ye daughters of Jerusalem!
Why should ye awake, why should ye arouse
My beloved until she herself pleases?
(*No one appearing Solomon withdraws.*)

(*Part*) *Scene II.* (Chapter viii, 5–12.)

TIME. Later in the day, after the consummation of the marriage ceremonies.
PERSONS AND PLACE. Ladies in the Palace—Solomon and Shulammith approaching—Attendants in the distance.

LADIES.

5 Who is this coming up from the open field,
Leaning[2] upon her beloved?
(*Solomon and Shulammith continue to approach, conversing as follows:*)

SHULAMMITH.

Under the citron-tree[3] did I arouse thy (love;)
There thy mother gave me thy pledge;
There she that bore thee pledged thee (to me;)

---

[1] Query. "My nurse" or "teacher;" but better as we have given it. Attending to the gender, and supplying the pronominal subject, removes the difficulty in this word.

[2] Or, "supported by."

[3] Query. Had Solomon first accidentally seen Shulammith seated under a citron-tree, and thus his love been first aroused? Did this lead to an overture through the queen-mother, and a pledge on her part in behalf of the king? (Compare 1 Kings ii, 11–25.)

6 Place me as a seal upon thy heart,
As a seal upon thine arm;
For fierce as death is love,
Unyielding as the grave is jealousy;
Its flames are flames of fire, the fire of Jehovah.[1]
7 Many waters cannot avail to quench true love,
And rivers of water cannot wash it away.
If a man would give all the wealth of his house for (true) love
They would thoroughly despise it.
(*She pauses.*)
8 We have a younger sister,[2]
And her breasts are immature.
What shall we do for our sister
In the day when inquiry is made for her?

SOLOMON.

9 If she be a wall,[3]
We will build upon her a turret of silver;[4]
And if she be a door,[5]
We will surround her with boards of cedar.[6]

SHULAMMITH, (*musing aside.*)

10 I am a wall,
And my breasts like towers;
Therefore was I in his eyes as a finder of peace;[7]
(Yet was I not without a dower of value, for)
11 Solomon hath a vineyard near Baal-Hamon,
He intrusted that vineyard to keepers;
A man brought for its fruits a thousand shekels of silver.
(And not less valuable than this is my dower, for)

---

[1] Lightning.

[2] As if to turn aside the mind from the subject of jealousy Shulammith resumes the conversation, introducing as a subject what was naturally suggested by her own marriage.

[3] That is, if she be without protection, beauty, etc. Turrets were both for ornament and protection.

[4] That is, we will supply the lack of personal attractions by wealth.

[5] That is, attractive; an open way to pleasure, and (query) too easy of access.

[6] That is, we will render her still more attractive by means of ornaments and perfumes, not by means of this enlarged dower, and will surround her with protective and restraining influences.

[7] Or, "prosperity;" that is, as one who would bring prosperity.

12 My vineyard, that which was personally mine own,
(Is worth[1]) a thousand, O Solomon, to thee,
Though two hundred belong to the keepers of its fruit.
(Enter companions and retainers of Solomon equipped for the chase.)

SOLOMON, *(catching the words "vineyard," "fruits," etc., and seeing his associates assembled and impatient for the chase.)*

13 O thou that dwellest in the gardens,[2]
My associates are hearkening for thy voice;[3]
Let me also hear it.

SHULAMMITH.

14 Fly,[4] my love, and be thou like a roe, or a young antelope,
Upon the mountains of aromatics.
(Exeunt omnes.)

ART. IV.—ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

THE early part of the present century gave to England and the world two remarkable women, Charlotte Brontë and Elizabeth Barrett. The latter was born in London in 1809; the former in 1816 at Thornton, in Yorkshire. Elizabeth looked out first upon the fog, smoke, and din of the metropolis; Charlotte made her earliest acquaintance with the flowers and fields. Their other circumstances and their subsequent experiences were not less unlike. Elizabeth Barrett was reared, if not in affluence, at least in circumstances far removed from the pressure of want; and although some of her life was passed in the country, the greater part was spent in London, where, amid the assiduities of her friends, she struggled with failing health and accomplished her extraordinary literary labors. Charlotte was the daughter of a Yorkshire curate, and her road lay through poverty and self-denial. By turns a charity scholar, a teacher, a governess, and in all circumstances a sharer in the lowly fortunes of her family, she, too, constantly wrought in the fields of literature. But the two spirits were so akin that, by however different paths, they could not fail to meet upon the planes of fame. The comparison and contrast is instructive, as showing at once the power and weakness of merely external circumstances. The last is indicated by the fact that they both attained the highest rank hitherto among women, while the first is shown by the different moulds into which their minds have run. The temper and spirit is the same—the forms are diverse. Elizabeth Barrett was the profounder student and deeper thinker; Charlotte Brontè the closer observer and more accurate reflector. Consequently the poetess was more imaginative and metaphysical; the novelist more practical and descriptive. The first said what she thought and felt; the second described what she saw and experienced. Elizabeth, though by no means unobservant of nature, had comparatively few opportunities to be conversant with what she was formed to love. Charlotte was in constant contact with natural objects, which she saw in a kind of phantasmagoria of strange human experiences, and of which she preserved an accurately drawn though sometimes wierdly-shaded outline. Of the two, Elizabeth loved pure nature most, as her poetic tendency evinces; and the charming scraps of observation and feeling which her works afford show what a garland would have adorned every page if she had lived among lakes, forests, and fields. She said:

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[1] Or, "nets;" that is, "its net profits are," etc.

[2] Or query, O thou that dwellest *in thought;* that is, whose thoughts are occupied with gardens, fruits, vineyards, etc.

[3] "Command," "permission,"—"to give the word to go."

[4] *Q. d.* Away, then, I give the word—fly, show thy superiority, thy agility in the chase.

I dwell amid the city ever.
The great humanity which beats
Its life along the stony streets,
Like a strong and unsunned river
In a self-made course,
I sit and hearken while it rolls.

But she longed for another scene:

I am gone from the peopled town!
For now another sound, another vision
My soul's senses have.
O'er a hundred valleys deep,
Where the hills' green shadows sleep.

* * * * *

I have traveled, I have found
The silent, lone, remembered ground.

Alas! that all development seems destined in this world to be unsymmetrical. These women were gloriously enlarged spiritually, but they were physically dwarfed, and by various disabilities of heritage and circumstance were clogged while they lived, and cut off in their prime. Will the time ever return—that "statelier Eden" again—when the advanced spirit and the redeemed body shall be rematched in this world, to be sweetest music to noblest words? If so, it will certainly be by the cultivation of the nobler part, which, by the very law that lies under the being of God—the devotement of the stronger to the weaker—will lift up its earthly adjunct to sit with it on its high places. A genuine spiritual growth in both or either sex will lead to those physical reformations, without which such lights as those of Elizabeth Barrett and Charlotte Brontè are like flaming lamps in lanterns of tissue.

There can be no hesitation in assigning the rank of these two women in advance of their sex. Hannah More belonged to a past century. But, were she now living she would form no exception; while Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Jameson, and even the highly endowed author of Adam Bede, must be acknowledged, notwithstanding their various powers, to occupy a lower rank. For maturity of thought, breadth of observation, acuteness of perception, inductive strength, and that insight and grasp of mind which gives the utmost availability to love of truth, and without which these qualities are but latent forces, Elizabeth Barrett and Charlotte Brontè are peerless both in old and modern times. The evidence of superiority in the spiritual realm, so far as that realm is open to us, is not to be found in fitful flashes of the mind, but in a continuous and increasing light. This is true, therefore, of genius; and the test establishes the superiority of these twinned spirits. There are moderate minds that preserve their low level through life, and in writing many books, if they do not rise above it, neither do they sink much below. But there are no other examples within our knowledge of literary women who, starting from so high a point as that of either Miss Barrett or Miss Brontè, have not only fully sustained their flight, but, when they departed, soared out of sight instead of sinking earthward, and left us to wonder at what they would have attained could the physical mechanism have sustained its spiritual incumbent.

It is not our purpose to pursue the comparison of these beautiful souls. Our present duty is with the life and genius of Elizabeth Barrett, wife of Robert Browning. And, first, as to her life.

The materials for her biography are almost as meager as for that of Shakspeare. A few facts and dates, an occasional note or reminiscence, are all that we have. She began to write when but ten years old, and soon after for the periodicals; published a book of poems, "An Essay on Mind" and others, when about seventeen; "Prometheus Bound" followed when she was in her twenty-third year, and "The Seraphim" in her twenty eighth. These publications were accompanied by numerous other pieces, some of which, as "Isabel's Child," are worthy of her maturer genius. The "Essay on Mind" and "Prometheus Bound" she subsequently withdrew from the bookseller's shelves, and they are now to be found with difficulty. Although remarkable as the work of early youth, their withdrawal is not to be regretted. A new translation of "Prometheus Bound" better satisfied her maturer critical taste, and now appears in all the editions of her works. About the year 1838, when twenty-seven years old, her health, always extremely delicate, was suddenly endangered by the bursting of a blood-vessel. Her life, indeed, hung by the frailest thread, and her condition was rendered trebly critical by a stunning domestic affliction. This was the loss of her brother, who was drowned while visiting her in Devonshire, where she had been painfully conveyed for the benefit of her health. She returned to London soon after and kept her chamber for years. It was in this seclusion and in these circumstances of disability and suffering that she made those remarkable attainments in classical study which so enlarged and strengthened her mind and enriched her subsequent writings. She became an expert in several languages, especially Hebrew, Greek, and German; and contributed a series of learned and appreciative articles on the early Christian poets to the "Athenæum." The first full edition of her poems was published in 1844, the second in 1850; the first part of "Casa

Guidi Windows" in 1848, and the second in 1851; and "Aurora Leigh," her most famous and characteristic work, in 1856. Her marriage with Robert Browning took place in 1846, just as the leaves were falling; her only son was born in 1849; and she died at Florence, where she had lived with her husband most of the fifteen years of their united life, on the 19th of June, 1861.

If Elizabeth Barrett Browning had been a little less endowed with self-reliance, and had cultivated a somewhat lower standard of love and duty, the world would have been full enough of the rumor of her feelings and doings. Moderate minds, with inordinate expectations and self-appreciation, generally contrive to make an abundant clatter. Selfish and sentimental hearts, handling tenderly their own diseased conditions, and calling the world to witness how sore they are, and how unappreciated, attract a wide attention and absorb a large sympathy. They live for themselves, they do all things to be seen of men, and, verily, they have their reward. But it is otherwise with heroic spirits. *They* live and work for others, and challenge no observation. Their reward is not of the present time or sphere. Who would have it otherwise? At any rate, in the constitution of the universe it cannot be otherwise. It is a common cause of lamentation that the great benefactors of humanity rarely enjoy the fruit of their self-denials. Is this true? Is God unfaithful to forget them and their labor of love? Is the applause of the multitude their reward? Nay, verily; they are not so to be put off. They have worked for higher wages, and a righteous retributer will not give them "their good things in this world." This world is a nursery of children, who fret at discipline and cry for things that are hurtful; they are not grateful when their desires are thwarted, and they cannot discern kindness in the rod or cure in the cup of bitterness. Those who flatter neither the world-children nor themselves are content, in virtue of the greatness that inspires them, to wait for the maturer gratitude of those for whom they labored. They look down from heaven and get the incense of their fame when time, that never repudiates a true word or work, has set its seal upon what they did, and the children of those who neglected or derided them hang grateful garlands on their monuments.

Mrs. Browning was not in pursuit of fame. She aimed to realize the aspirations of her soul. There was never a purer, tenderer, or more loving heart. She saw through the husks of things with a glance. She felt that she lived, in common with the race, on the surface, and that there were unfathomed depths of life and obligation beneath. Or, to change the figure, she felt that upon this hollow-sounding crust we stand with leaden-loaded feet, and that an infinite azure spreads away above us in which we might forever expatiate. Having such love and such insight, she could neither trifle with herself nor flatter others. Life had no worth except for what it might produce. She lived in eternity. Spiritualities were all about her, and as she came closer to them the "vesture of decay" became thinner until it scarcely could be said to "close her in." So, when she died, it was as when one drops the night-dress to be robed for the day. To an eye so ethereal as hers men and women were little seen in their flesh and blood, and their avocations and relations were only important as they bore upon spiritual growth and destiny. Gain was nothing, truth everything. Fame was too frail a bubble even for a plaything, but honesty and "a conscience void of offense" were "better than life." Meanness, oppression, and lust, though backed by imperial power and wealth, were simply hateful and devilish; but faith and charity, though lowly as violets, were lovely, heavenly, and eternal. With these views, and an irrepressible upward longing and striving for worthy attainment and culture, there was no chance for that kind of fame which springs from popularity and cumbers the world with worthless biographies. It never occurred to Elizabeth Barrett to measure her value or to be careful of her fame. She was not engaged conserving her reputation, or manufacturing or saving materials for volumes of "table-talk." Like Shakspeare, of whom, among all women, she was the intellectual counterpart, she abode alone, noiselessly revolving in the upper sphere, unobserved of the earth-bound busy-bodies who make biography.

Her marriage confirmed this heroic heedlessness of approbation. It was the reward of her faith in love, and of her loyalty to her unfound husband, to obtain a perfect union; and as she would uncomplainingly have adjourned her heart's longing to the compensations of Heaven if she had remained unmated here, so, being satisfied with love, she left the fact unheralded in her writings by those protestations in which the deep-sighted see little more than excuses for the superficiality of affection. The more Elizabeth Barrett's soul expanded in the sunlight of love the more sacred became her inner life; and while she abounded in charity, and gathered from her serenity a strength disproportioned to her physical weakness, there was less and less for the curious world to mark in her external life. Such a love and such a union as that of Robert and Elizabeth Browning is the rarest and most sacred experience in the world. We approach it reverently; yet it is so beautiful and suggestive, that one of the most valuable lessons of her life would be lost if we passed it wholly by. In remarking briefly upon it, and in recalling circumstances of more or less publicity, we take occasion to insert a fact or two not generally known, and somewhat contradictory of the received impression, but derived from members of the immediate family of the poet.

Although not directly relevant, it may be of interest to advert, first, to the death of Miss Barrett's brother. It occurred, as before stated, in Devonshire, and about four years before the acquaintance of Robert Browning with his future wife. While Elizabeth was slowly gathering health in the country, and gaining a new life from the congenial influences of nature, her brother, whom she loved, came down to see her. In the intervals of his visits to her sick room he entered with great zest, and probably little skill, into the rural amusements likely to attract a city youth. One day he went boating with an acquaintance, but returned not. The day passed, and the night, and another day, until the fear deepened into certainty that both were drowned. The boat came to shore empty, but all search was for a long time unsuccessful. Elizabeth was overwhelmed. Her slight frame was inadequate at its best to answer the requirements of her mind and heart; but now, depleted and exhausted, it could not bear its part, and she came near insanity. She blamed herself bitterly as the cause of his death; for she said that, if she had not been in the world she would not have been sick, and if she had not been sick he would not have come to Devonshire and lost his life through love of her. Who has not heard a woman so accuse herself? Indulging such reproaches, Elizabeth spent hours, and even days, at the window which looked toward the lake, and nothing but the judicious enforcement of her family saved her mind from wreck. They took her back to London, and by various appliances diverted her until her soul rose superior to its despair, and she applied herself to study. Never was mental work done under greater disadvantages, and her example stands as a perpetual reproach and encouragement. Never was the sustaining power of a subjective will more signally shown. She was soon, however, to have external aid, and her exhausted vitality to be fed from a lamp that had oil to spare. It may be added, what she never knew, that her brother's body was found several weeks after his disappearance, but so disfigured as to be recognized only by its clothing. Her friends feared to make the fact known at first, and it never came to be mentioned to her.

Truth requires, also, the contradiction of the pretty story that obtains, as to the first acquaintance of Robert Browning with his future wife. It runs that the poet, charmed—as he well might be, and in fact was—with the aptitude of her compliment, when she referred to his book, "Bells and Pomegranates," in the couplet,

> Or from Browning some "Pomegranate," which, if cut deep down the middle,
> Showed a heart within blood-tinctured, of a veined humanity,

called upon her, and being shown, by a blundering servant, into her sick room, came out her lover. In her father's house, guarded by every possible solicitude, no such intrusion into her chamber could possibly have occurred. The facts are these: A relative of Miss Barrett, who knew Browning, directed his attention to the couplet, and stating that the writer was a retiring girl and an invalid, and would probably be gratified by knowing that her admiration for the poet was appreciated, asked him to write her a note of acknowledgment. Any one who has made the acquaintance of Mrs. Browning, through her writings, will see at once how far the author of "Aurora Leigh" would be from any complicity with this well-meant hint, or from the sudden abandonment of her affections even to such a kingly soul as Robert Browning. The poet readily promised to write the note, but neglected and forgot it until again reminded; when he called at Mr. Barrett's house in person, and with the usual ceremony in such cases, received an introduction to the lady. The call was repeated, by invitation; mutual liking ripened into love, and they were married two years after.

Robert Browning was physically the very opposite of the woman with whom his soul was perfectly in unison, with whom he lived so happily a little more than fifteen years, and from whom he is now separated only by a film of time and space. In course of time a child was born to them in Florence—only one, as is so often the limit of the issue of such a perfect union—and, as is equally characteristic, of exceeding beauty. The passers-by Casa Guidi windows called Mrs. Browning "the mother of the lovely child." To this child she several times refers in terms of peculiar tenderness and beauty:

> I hold
> Thy small head in my hands,—with its grapelets of gold
> Growing bright through my fingers.

And again:

> The sun strikes, through the windows, up the floor:
> Stand out in it, my own young Florentine,
> Not two years old, and let me see thee more!
> It grows along thy amber curls, to shine
> Brighter than elsewhere. Now, look straight before,
> And fix thy brave blue English eyes on mine,
> And from thy soul which fronts the future so,
> With unabashed and unabated gaze,
> Teach me to hope for, what the angels know,
> When they smile clear as thou dost. Down God's ways,
> With just alighted feet between the snow
> And snow drops, where a little lamb may graze,
> Thou hast no fear, my lamb, about the road,
> Albeit in our vainglory we assume
> That, less than we have, thou hast learned of God.
> Stand out, my blue-eyed prophet!—thou, to whom
> The earliest world-daylight that ever flowed,
> Through Casa Guidi windows, chanced to come!
> Now shake the glittering nimbus of thy hair,
> And be God's witness . . .

However, whatever was due to spiritual affinity and to physical adaptation—doubtless the proportions were perfect—Mrs. Browning gathered both mental and bodily strength from her marriage. She loved her husband and suited him; and never was a mother tenderer of a crippled child than he of his wife. The highest strains of her muse rewarded him, and attested her grateful use of her increased powers. She wrought well with the things that were another's, and God gave her the things that were her own. *She* knows now, while her bereaved husband can hardly realize the truth of it, how slight a barrier separates them from the full fruition of a united immortality. One has said of her, "First out of sorrow and then out of love—those two unfathomable wells—this woman drew the fullness and richness of her life."

We are not disappointed in her death. It was almost without warning. A slight illness—not as severe as many that she survived—was its only precursor. A little before she died, while held in her husband's arms, she exclaimed, "How beautiful!" Doubtless her spirit was already in heavenly visions. Her husband left her, briefly, and when he returned the servant met him on the threshold, saying, in the soft tongue of Italy, "The beautiful spirit has flown." And so he was left alone. But let us hope that he had not so long consorted with one whose life was so much in the spirit-world to feel that death could divide them. There is a link that unites the two; and there is a glittering path by which she went up that he can surely see, and which is kept open for him.

In physical appearance Mrs. Browning was of the most diminutive stature of womanhood, and proportionately slight. Her face was pensive, but often lighted by a "smile like a sunbeam." Her spiritual life was so high that suffering left little trace upon her features, which were serene and expressive. Her forehead was noble and open—full of royalty and truth. Her eyes were large, tender, and heavily and darkly lashed. It was her habit to turn them slowly and largely upon an object, upon which she then looked long and fixedly. Her hair was long and profuse, falling, on either side, "in a shower of curls."

Robert Browning is a man, though not of large stature, yet of noble and symmetrical proportions. His face is open, clear of complexion, bright-eyed, ruddy—"quite English" in all its features. The exuberance of life overflows in his glances, speech, and movements. His powers of endurance are great, and his health such that action is a necessity and labor a luxury.

Such were the twain, and so much for that beginning which we call her life.

Let us glance at her genius and mission. We are not very careful to criticise Mrs. Browning's style, since it is evident, from its faultiness, that she valued grace of composition less than clearness of expression. Her mind was impatient, and would not always wait for forms. It also had the imperiousness of genius, and spurned restraint. This is not to be excused or imitated; but we must take her as she is—and certainly, if we are to decide between gilding and gold, we will choose the latter, though it come in nuggets from the mine. A high degree of praise must be awarded to the general purity and strength of her style. It is never slight or flippant. Sometimes it is as Saxon as the Ormulum. It indicates both an unusual acquaintance with the English tongue and a tenacious grasp of the Greek and German forms, with which her studies made her familiar. This facility leads her to take liberties with language that are not always in good taste. She uses pet words that we dislike to meet so often, and which—as they are mostly obsolete or unusual—give her style a stiffness, and savor of affectation. Imperfect rhymes are also quite frequent in her verses, and an adjective is not seldom allowed to end a line, the qualified noun beginning the next — a carelessness that seriously damages rhythm. A great poet is certainly master of his *art;* and if it is claimed that the fineness of the art is nothing without the head and heart to inspire the forms, it can be answered, at least, that the finer the quality of a thing the more perfect should be its vehicle. It will be seen, therefore, that the great souls who have made the world their debtor and imitator, rather than admirer, have been consummate artists. Mrs. Browning's mere style was to her genius as her physical powers and proportions were to her soul—incapacious and incontinent. The similitude is deeper than it seems.

We should not, however, have made this cluster of related faults the subject of more than a passing criticism, were it not that they, with another, which will be presently mentioned, arise from the radical intellectual misconception of the sphere of her sex, which Mrs. Browning seemed to entertain. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that she was impatient of the natural limitations of that sphere. Her poetry is everywhere invaded by a certain nervous abruptness of interjected phrases, which often dashes the tenderness or breaks the simplicity of the finest passages. Taken entirely at random, the following lines afford an example:

> Go! be sure of my love . . . . .
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> Of my grief—(guess the length of the sword by the sheath's!)
> By the silence of life, more pathetic than death's.

This habit gives a somewhat *saucy* air to many of Mrs. Browning's writings, especially when she treats of the supposed depreciation of her sex and its powers by the other; when it results in a pertness of expression, which misrepresents the author's heart as much as it mars and weakens her style. "Aurora Leigh" abounds in examples of the latter form. Close observers have often seen in what is called a *bold* or *forward* deportment, especially in women, only the overaction of diffidence. The fact furnishes a clue to the origin of the fault to which we refer. Mrs. Browning constantly assumes an underestimate by men of the powers of women, and unconsciously seeks to leap into what she supposes to be a masculine style. She would retort smartly, and exchange blows, as men do. But it is the swagger of a woman in man's apparel, and serves no good purpose, except to show that the fair masquerader is misclad. It did not turn Rosalind into a man to clap the "gallant curtal-ax upon her thigh." With all her "bold and swashing outride," when pressed to the ultimate tests of manhood, she was fain to cry, "Dost thou think, though I am caparisoned like a man, that I have a doublet and hose in my disposition?" Mrs. Browning confesses, too,

> Most illogical,
> Irrational nature of our womanhood,
> That blushes one way, feels another way,
> And prays, perhaps, another! After all,
> We cannot be the equal of the male,
> Who rules his blood a little.

The whole controversy is conceded in the words "*illogical, irrational nature* of our womanhood." It is nature changeless nature.

We must look deeper than this fencing for evidences that a woman's sphere may be the same as a man's, and these evidences Mrs. Browning has not afforded any more than any other of either sex. It will be at once perceived that the object of our criticism is something more than a mere fault of style. It leads us to what we will characterize as the triumphant failure of Mrs. Browning, in which she has done a real service to both sexes by falling short of her aim. In this shortcoming she has proved that the mightiest woman who ever wielded a pen was a woman still—thank God! neither more nor less. Had she proved herself a man what would have befallen us? No less a misfortune than the lapse of humanity into barbarism. With the loss of the counterbalancing heart of the race, the overcharged head would burst into infinite meteoric fragments to wander through space.

Mrs. Browning, as already said, was impatient of the natural sphere of woman, and because she was capable of that impatience, and because she could *understand*, thought that she—and if she, her entire sex—might aspire above it, or be educated out of it. We say *above it* for her sake and for woman's sake; because, to us, there can be no sphere *above* a woman's. Reason suggests that it is co-ordinate with man's; but to every true man it seems, while harmoniously helpful of his own, something higher and more heavenly, something by the contact of which a better life, a nobler state, and a diviner character are accessible. Mrs. Browning, and souls like hers, derive their merely intellectual brilliancy from an unbalanced state of mind. They mistake themselves and their longings. By some mystery of pregnant nature they are born more like men than their fellows, even as some men are like women. The existence in their minds of an unusual appreciation of the things of masculine reason as distinguished from feminine feeling, makes them think that they have something to do in the peculiar work-place of man. But they surely are unmindful that a woman could not mate a man if her heart had no point of contact with his head—her intuition with his reason, her love with his wisdom. God has not made these qualities to complement each other, and so to make of every truly united man and woman a unified pair, but made the adaptation blunderingly. They co-exist; the love understands the wisdom, and the wisdom feels the love; and there is no mistake in nature, or encroachment in the practical relation. When we look *through* such a life as Mrs. Browning's we are constrained to say, as she said so well to the self-named George Sand:

> Ah, vain denial! that revolted cry
> Is sobbed in by a woman's voice forlorn;—
> Thy woman's hair, my sister, all unshorn,
> Floats back disheveled strength in agony,
> Disproving thy man's name: and while before
> The world thou burnest in a poet-fire,
> We see thy woman-heart beat evermore
> Through the large flame.

With what a truly poetic intuition the "unshorn hair" of the disguised woman is noticed, and its "disheveled strength." How suggestive, too, the thought, that in it—the signal of womanhood—lay the strength which the giantess would lose could she be so deceived by some male Delilah as to shear it, with all it signified, away.

But "wisdom is justified of her children" in both sexes. Mrs. Browning was thus impatient because her mind was overbalanced. But she was royally true-hearted. This saved her, and her influence, which is more than can be said of George Sand. No noble soul was ever more careless of the personal consequences of the truth than Mrs. Browning. She never played tricks with nature. She uttered what she felt, and as she felt it. Consequently her writings, whether they are impatient, scornful, proud, playful, loving, humble, or whatever, are always genuine and necessarily self-contradictory. If she does not prove what she intended, she brings out the truth by simply following her own truthful intuitions, and that is better. She is as incapable as any woman of an argument or a syllogism. There is no logic or reasoning in "Aurora Leigh," or in any of her works. There is much handling of the tools of the reasoner, indeed, but, as she says,

> I justified
> The measure he had taken of my height:
> The thing was plain—he was not wrong a line;
> I played at art, made thrusts with a toy-sword,
> Amused the men and maidens.

She "justified the measure" herself in her works. They remain, and especially "Aurora Leigh," which comprises the shades of her faults and the glories of her genius, as a refutation, that will not need to be repeated, of the notion that woman is undeveloped man; or of the more subtle and widely entertained fallacy, that she is as much a reasoning as an emotional being. Not to her dispraise is this said — ah! not to her dispraise. For "God is love" — a being of infinite impulses; and when we receive woman as the ineffable link that unites our grosser reasoning nature to his immortal intuitions, do we not honor her above the measure that we give to man?

Tennyson's "Princess" and Elizabeth Browning's "Aurora Leigh" ought to be bound together. They complete the circle, and leave nothing to be said on the subject of a woman's proper sphere. The man-poet gives us the objective, the woman-poet the subjective stand-point. It would be an interesting, and by no means a wasted task to compare the books, and trace the lines of apparent contrast, but of conclusive convergence. In them is shown, from opposite points of view, the woman's heart, triumphant over every fiction and fallacy. In the "Princess" the masculine mind directs the subject like an argument, and bringing all the proofs to bear, gathers them into a final knot that cannot be untied. In "Aurora Leigh" the writer disports her unconscious nature on every page; and though she comes out inevitably a won woman and a happy wife, ties a thousand knots in her skein as she goes, every one of which was enough for the purpose and the proof.

Turning from this discussion to Mrs. Browning's writings, we find no further cause of criticism, but everywhere of admiration and reverence. First, we cannot fail to be impressed by the unexceptional tone of Christian faith and love, which overlies a natural substratum of angelic purity. It would almost seem as though the sanctified sufferer who made these utterances could never have needed suffering for her sanctification. There is not one little forked flame of sin apparent in any line that she ever wrote. Everywhere it is the pure fire of truth — the clear light of love. We praise God as we read for such an infusion of purity into nature, and for such a superinduction of Christian faith and feeling. An American critic has said of "Aurora Leigh:" "Many of the incidents are improbable, some of them are of questionable propriety, and sometimes images are presented, and expressions are used, which a severe taste must condemn." Of Mrs. Browning's poetry, generally, the same writer remarks: "Her bold and uncompromising spirit sometimes carries her beyond the limits of perfect good taste." So far as this criticism relates to moral propriety, every one who understands the poet and her writings must dissent. Nothing "of questionable propriety" ever dropped from her pen. In the purity of her soul, she dealt with nature and the world. She always speaks plainly, and calls things by their right names. A lie is not so vailed by curtains of dissimulation in her verse that its blackness cannot be seen; oppression and murder are not made chivalrous and romantic; lust on luxurious or legalized couches is not rose-watered with conventional aspersions. This is her very crown of white truth, and so she says:

The devil's most devilish when respectable.

The next quality that strikes us by its prominence and strength is her unflinching independence. She will not accept an alms, but will earn everything. Here, indeed, she might have taken a hint from nature, who made her the representative of her sex for slightness, that neither she nor it were formed for uncompromising field-work. But her spirit would accept no immunity, and so she says:

. . . if I fail . . . why, burn me up my straw
Like other false works. I'll not ask for grace;
Your scorn is better.

Permeating every other quality and inspiring all, is a boundless charity. We prefer to use the Bible word, for, while love is everywhere in Mrs. Browning's writings, sentimentalism is nowhere. The latter—cruel counterfeit of all true feeling—was as foreign from her character as the former was essential to it. Consequently, her tone is always healthful, and has a sturdiness indescribably attractive to every natural, full-grown spirit. How could Robert Browning, with his ruddy, strong pudicity, help loving her? This heavenly charity took two courses in her writings, the broad roadway of public life, and the meandering paths through the fields and by the brooks. In the first she was the champion of every one that is oppressed; in the latter she is as tender as the gentlest maid that ever plucked its flowers or blushed back their beauty. In the former mood she wrote such a strain as this:

Yea, I will not choose
Betwixt thy throne, Pope Pius, and the spot
Marked red forever spite of rains and dews,
Where two fell riddled by the Austrian's shot—
The brothers Bandiera, who accuse,
With one same mother-voice and face (that what
They speak may be invincible) the sins
Of earth's tormentors before God, the just,
Until the unconscious thunderbolt begins
To loosen in his grasp.

Was it the same pen, after telling of her "pet name," which was

Uncadenced for the ear,
Unhonored by ancestral claim,
Unsanctified by prayer and psalm;

which would be read upon the leaves of none of her books:

And afterward, when I am dead,
Will ne'er be graved, for sight or tread,
Across my funeral stone;

that added the trembling deprecation:

This name, whoever chance to call,
Perhaps your smile may win.
Nay, do not smile! mine eyelids fall
Over mine eyes, and feel withal
The sudden tears within.

Nay, do not smile! I hear in it
That none of you can hear!
The talk upon the window-seat,
The bird and wind that did repeat
Around our human cheer!

Probably the most charming love poetry in our language—to a man's ear—is the little biography of Elizabeth Barrett's courtship by Robert Browning, which she has recorded in the sonnets, delicately vailed as "From the Portuguese." It is not because they surrender so unreservedly the great proud heart to love, saying:

. . . as a vanquished soldier yields his sword
To one who lifts him from the bloody earth,
Even so, behold, I at last record,
Here ends my strife.

Nor is it for any sentimentalism which they contain that sips like voluptuous wine. But it is for the grandeur of the concession and its manner; for the magnifying which love has in it all; for the comprehending, in the avowal, of all the dignities of womanhood, the sanctities of nature, the ends and aims of life, and the prospects and hopes of eternity. In the early paragraphs of this paper Shakspeare was mentioned, with the suggestion that, of all women, Mrs. Browning was his counterpart. A student of the unapproached poet cannot fail to be frequently reminded of his mighty tread while reading Mrs. Browning by her lighter but majestic footfall, and led, unconsciously, to pair them in his fancy. With the exception of a single passage, which will be soon quoted, there are none of Mrs. Browning's writings which more favor this suggestion than the "Portuguese Sonnets." They are forty-four in number, and their surpassing feminine strength and beauty fit them for companionship with Shakspeare's mystic love musings. We content ourselves with the transcription of three:

I.

I thought once how Theocritus had sung
  Of the sweet years, the dear and wished-for years,
  Who each in one a gracious hand appears
To bear a gift for mortals, old or young;
And, as I mused it in his antique tongue,
  I saw, in gradual vision through my tears,
  The sad, sweet years, the melancholy years,
Those of my own life, who by turns had flung
A shadow across me. Straightway I was 'ware,
  So weeping, how a mystic shape did move
Behind me, and drew me backward by the hair;
  And a voice said in mastery while I strove, . . .
"Guess now who holds thee?" "Death!" I said. But, there,
  The silver answer rang, . . . "Not Death, but Love."

V.

I lift my heavy heart up solemnly,
  As once Electra her sepulchral urn,
  And, looking in thine eyes, I overturn
The ashes at thy feet. Behold and see
What a great heap of grief lay hid in me,

And how the red, wild sparkles dimly burn
Through the ashen grayness. If thy foot in scorn
Could tread them out to darkness utterly
It might be well, perhaps. But if, instead,
Thou wait beside me for the wind to blow
The gray dust up, . . . those laurels on thy head,
O my beloved, will not shield thee so
That none of all the fires shall scorch and shred
The hair beneath. Stand farther off then! Go.

XIV.

If thou must love me, let it be for naught
Except for love's sake only. Do not say
"I love her for her smile, . . . her look, . . . her way
Of speaking gently, . . . for a trick of thought
That falls in well with mine, and, certes, brought
A sense of pleasant ease on such a day"—
For these things in themselves, beloved, may
Be changed, or changed for thee; and love so wrought
May be unwrought so. Neither love me for
Thine own dear pity's wiping my cheeks dry.
A creature might forget to weep who bore
Thy comfort long, and lose thy love thereby.
But love me for love's sake, that evermore
Thou may'st love on through love's eternity.

Those who love the memory of Mrs. Browning may safely rest her fame upon the "Portuguese Sonnets." She had the highest and sweetest soul of her sex that was ever vocal to the ears of the world; and these particular utterances are unmatched except by the sonnets of Shakspeare. Whatever may be said of the ministries of *suffering* to the soul, it remains certain that *love* only opens its deepest fountains. Suffering is measurably an external appliance; is always resisted at first, then submitted to, and at last adopted, and its fierce husbandry allowed to work its "peaceable fruits." But love is from within outwards, and from first to last is spontaneous and imperious, subsidizing every power and faculty of the soul, emotive, instinctive, and intellectual. Nothing less than this is love. Under its influence even a man, guarded as he is by expediences, shows his best impulses and utters his best thoughts. Much more a woman, who thereby enters first, like a queen into her kingdom.

The influence of Robert Browning upon his wife is plainly discernible in her later writings. Her entire being received an impulse from his congenial and manly spirit. She wrought heroically alone; but it is no depreciation of her powers to say that they needed contact with the masculine element through avenues of approach that were kindlier than criticism or admiration. With her physical renewing—primarily essential—she got accessions of hope and spiritual vigor. The grasp of her mind was strengthened and its vision widened as her love moulded itself upon his wisdom and appropriated its uses by the inexplicable intuitions of nature. She could never have written the magnificent paragraph which, at the risk of repetition—as, being the finest passage in her writings, it cannot fail to be cited by every critic—we are about to quote, unless she had been mated with such a soul as Robert Browning. It occurs in the conclusion of "Aurora Leigh:"

> I clung closer to his breast,
> As sword that, after battle, clings to sheath;
> And, in that hurtle of united souls,
> The mystic motions which, in common moods,
> Are shut beyond our sense, broke in on us,
> And as we sate we felt the old earth spin;
> And all the starry turbulence of worlds
> Swing round us in their ancient circles, till
> If that same golden moon were overhead,
> Or if beneath our feet, we did not know.

Exquisite plagiarism! And how sweetly the writer overlays Shakspeare's deep foundations, and, building from her heart thereon, interprets the starry harmonies:

> Look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold;
> There's not the smallest orb, which thou beholdest,
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim:
> Such harmony is in immortal souls;
> But while this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

Love, born of God, the essential spark of Deity within us, when it awakes awakes like a prophet, discerns the eternal harmonies, discourses of the Invisible, and bears upward to its source.

ART. V.—CARTHAGE AND HER REMAINS.

Carthage and her Remains; being an Account of the Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis in Africa, and other adjacent places. Conducted under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government. By Dr. N. DAVIS, F. R. G. S., etc. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 504. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

ON the fourth of January, 1859, while rambling over the ruins of Carthage with the author of this volume, the youthful Prince Alfred of England remarked, that what most impressed itself on his mind while reading Virgil was the part relating to Carthage. He is not alone in his experience. Æneas and Dido, with their loves and varying fortunes, Juno and Venus, with their schemes and rivalries, are a graceful group of memories gathered around the pillars of the infant empire, and are as quickly recalled as are the victories of Hannibal, or the terrible *delenda est Carthago* of the far-seeing and determined Cato. The poet tells of stately towers displacing shepherd's huts, the citadel of massive stones, the theater of deep foundations; but it is little we learn of Carthage from the historian. It is probable that a Phœnician colony existed at Carthage for four centuries prior to the arrival of Dido, by whom the city was embellished and the government more systematically organized. When Rome had no political or commercial importance beyond the shores of the Tiber, and two centuries before she had a ship of war afloat, Carthage could transport to Sicily, and put in the field, an army of three hundred thousand men. Her colonies in the islands of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, in Spain and Britain, and her commerce upon every sea, proved her enterprise and added to her power and wealth. She was a true daughter of that Tyre which furnished the architect of the temple of Jehovah, and, in alliance with the Jewish monarch, kept at sea a navy of Tarshish. She may have been, as Mr. Davis conjectures with much plausibility, the Tarshish primarily intended in Scripture, whence were shipped to the harbors of Palestine gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, ivory, apes, and peacocks, all of which were found in some of her possessions, or would inevitably flow thither as to a commercial center by the operations of trade. It is certain that Tarshish was a name belonging to this portion of Africa; the ancient name of Tunis, situated only ten miles from Carthage, was Tarsis; the oldest mosque at Tunis is known as the "Tarshish mosque;" a Punic inscription found at Nora, in Sardinia, an island colonized from Carthaginian Africa, asserts that "at Tarshish was the father of Sardinia exiled." It is further conjectured that this name was given by the first colonists as implying that they obtained the territory by conquest; that Dido substituted for it the name of Carthage, as implying possession by treaty with the legitimate proprietors; that when, by colonization and conquest, there came to be several places known as Tarshish, the Tarshish *par excellence* was in Africa, and identical with Ophir; and that the route from Ezion-Geber into the Mediterranean by the canal of Sesostris and the Nile, was better and more probable than that by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Gibraltar.

There can be no question respecting the artistic taste and skill of this people. Virgil testifies of the adornment of the public works. These descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham, had an extensive commerce and abundant wealth in the days of Phidias and Zeuxis. Victorious war then, as in more modern times, claimed as spoils the precious possessions of conquered cities; and so rich had Carthage become in works of art, that, after Scipio had restored to the nations then in alliance with Rome, the statues and paintings of which they had been plundered, there was, as Appian informs us, "nothing to be seen but statues, curiosities, and rare objects of an inestimable price."

Of the extent of her literature we are doomed to ignorance. Pliny speaks of her *libraries*, which the Roman senate bestowed upon the petty kings of Africa. It would seem that, with the fall of the city, the very language of Dido and Hannibal perished. A few inscriptions on stones and coins have survived the general wreck, but they were undecipherable even by the learned until Scaliger discovered the key. A few lines in the Pœnulus of Plautus, neither Latin nor Greek, and thought by some critics to be no language at all, but a mere jargon put into the mouth of Hanno the Carthaginian, were conjectured by him to be Punic. The testimony of the fathers of the Church and ancient grammarians, who speak of the resemblance of the Hebrew and Phœnician tongues, was found to be true. Scaliger, Bochart, Gesenius, and other scholars succeeded in the construction of the alphabet of the language; and now whatever inscriptions yet remain may be read with tolerable accuracy. It is only by making the Hebrew the key to their rendering that any satisfactory results have been attained. Many words, preserved by Greek and Latin authors as Phœnician, are found to exactly correspond with the Hebrew; and of ninety-four words in a tablet recently discovered at Marseilles, seventy-four are in the Old Testament. In 1837, Gesenius published his *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*, in which are all the words of the language then known, amounting in number to about one thousand, to which some additions have since been made, but to what extent we are not informed.

So complete was the destruction of Carthage that her precise locality has been a subject of dispute, a few scattered and shapeless pieces of masonry her principal remains, and her name unknown to her present inhabitants. We know but little of her political system, her government, or her religion; of her social customs, her industry, the constitution of her armies and her commerce, we have but a few scattered hints; and it is chiefly by the achievements of her generals, and the wars which resulted in her overthrow, that the world is aware of her existence. We are glad, therefore, that Mr. Davis became sufficiently interested in the beautiful but unfortunate queen to feel an awakened enthusiasm as he first stood upon the site of the once famous city, which led to a study of Carthaginian history and language, and finally to excavations "for relics of the past," combined with some "digging into the minds and characters" of the present dwellers upon the soil. Successive visits had satisfied him that the oft-repeated assertion of the disappearance of the very ruins of the capital was untrue, and that they were only hidden by accumulations of earth. Having obtained the desired permission of the Bey of Tunis, he successfully applied to the Earl of Clarendon, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for government aid in his projected enterprise, intending to deposit in the British Museum whatever antiquities he might find. The results are, in part, given in the present narrative, constituting an interesting story of ancient greatness and modern ruin, so pleasantly told and interspersed with illustrations of Tunisian life that the reader is sorry to reach its close.

The earlier excavations were made upon the plans of former explorers, which he afterward found to be utterly unreliable. The labor of from forty to fifty men for nearly three months resulted in nothing of importance. Fragments of statues were plenty, lying under the earth of ages, strangely cemented together with the roughest stones in Roman ruins, or used for brick in the miserable hovels of the present day; but the most persevering search never discovered two adjacent parts of the same statue. He never found a Carthaginian coin. Roman destruction, Italian plundering, Vandal devastation, and Moslem iconoclasm have each and all had a share in despoiling even the ruins of this once magnificent city. Some lessons, however, valuable for future operations, were learned: that he must prepare a topography for himself; that ruins, a portion of which are visible above ground, are ordinarily to be ascribed to the later or Roman Carthage; and that the accumulation of earth upon the old Phœnician ruins varies from ten to twenty feet, depending partly on the facility of the drifting of the sand, and partly on the height of the houses. The lower story alone was of firmly cemented stone, the upper stories having what Pliny calls *formacean walls*, "moulded rather than built, by inclosing earth within a frame of boards constructed on either side." Such walls possess great durability, but, when decayed or destroyed, they bury the lower wall in a heap of rubbish, and in a few years appear to be a natural mound. It is not strange, therefore, that when it was proposed to rebuild Carthage, it was said that "the wolves had removed the marks;" or that when it was rebuilt a hundred and one years after its fall, it was a matter of dispute whether it was *near* or *upon* the ancient site.

In attempting to construct a few outlines of the plan of the city, he found that, notwithstanding their discrepancies, ancient writers agreed that Carthage was built upon a peninsula, that it covered the whole peninsula, and that it had a circumference of about twenty-four miles. The Cothon, or harbor, is the first point sought, and it must be found near the "neglected angle." Appian describes it as "two ports, disposed of in such a manner that a ship might easily go from one to the other; and yet there was but one entrance, through a passage sixty-six feet wide. The first was for merchants, where there were numerous and divers sorts of quarters for the sailors; the other, which was the inner port, was appropriated for men-of-war, and in the middle of it stood an island, which, as well as the port, was surrounded with vast quays, containing receptacles and covered shelter for two hundred and twenty ships, and above them were storehouses and naval workshops. The fronts of each place were supported by two Ionic marble columns, so that the whole round, as well of the port and the island, represented on both sides two magnificent galleries. Upon this island stood the admiral's palace, from whence his orders were issued by the sound of the trumpet, whence he published his ordinances, and whence he had the oversight of all things." Leaving the Goletta, the port of Tunis, a strip (*tænia*) of sand extends about three fourths of a mile to the peninsula. Thence going toward the sea, between a mound of ruins supposed to be the Forum, on the left, and the Krom, the residence of the minister of war, on the right, we come to what appear to be two large ponds, the further one having an island in the center. Here is the Cothon. The drifting sand has diminished its size since the days of its glory. There are traces of a modern entrance from the south-east, but the old entrance is from the south-west, where remains of strong masonry are still seen. Across this entrance are ruins of Scipio's mole. A canal one hundred and seventy-five feet in length leads to the inner or naval harbor; and the distance from the entrance to the circular island in the center is one hundred and twenty-five feet. The island, where stood the admiral's palace, is four hundred and forty-six feet in diameter. Outside of the circular sheet of water, around the island, are traces of heavy masonry, probably the remains of the receptacles of the ships. Allowing a hundred and twenty-five feet for their depth, gives, as the diameter of the naval harbor, nine hundred and fifty-eight feet, and two thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight feet as the extreme length of both harbors from the entrance. The ruins on the surface of the island are Roman; but it is an interesting fact, that a few years since some Arabs in digging here for stone found one with a Punic inscription, bearing the name of "Hannibal, the son of Mawarzah, the son of a devotee of Melcareth," which "may have belonged to the demolished admiral's palace, used as a common stone in building a Roman edifice."

In the excavations, Mr. Davis's usual plan was to put his men at work in the narrow trenches he had marked out, and then set off in search of new localities. The stone-searchers were always ready to enter his abandoned works for the sake of the walls he laid bare, and both they and the Arabs closely watched all his movements, in the belief that, though his "talk" was of antiquities, his real object was treasure. Riding one day over the site of the temple of Astarte, he stopped to examine a piece of wall, observing the trenches which had been made by the removal of stones for building, and endeavoring to trace out something of a plan of the edifice. In this case also he was watched; but it was by the *custodo* of the French chapel instead of the Arabs, who inferred from his lengthy examination that some important discovery had been made. As he was passing the spot the next morning he found, to his surprise, the *custodo* with two or three men digging at the foot of that very piece of wall. Mr. Davis very *naively* remarks, "If ever, in the course of my life, I was actuated by a feeling of jealousy it was when I beheld the result of their morning's labor. It was the most magnificent piece of mosaic I had ever seen, and measured about four feet by two and a half." Its rich color and exquisite design amazed him. Our sympathies are, of course, with Mr. Davis, and we experience a very sensible relief when he coolly informs us that the Frenchman, in attempting the removal of his mosaic, broke it in pieces. The *custodo* concluded that no more was to be found. Not so Mr. Davis. Judging from the size of the design, and its abrupt termination at the wall, that the wall was of later date than the pavement, and built through it, he set his men at work, and before evening uncovered a portion of magnificent mosaic, measuring fifteen feet by nine, and containing, besides its exquisite designs, a colossal female bust, and two full-length and robed priestesses.

In the darkness, which had already arrived, he retired dinnerless and supperless to his cottage on the ruins, an old deserted hut which had the bad reputation of being haunted. Ali Karema, the captain of his host, had received his orders for the morrow and retired. The witching hour of midnight approached, when a gentle knocking at the door, and the entrance of the pale and agitated Ali, aroused the fear that his mosaic was ruined. But a subject more important to the Arab than all the mosaics in the world had brought him there. "By the head of the prophet," said he, "what I am about to tell you is verily true." The gossips had whispered that his master had been seen in different places at the same time, and "to-night," said Ali, "while some parties in the coffee-house were talking of the manner in which you found the beautiful pictures, one person remarked that he did not wonder at it, since you had been seen flying in the air for several nights in succession. I denied this statement, and as I know you are never guilty of a falsehood, I entreat you to tell me whether you actually do fly in the air." Poor Ali got a burst of laughter instead of the expected volley of abuse, and a satisfactory assurance that none but heterodox Mohammedans would have ascribed to a mere mortal an attribute which belonged to God alone; whereupon he vented his roused indignation in the execration characteristic of his race, "Cursed be the father of their grandfather, liars as they are!"

Satisfied that more of this pavement could be found, to the dismay of Ali he persisted in removing the accumulations of earth, mortar, and small stones, and was rewarded by a head of Ceres, pronounced to be "the most magnificent of the kind in existence," another priestess, and the corresponding designs. With these discoveries he was able to construct a ground-plan of the pavement of the temple. The freshness and brightness of the colors, the skill shown in the design, and "the perfection of art exhibited in the light and shade of the figures," excited the admiration of all who saw them. One of the busts may perhaps represent Dido, who was worshiped at Carthage as a goddess; the other is proved by the garlands of ears of corn adorning the head to be Ceres. Very likely a third corner was occupied by Anna, the sister of Dido, and the fourth by Proserpine. Here we are carried back to the days of Punic Carthage. This is the lowest of three mosaic floors, the builders of the upper ones being ignorant of the existence of those beneath. Mr. Ditson, an American, who saw them, describes the upper mosaics as imbedded in a very hard cement about an inch thick, which must be taken up with the figures one is desirous of removing in a perfect state; whereas the lower one, a piece of cloth having been glued upon its surface, can be obtained without the cement, which is easily cut away. As proving different eras of Carthage, these distinct pavements are important. In the northern portion of the city proper, near the sea, (at No. 19 upon the ground-plan,) at a depth of four feet, was found a pavement which, from the style of art and the character of the Latin inscription upon it, seems to belong to the fourth century of our era. Three feet below it was another pavement with a pattern only; and six inches beneath that a third was found, of an elongated geometrical design. Underneath the rubbish, upon those mosaics ascribed to a Punic origin, a thin stratum of charcoal, or some other effect of fire, is always clearly traced, proving the mode of the destruction of the edifice. The costume of the priestesses upon this pavement resembles the Hebrew rather than the Roman or Byzantine.

Distinct traces of the wall surrounding the city proper are seen near the sea, behind the villages of Dower-Eshutt and Moalkah, and thence again to the sea. Remains of forts are found near many of its angles. On the southern side, near the Cothon, is the "weak and neglected angle," which brings before the mind those days of humiliation when the proud city found no compassion. The Rome which had trembled before her power had determined upon her fall. We will not narrate the causes and successive steps which a third time involved the two nations in war, the proffered submission, the surrender of all munitions of war in hope of conciliation, the astounding duplicity of her who had always sneered at Punic faith, the decree that Carthage must be razed and her people removed, the consternation and despair, the frantic rage, the hearty sacrifice which finally prepared for defense, or the alternations in the deadly strife. It will be enough to touch upon such points in the final struggle as are illustrated in the work before us. The weak angle of which we speak, the least fortified portion of the defenses because deemed the strongest by nature, was first attacked by both sea and land. Failing in his assault, Censorinus filled up a portion of the Lake of Tunis, giving sufficient space for two colossal rams and twelve thousand men to work them. They soon breached the wall; but the damage done by day was repaired by night, and finally, by a vigorous sally, the machines were burned. The Romans were in their turn assaulted by small vessels filled with burning sulphur and pitch, destroying or injuring many of their ships. The whole campaign was so disastrous that the Roman Senate sent a commission to inquire into the conduct of the war. The ensuing one was no better, and the hopes and prospects of the besieged brightened accordingly, until Scipio, who had already several times saved the army from destruction, was, though lacking five years of the legal age, made consul, and assigned to Africa. He established his camp upon the isthmus, and prepared for operations upon Megara, which lay outside of the city proper. It (and not the Byrsa, as many assert) was defended by a line of triple fortifications forty-three feet in height. Its towers rose four stories high, and furnished stalls underground for three hundred elephants, and above for four thousand horses, besides quarters for twenty-four thousand men, with the subsistence and stores necessary for several months. In a night attack the Romans made themselves masters of a kind of *château*, from the top of which they crossed to the wall by a hastily constructed bridge, and then, leaping down, opened the gates for Scipio with four thousand men. The Carthaginians fled to the Byrsa. Scipio's next care was to cut off the besieged from the main-land, so that provisions could be procured only by sea. He then blocked up the harbor by a mole from the weak angle to the opposite point of land, nine hundred and forty feet long, twenty-four thick, and eighty high. Alarmed at the prospect of certain starvation, the Carthaginians immediately commenced the construction of fresh ships and a new passage from the inner harbor to the sea. To the surprise of the Romans, from whose sight the lofty buildings around the Cothon had concealed these preparations, a fleet of fifty galleys, followed by a number of other vessels, suddenly issued forth, indulged in a harmless bravado before the face of the enemy, who were wholly unprepared for a battle, and then safely returned to the harbor. Thus Carthage foolishly threw away her last opportunity. Three days afterward an engagement lasted from morning till sunset without victory on either side, when the Punic fleet retreated toward the harbor. Some of the smaller vessels by accident jamming up the entrance, the fight was at once renewed, and when it ceased most of the Carthaginian ships were wrecked. This was the last naval battle of Carthage.

The skill of both parties was employed in the long contest for possession of the quay adjoining the new entrance. It was finally won by Scipio, and famine raged within the city thus cut off from all supplies. The fleet made an unsuccessful attack upon the Byrsa, which, though in some sense in the "middle" of the city, must therefore have been near the sea. An assault upon the gate of the merchant harbor was made at the same time with success, and Lœlius entered that part of the city called by Appian the Agora, or "great place," filling it with his legions. Four thousand fresh troops, summoned to join the consul on the ensuing morning, cared less for his orders than for the plunder of the temple of Apollo, which stood near the Agora, and in the route to the Byrsa. The distribution among them of the gold on the statue of the god and the golden plates lining the temple satisfied their cupidity and restored them to duty.

Three streets, with houses six stories high, gradually ascended from the Agora to the Byrsa. The Romans, undertaking to pass through them, were overwhelmed with missiles from the roofs. They broke into the houses, forcing their way inch by inch, from room to room, from story to story, from roof to roof, and by planks and beams from one side of the street to the other. Their route was marked by dead and dying within the houses, and in the streets by heaps either slain in the contests there or killed and tossed from the lofty roofs. Carthaginian and Roman became so mingled that friend often fell by the hand of friend. When they reached the Byrsa the houses behind them were set on fire. Old men, women, and children who had fled from the slaughter were driven from their hiding-places by the flames only to afford fresh food for death. For six days fire and sword continued their awful work, and everywhere the vilest passions, bridled by no restraint, seemed to vie in the perpetration of fiendish horrors. On the seventh day a deputation, bearing suppliant wreaths from the temple of Esculapius, besought of Scipio the lives of all who would surrender. The prayer was granted to all except the nine hundred deserters. Fifty thousand haggard wretches came forth and were placed in safety. The deserters, excluded from mercy, together with Asdrubal, his wife and children, retired to the temple of Esculapius, and there defended themselves until, overcome by watching, fatigue, and hunger, they resolved to end their despair by giving themselves and their last retreat to the flames. But Asdrubal, with the same infamous spirit which led him into rebellion, and dictated his base charge against his brother general and usurpation of his office, now found his coward heart shrinking from death with his companions in arms, and secretly stole forth to beg the mercy of the consul. Scipio showed him prostrate at his feet to the deserters, who reviled him for his cowardice and double treachery and then set fire to their own funeral pile. Thus great Carthage fell; and the city was given over to the pillage of the soldiers, excepting those who had plundered the temple of Apollo, Scipio reserving for his triumph the gold, silver, and other valuables found in the temples.

Various points of interest connected with this narrative, and not already sufficiently noticed, will be referred to as we proceed. Its facts are illustrated in the work by an extended ground-plan.

The Roman names of the three streets leading from the Agora to the Byrsa have been preserved to us. The house where Cyprian was confined, previous to his interrogation by the pro-consul, is said to have stood in Saturn-street, between Venus and Æsculapius streets—*in vico dicitur Saturni inter Veneream et Salutariam mansit.* These names were, perhaps, mere translations from the Punic. A careful survey of evident remains of lines of ruins produced in Mr. Davis's mind the conviction, which was confirmed by his excavations, that *Salutaria* ran near the sea wall quite direct to the citadel, on whose summit stood the temple of Esculapius; that *Vicus Saturni* lay in a gentle curve along the eastern slope of the hill of St. Louis, the site of the French chapel, leaving the temple of Saturn standing in solitary grandeur on the left; while *Venerea* took its course with more of a curve along the western declivity of the hill, through the district of Astarte to the citadel. This harmonizes with the religious division of the city.

While every writer has felt the importance of determining the site of the temple of Æsculapius, probably nothing else connected with these ruins has given rise to so great difference of opinion. It was the most thoroughly fortified point of the Byrsa; the population around it was the most dense; it stood in the middle of the city; it was attacked from the sea simultaneously with the Cothon; and it took Scipio, with his one hundred and twenty thousand men, six days and nights to work his way through the three streets that led to it from the Agora. These are the conditions to be met in deciding upon its locality. An evident misunderstanding of the language of Strabo, who says, "In the middle of the city was the Acropolis, which they call Byrsa," has led to erroneous conclusions, and the hill of St. Louis, in particular, has been fixed upon as its site. This hill may be the "eminent place" from which Scipio observed the movements of his soldiers, but it could not have been the Byrsa. Mr. Davis, understanding Appian as saying that the Byrsa was attacked from the sea, and Strabo as meaning that it was in the middle of the city, as viewed from the sea, very easily believes the statement of Ado Viennensis, who says, "At one side the city and the Byrsa have the same wall, overhanging the sea." It must therefore be sought near the sea, and in a north-east direction from the Cothon and the Agora. The locality assigned to it meets all the conditions of the case, gives an area of two and three fourths miles in circumference, which agrees with the statement of Servius, and affords ample space for the necessary edifices. Upon its summit we are to search for the temple of Æsculapius, or Ashmon. Near the sea is an area six hundred and thirteen feet by three hundred and forty, inclosed by a solid wall six feet thick, and containing cisterns vast enough to supply a thousand men with water during the dry months of the year. In the center of this area are massive walls of a temple one hundred and eighty-six feet by seventy-nine. Excavations show that the wall of the lower story, to the height of about twenty feet, is in good preservation. The whole, as has been remarked by military men, has the appearance of works of fortification. Besides this, Appian informs us that the temple stood upon rocks, and, "in times of peace, they ascended to it by sixty steps." Mr. Davis says, "This edifice is built upon rocks, and the ruins of this staircase still exist, corresponding exactly with the front of the oblong square shell of the temple, and the whole clearly shows that it was intended for that edifice." The Adytum can be traced at the western end, and "at the eastern, in the direction of the staircase, are the remains of a portico; but the columns have disappeared." A single Punic inscription was found here with the name *Ashmon* upon it.

At a little distance from these ruins are found portions of a circular wall, which, from its form, has been supposed to belong to a theater. Excavations here brought to light fragments of a marble cross, and several terra cotta lamps bearing crosses and other Christian symbols, evidently showing that here must once have stood a Christian church. A few hundred yards from this spot, and near the walls of the temple, are what the Arabs call "the cisterns of the devil," eighteen in number, each ninety-three feet long, nineteen and a half wide, and seventeen deep, built with an arched roof, an arched gallery on each side, and six circular chambers with cupolas, (one at each angle and two in the center,) only one of which now remains. Most of them still contain water, and with little expense could be restored. A subterranean aqueduct connects them with the larger ones at Moalkah, of which only fourteen can now be traced, each being about four hundred feet in length and twenty-eight in width. They were filled with the sweet waters of Zoghwaan, brought sixty miles by a massive aqueduct, three fourths of which could still be made serviceable by simply clearing away the accumulated earth.

The city proper was divided into three religious districts. That bordering upon the sea was assigned to Ashmon, (Æsculapius,) with minor deities. The middle district belonged to Baal-Hammon, (Saturn,) the sun, the supreme deity, whose temple stood alone. In the third were the temples of Astarte, (Juno,) and other divinities, representing the moon and stars. These divisions harmonize with the three streets leading to the Byrsa, and are fully identified by the excavations. The religion of the Carthaginians was, at bottom, the same with that of the mother country to which the people of Israel were so prone. The Canaanites of Africa, as well as those of Syria, had their high places and their sacred groves. The votive tablets found at Carthage throws some light upon their worship. Respecting them, Mr. Davis says: "The name of one deity is invariably found on all, and that is *Baal-Hammon;* while that of the protecting deity of the devotee, as well as his own name, generally comes after. The names of the gods thus placed in secondary position, and, in all probability, as a kind of intercessors, are *Melcareth*, *Ashtaroth*, *Ashmon*, etc. There are instances where tablets are dedicated to Baal-Hammon exclusively, without mention being made of any other deity; while out of upward of a hundred inscriptions that I have dug up, there is not one so dedicated to the other divinities." One is thus rendered:

TO THE GODDESS TO TANATH THE COUNTENANCE OF BAAL [FEM.];
TO THE LORD TO BAAL-HAMMON, A MAN VOWED,
EVEN ARSHAMBAN, A VOTARY OF ASTARTE AND A FILIAL
DEVOTEE OF ASHMON: AS THOU HEAREST THE SUPPLICATION, DO
THOU BLESS!

Baal-Hammon was the sun-god, to whom, says Sanchoniatho, men "stretched forth their hands; for him they thought the only god and lord of heaven." In him is comprised Jupiter, Saturn, Apollo, (Sol,) and Mars, and he is the cruel Molech of Scripture. His worship extended from Babylon to Britain; and even at the present day, in Ireland and Wales, Bel-tein is observed by running through fires made upon the hill tops. The Israelites were forbidden to serve him, but "they built the high places of Baal, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech." Jer. xxxii, 35. Mr. Davis has found the site of his temple at Carthage. Deeper digging than other explorers had thought necessary uncovered remains of a temple of circular construction, proved by itself to have belonged to Saturn. In the center is a circle twenty-nine feet in diameter. Around this, in the order mentioned, are twelve "pilasters," standing four and a half feet apart, and each ten feet thick; a gallery sixteen feet wide; another circle of twelve pilasters standing further apart, each four feet thick; a gallery of eighteen feet; twelve pilasters six feet thick; a gallery of twenty feet; and, surrounding this, another series of pilasters twelve feet in thickness, (not now so complete as the others,) making the building two hundred feet in diameter from outside to outside. The four series may represent the four weeks in the month; the twelve pilasters the twelve months in the year; the circle the period of the earth's annual revolution. The ground-plan of the building strongly resembles the sun in the center of our system, and his broadly diverging rays. These Roman ruins are supposed to be on the site of the original temple, traces of which are discovered in the existing masonry. The only relic recovered here was a piece of mosaic in the first gallery. But in the center, fifteen feet deeper than previous excavations had been made, was found "a thick layer of burnt earth mixed with bones." Beneath this was the natural rock. Here, doubtless, stood the brazen image of the terrible Baal, and these are the remains of his human victims. This temple was held in special reverence, and was the depository of the most important and valuable documents; but it is especially memorable for its human sacrifices. No efforts of friends or foes could stop the practice, even after the rebuilding of the city, and as late as the time of Tertullian. A Punic inscription, found in the vicinity of the temple—"the gem of Punic epigraphy hitherto discovered," and known, by the formation of the characters, to belong to free Carthage—shows it to have been an injunction of their religion. A portion of it reads thus: "The immolation of man is ordered by precepts, and there exists likewise a rule respecting annual victims. To the priest is to be presented the man to be immolated to God, completely fortified, and in an opportune time."

Tanath is identified with Aphrodite Tanaïs of Babylon, and with Diana—not the huntress, but the oriental Artemis, Diana of the Ephesians. Her worship appears to have been introduced into Africa by the Persians who followed Hercules hither, and to have become so fully established that the first Phœnician settlers found her name given to one of the towns upon the coast. It was easy to adore the old divinity under the new name, and when they had become masters of the country, to give her proper place to Astarte without abolishing the worship of Tanath.

Astarte, daughter of the gods and queen of heaven, is the Ashtaroth of Scripture, whose corrupt worship was so frequently joined with that of Baal, and identical with Venus, Juno, and Ceres. It will be remembered that the first discoveries were in the district of Astarte, in a chapel of minor deities.

No remains of the chief temple are found except vötive tablets; but it is easy to believe Virgil's gorgeous description of the temple in a grove in the midst of the city, *donis opulentum et numine Divæ.* The excavations brought nothing to light showing that the impure rites practiced in her honor in the East were known at Carthage, but we cannot conclude with Mr. Davis that the religion of Syria was so transformed in its emigration to Africa as to approach to even a tolerable purity. A chamber within the Astarte district, when cleared of its rubbish, disclosed a beautiful Roman mosaic in the Punic style, exhibiting a hunting scene. The costume of the huntsmen, the trappings of the horses, the animals of the country, and the apparatus of the chase, furnish a picture answering to Virgil's description of the hunt given in honor of the Trojan guests. May this have been a chapel of Diana? In this district, a little south of Moalkah, are the prostrate ruins of the amphitheater, which as late as the twelfth century retained marked evidences of its former splendor. A little further south are traces of the circus, about ten thousand feet in length, nearly as large as the Roman circus Maximus, which accommodated two hundred and fifty thousand persons.

Evidence of distinct epochs of Carthage is found in the sepulchers of the dead. Burial is more ancient than burning, and burial at the house of the departed of an earlier date than in localities specially devoted to the purpose. One Roman tomb, resembling a white marble sarcophagus, was opened, where the two practices were combined—the body being first deposited within it and then burned. It contained charred wood and human bones. At another place Roman graves were found, and, ten feet below them, tombs attached to private houses, to which must be assigned a date prior to any collision with Rome, and also to the time of Darius Hystaspes, who bound the Carthaginians by treaty "to burn the bodies of the dead rather than bury them in the earth." This illustrates the fact, that Asdrubal, when accused of treason in the second Punic war, having learned that his destruction was inevitable, took poison, and "retired into the sepulcher of his father," whence he was dragged and slain.

Investigations upon *Jebel Khawi*, "the empty mountain," proved it to be the place of the catacombs, embracing a circumference of about four miles. Here was the public burial-place of Punic Carthage. Here are the round holes in the rock, to collect water for the refreshment of the soul hovering over the sepultured body. The entrance is through a narrow hall into a chamber, in whose walls are niches about two feet square and six feet deep. A low and narrow passage leads into another chamber, and thence into another, and so on through a labyrinth of rooms varying only in size and number of niches. If ever occupied, they are now empty. Has man or the hyena been the despoiler? At length a chamber is entered apparently destitute of niches; but upon examination their proper place is found, and the print of the hand that closed them distinctly seen. A coffee-colored skeleton lies within, ready to crumble to dust at a touch. The important facts developed are the existence and extent of the catacombs, their Punic origin, and their subsequent use by Christians.

We cannot follow Mr. Davis in his journeys and investigations in the surrounding country, further than for a moment to inquire with him for the landing-place of Virgil's hero. Full of the conviction that the poet undertook to describe scenery actually existing in the vicinity of Carthage, rather than some foreign or imaginary localities, he sets out upon his search. With all respect for the opinions of Shaw and Sir Grenville Temple, and all confidence in Trojan muscle, he cannot, nevertheless, believe in the power of even the swift Achates to travel on foot the sixty miles between Cape Bon and Carthage thrice in a single day. It is easier for him to suppose that the pious Æneas entered the little bay west of Cape Camart, where it is literally true that

> Hinc atque hinc vastæ rupes, geminique minantur
> In cœlum scopuli; quorum sub vertice latè
> Æquora tuta silent. ÆN. I, 162.

Only a few hundred yards distant is "a cave with pendant cliffs; sweet waters within and seats of living rock." Cape Camart affords a point where the hero surveying saw "no ship in sight." Even now "groves black with frowning shade" are around, and may then have furnished the venison with which "they banished hunger by feasting." The first indistinct view of the city is from *Jebel Khawi*, the hill of the catacombs.

The goddess-mother directs him on his way, "and now they ascend the hill which most overhangs the city, and from above looks toward the opposite towers." *Sidy Bosaid*, this overhanging hill, the highest point upon the peninsula, and three hundred and ninety-three feet above the sea, was only half a mile from the city wall, and twice that distance from the Byrsa; and from its summit could be seen the stately towers, the gates, the theater's deep foundations, and the eager Tyrians.

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ART. VI.—RECENT CONFIRMATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURE RECORD.

Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; being the Result of a Second Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By AUSTEN H. LAYARD, M.P. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Monuments of Egypt; or, Egypt a Witness for the Bible. By FRANCIS L. HAWKES, LL.D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam.

The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Record; stated anew, with special reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Le Bible et Moderne Science. MARCEL D. SERRES in Bibliotheque Universelle de Genève, No. 106.

EGYPT, Nineveh, Babylon—these names have been for years most significantly suggestive of death—of death in its widest grasp and completest triumph. Yet these nations are not dead. Never did they live to so grand a purpose as now. The mysterious figures and angles of their exhumed slabs are worth more than the finest chiseling of the features of any god. They help to authenticate God's revelation. They reaffirm God's authority. They remove the shrouding vail of antiquity.

Antiquity greatly affects credibility. Credibility decreases by geometrical ratio as antiquity increases by arithmetical. A thousand corroborative incidents have passed into oblivion. A multitude of side lights have gone out. And the intensity of the central light itself is inversely as the square of the distance.

Hence objections are raised against the Scriptures which could not have been seriously proposed at the time of their writing.

Respect for what is ancient merely because it is ancient is not a distinguishing characteristic of this age. And with good reason. The utilities of to-day find little assistance, the philosophy of to-day finds much that is puerile, the science of to-day much of stupidity and error in the pretended knowledge of the earlier ages. Even the scholar, on whose estimate antiquity is dependent for respect and credence, finds the father of history the father of many absurdities and lies. And so whatever is ancient is suspected. Add to this that Christianity makes the greatest possible demands both for reverence and obedience, and contains so much that is not only incomprehensible to the mind, but opposed to the desires of man, and it becomes evident that its book is not only subject to criticism, but provokes it.

Hence students of the myths of ancient literature turned to that literature most ancient of all with minds prepared to find at least allegories if not fables in Moses as well as Ovid, Isaiah as the Sybil. The Old Testament quickly yielded to criteria no modern history could endure. Parts of the New soon followed, and then the whole, till we were left to console ourselves only with a "God-man eternally incarnate, not an individual but an idea."

To this dire exigency of man God was not indifferent. He did not leave man to be driven back to the unutterably sweet rest and peace found in his word by the absurdities, contradictions, and mysteries into which he had plunged himself. No! when the human mind lay panting and shuddering from its fruitless struggles after light, he added fresh fuel to the beacon of his holy word. He made its light penetrate that outer darkness where man had flung himself. He poured illumination on the blind. Gathering up authentication from the very borders of the chaos of the primal earth, from the graves of perished empires, from the present monuments of cursed peoples, from the stars in their courses and the strata of the earth, he declares, "I am God, and beside me there is none other." To render his word authoritative and powerful he has treasured evidences of its truth in the very bowels of the earth through decades of centuries, and now brings them forth, not only when man desperately needs them, but when they can be copied, pictured, printed, and preserved above ground, rendering no further authentication needful for all time.

Let us follow the lines of confirmation, which naturally divide themselves into three—Historical, Incidental, and Scientific.

Two of the authors from whom we draw most of our materials have long been favorites with the public. They need no criticism, either favorable or adverse. They wrote in a spirit more devoted to truth than theory, and a public, sympathizing in the conclusions reached, has accorded them unusual honor. The record of discoveries made since their writing is found in the third author mentioned, and is scattered over the whole range of scientific publication and periodical literature.

One cannot but confess that a Divine Providence directed the exhuming as well as the preserving of these monuments. For who could expect to find in isolated pictures, commemorating single events of single reigns, facts authenticating the history of a despised and distant nation with which they came in contact but little in the course of a long and momentous national history? Who could expect to find monuments of an exodus so deeply humiliating and so unprecedentedly disastrous recorded and preserved by the very sufferers themselves? True, there are none designed to be such; but such there are, and providentially left when all was designed to be obliterated. Just as De Wette was getting hard at work on his Introduction to the Old Testament the expedition of Napoleon set sail for Egypt. Just as he was poring incredulously over the exodus of the Jews, Bouchard unearthed the Rosetta stone; the key to the locked mysteries of Egyptian lore was being fitted into the wards. When his work was falling from the press, Champollion lè Jeune was reading to the savans of Paris the outlines of his future works on Egypt. When the zodiacs of Dendera and Esneh were declared by M. Gore to be at least eleven thousand years older than the period assigned by biblical chronology for the existence of man, he had just become able to read the name of Augustus Cesar upon one and of Antonius upon the other. Thus these zodiacs, which, "like birds of the night," says Osborn, "hovering over or perching upon the uncouth remains of ancient superstition, filled the air with dismal forebodings of the downfall of Christianity," were proved to be no older than the Christian era. Just as Strauss reached the zenith of his fame as an alchemist, transmuting facts to myths, gold to dross, Layard was preparing for a grander fame, earned by turning his pretended myths to facts, dross to gold.

HISTORICAL.

For the reason mentioned, the direct historical confirmations of. Scripture in Egypt are few but decisive, the incidental abundant.

Brick-making.—Rosellini found in the tomb of Roscherê a picture of the Hebrews in their bondage: "Of the laborers some are employed in transporting clay in vessels, some in intermingling it with the straw, others in taking the bricks out of the form and placing them in rows, still others with a piece of wood on their backs and ropes on each side carrying away the bricks already burned or dried. Their dissimilarity to the Egyptians appears at the first view; the complexion, physiognomy, and beard permit us not to be mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews; . . . the physiognomy is unmistakably Jewish."* In this conclusion agree Rosellini, Hengstenberg, Osborn, and Kitto.

Shishak.—In the twelfth chapter of Second Chronicles we have the history of the invasion of Shishak king of Egypt. Rehoboam is humiliated and made repentant by the warning of Shemaiah the prophet. The Lord declared that they should be made prisoners of Shishak, who came and "took all" the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the king's treasures, reducing the kingdom to the level of a conquered province.

Champollion landed one day about sunset to glance at the ruins of Karnak. In a large hall was a picture of a triumph. In the midst of sixty-three prisoners, each representing a conquered city, nation, or tribe, he saw one inscribed "king of the country of Judah." The picture was executed by the order of Shishak, and stands, a sculptured record of the invasion and subjugation of Judah, recorded in Chronicles. In the same picture were the name of Beth-horon, Megiddo, Mahanaim, and some others, towns which Shishak captured while invading Judea.

Death of Pharaoh.—Brugsh has lately identified the Pharaoh of the exodus with Thothmes II. of the monuments.* Thothmes III. was a great conqueror, and placed magnificent inscriptions concerning himself upon the monuments of Karnak. These records fix the date of his accession to the throne. Astronomically determined, it is found to have been May 5, 1515, and "with the sunset of the preceding day would commence the twelfth day of the second lunar month, counting from the equinox." Now, assuming this to have been the day of the demise of the preceding monarch, it is identical with the day of the submersion of the exodic Pharaoh in the Red Sea. For Moses says that from the overthrow to the arrival at Elim was "three days," that is, *νυχθημερα*, measured from sunset to sunset. This would make them arrive at Elim on the *fourteenth*, and leave there on the *fifteenth*. Just so it is said by Moses: "They took their journey from Elim . . . on the *fifteenth day of the second month*."†

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* "Egypt and its Monuments," pp. 180, 182.

In the remains of Assyria direct historical verification of the Scripture record is very abundant, and the evidence of the highest possible order. The events of the reign of each king whose annals have been discovered are minutely described. In some cases of foreign conquest daily events are particularly noted. Of the main figures in every picture commemorating a victory are the "scribes of the host" (2 Kings xxv, 19) taking an exact account of every article of spoil.

"Pul the king of Assyria came up against the land; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand." 2 Kings xv, 19. This term, Pul, seems to be an abbreviation, or half a name. The Septuagint has it Phalôch. Almost the only record of the Assyrian king, Phal-lukha, is that he took tribute of Samaria, Menahem's capital city.

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* We record this professed discovery of the future Egyptologer, well aware that it puts a different king on the throne at the time from any one hitherto supposed to occupy it. It has been supposed by Wilkinson, without any ground for absolute certainty, that Pthahmen was king of Egypt at the time of the exodus. Bunsen thinks it was Menephthath. Osborn, as will be seen hereafter, infers in favor of Sethos II. of the nineteenth dynasty, while Brugsh carries it back to the second king of the eighteenth dynasty. Should the supposed discovery prove to be real, it will be heartily welcomed as a fixed point in the confusion of the earlier history. For while the order of succession of many kings is clear, and the approximate length of their regnal periods discovered, points synchronous with other history greatly need to be ascertained. See the subject treated *extenso* in the British Quarterly Review, October, 1860.

† Methodist Quarterly Review, 1861, p. 155.

Tiglath Pileser came at the invitation of Ahaz, and not only chastised Pekah, but "took Damascus and slew Rezin." 2 Kings xvi, 7–9. The Lord preserved an Assyrian fragment, just large enough to say, that Tiglath Pileser defeated Rezin, took Damascus, and received tribute of the king of Samaria.

The successor of Tiglath Pileser, according to the Bible, seems to be Shalmaneser. He came up against Hoshea twice, (2 Kings xvii, 3–5,) the last time laying siege to Samaria for three years. The mutilated inscriptions of this king contain the name of Hoshea, king of Samaria, and that city is recorded to have been taken in the first year of the reign of his successor, Sargon.

The only thing the Scripture mentions of Sargon is, that by his general, Tartan, he took Ashdod. (Isa. xx, 1.) His inscriptions say that he "made war in southern Syria, *and took Ashdod.*"

"The king of Assyria shall lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot." Isa. xx, 4.

The inscriptions say Sargon did this very thing.

"The king of Assyria did carry away Israel into Assyria, and put them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." 2 Kings xviii, 11. The Scripture says, the siege was began by Shalmaneser; the monuments declare that it was finished by Sargon, and that he was the first Assyrian king who subdued Medea, and also that he founded cities there, and filled them with colonists from other parts of his dominions.

The probable successor of Sargon, judging from Scripture, is Sennacherib. This is proved true.

"Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold." 2 Kings xviii, 13, 14.

One bright August morning, in 1851, an inscription was unearthed at Kouyunjik that had been made by the order of

Sennacherib himself, of which the following is a part: "And because Hezekiah, king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms, and the might of my power, I took forty-six of his strong *fenced cities;* and of the smaller towns that were scattered about, I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I took and carried off as spoil two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty people, old and young, male and female; together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates so as to prevent his escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chief and the elders of Jerusalem *with thirty talents of gold*, eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty."—*Hist. Ev.*, p. 120.

The amount of gold in each is exactly the same, but in the amount of silver there is a slight discrepancy, caused probably by the king of Nineveh adding in the spoil, while Hezekiah only mentions the tribute finally agreed upon.

One of the finest Assyrian sculptures bears this inscription: "Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before the city of Lachish, I give permission for its slaughter."

The disaster to Sennacherib's army, and his own death a few years after, are not alluded to, for human nature has an old habit of failing to record its failings.

Scripture declares that Esar-Haddon was the successor of Sennacherib. So do the monuments. Manasseh was successor of Hezekiah. Who, then, but Esar-Haddon's captains could take "Manasseh among the thorns, bind him with fetters, and carry him to Babylon?" 2 Chron. xxxiii, 11. Esar-Haddon's inscriptions mention "Manasseh king of Judah" as among his tributaries. Why carry to Babylon? Singularly enough, he alone of all the Assyrian kings was king of Babylon, and occasionally held court there. Had the expression occurred during the reign of any other king it would have presented an insurmountable difficulty; occurring here, it presents a testimony of marvelous accuracy.

Here scriptural allusions to Assyria come to an end, and with good reason, for Assyria itself comes to an end. Babylon becomes the great conquering power, and takes its place.

The recovered inscriptions of Babylon are far less numerous than those of Nineveh. They were far less durable, being mostly put upon plaster, with which the rooms were evidently finished, while those of Nineveh were cut upon stone. But even this circumstance incidentally confirms a Scripture statement, which could hardly have been true if made of Nineveh, namely: "In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the *plaster* of the wall of the king's palace." Dan. v, 5.

But if the remaining monuments of Babylon are few, it has one of the highest importance. The Behistun tablet has been to the Cuneatic writing what the Rosetta stone was to the hieroglyphic. This vast record of the exploits of Darius, on a natural tablet seventeen hundred feet high, cut three hundred feet from the ground, in the Persian, Median, and Babylonian languages, gives the key to the whole. Without God's making and preserving this, it were in vain that Assyrian inscriptions had been preserved. But this takes away the doubts men otherwise would cast upon the correctness of the interpretations.

INCIDENTAL CORROBORATION.

This brings us to a kind of corroborative testimony no less reliable than the preceding, and far more abundant. The only difficulty, in such an article as this, is in rejecting what we have no room to recount. Volumes of this kind of testimony have been accumulating since the Bible was finished—indeed, almost since it began; and volumes are yearly added. It stands upon almost every page of oriental literature; it springs up by the wayside of the eastern world; it looks out of the caverns of Egypt, from the mountains and plains of Palestine, from the huts of the poor, from the sepulchers of kings. Dust is shaken from records decades of centuries old, and they declare it. Earth beneath is full of it; the heaven above pictures it, and the air between whispers it. The wind drinks up the waters of the Mediterranean, and pours them on the Holy Land, and we see the truth of, "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, there cometh a shower, and so it is." It passes over the burning sands of Arabia, making evident, "When the south wind blows, ye say, there will be heat, and it cometh to pass." Luke xii, 55, 56. It slips from ice-clad mountains to declare "cold cometh out of the north." Job xxxvii, 9.

Singularly enough, one very important substantiation of the record has come to pass in a way doubly incidental. It does not unravel perplexities; it grasps another's sword and cuts them. Manetho the Sybennite, and Berosus the Chaldean, confirming Scripture in many ways, have been greatly discredited; and Ctesias, contradicting the Scripture, has been held up as a marvel of accuracy by those desirous of establishing theories adverse to Christianity. But the monuments confirm Manetho and Berosus, and disprove Ctesias. Thus, incidentally, incidental testimony is confirmed, thus confirming the record.

Egypt is first brought to notice in Scripture by Abraham's visit. The following facts are implied in the narrative of the twelfth chapter of Genesis: Egypt was a powerful and civilized nation; its kings known by the title of Pharaoh; domestic servitude existed there; abundance of food was accessible; Sarah was fair, and used no vail. All of which is abundantly confirmed by the hundreds of pictures of daily life, which give a clearer insight into the manners and customs of Egypt than all the volumes ever written of America give of ours.

In reference to Joseph, it is evident that the Egyptians bought slaves; that Pharaoh had a body "guard," which of course had a "captain." "Overseers" abound in all pictures of labor. "Butlers" and "bakers" are found carrying "baskets on their heads." It was appropriate for Joseph to "shave himself" before going into the presence of Pharaoh, for all honorable Egyptians are represented without beards. "Treasuries of grain" are yet pictured, with a scribe sitting, and over his head written, "The writer or registrar of bushels." "Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, *until he left numbering.*" Long "famines" are recorded as occurring in Egypt. "Joseph's brethren *sat* before him." While most oriental nations *recline*, the Egyptians *sat* at their meals. "Wagons" are seen in the earlier representations. Goshen is situated as the Bible declares. Embalming was practiced.

The bricks of the period contain straw. These and many other items are patent to the most superficial observer.*

Still clearer evidence is apparent on closer observation. One king existed in Egypt that built more monuments, by hundreds, in his single reign, than all the other one hundred and forty-nine kings did in two thousand years. Whatever is most costly and grand is his. No other king has his name on works in twenty different places; whereas there are not, probably, twenty places, among all the hundreds of the ruins of Egypt, where his name is not. Foreigners and prisoners of war only labored on such works. But this king made few wars and took no prisoners. Who should this be but he that dealt subtilely with the children of Israel, and reduced that nation of three or four millions to slavery? A king soon after him never slept in the tomb he had prepared. And his name became so hateful to Egyptians, on account of calamity, that it is almost everywhere violently erased. The tomb of his "*first-born son*" was finished by the succeeding monarch—a circumstance almost unprecedented in Egyptian history, and one that goes far to show that it was this very "first-born" of him that never slept in his tomb that died in the plague. Even the finishing of this tomb and others shows a most singular fact. Just at this point the constructive and decorative arts of Egypt underwent a sudden and grievous deterioration. This could be produced in one or both of two ways: by artisans leaving with the Israelites, or by the desertion of Egypt by the whole mass of population on account of such unheard-of calamities. We learn from Josephus (against Apion i, 26) that the king succeeding the exodic Pharaoh did flee southward into Ethiopia, together *with the whole population of Egypt.*†

Pharaoh Necho, Pharaoh Hophra, and Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, mentioned in Scripture, are all proved to be real personages by their cartouches found on monuments. Indeed, there are no less than eighty-four Canaanitish names found in the Bible recorded on the monuments of Abou-simbol, Thebes, etc.

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* Dr. Hawkes writes one hundred and fifty pages illustrating these and other incidental corroborations in a most interesting manner.

† See the subject of this paragraph treated in an exceedingly interesting monograph, by W. Osborn, in "The Journal of Sacred Literature," July, 1860.

Hoshea, king of Israel, made a treaty with So, king of Egypt, who, at the same time, threw off his tributary relation to the king of Assyria, and thus incurred his wrath. (2 Kings xvii, 4.) Amid the dust of royal archives in the Palace of Kouyunjik was found an impression of both the seals of this Egyptian So and the Assyrian monarch, once probably attached to a treaty that followed So's defeat.*

This triangular incident, that pertains to Egypt, Assyria, and the Bible, appropriately marks the transition from Egyptian confirmations to Assyrian.

The separate existence of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel is very early acknowledged. One of the first Assyrian kings mentions Jehu, the descendant of Omri, as a tributary. On the same monument is mention made of Hazael, whom Elijah was commanded to anoint king of Syria. (1 Kings xix, 15.)

The power and greatness of Ben-hadad, king of Damascus, is recorded at length; his coming against Samaria with confederate "kings," "horses," "chariots," and "a great multitude." This greatness, this vast abundance of munitions, the confederacy of kings, under this Ben-hadad, is circumstantially confirmed in the cuneiform annals of an Assyrian king.

Places spoken of in Scripture, of whose locality and existence modern research finds no trace, have their reality and true locality established by native geographers. The names of about sixty scriptural towns, countries, kings, etc., are found in their proper order in Assyrian inscriptions.

Of nothing in ancient history can there be clearer proof than of the Jews being at Babylon. Every brick declares that Nebuchadnezzar built that city. Perhaps one inscription of his has reference to that judicial infliction of insanity upon him: "Four years (?) . . . the seat of my kingdom in the city . . . which did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power. The precious riches of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon buildings for myself and the honor of my kingdom I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach, my lord, the joy of my heart (?) in Babylon, the city of his sovereignty and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, (?) I did not furnish his altars, nor did I clear out the canals." There is not in the whole range of cuneatic literature another instance of a man's putting on record his own inaction.* Nebuchadnezzar's piety, the length of his reign, the influence of the Chaldeans, the use of images of gold, are not stated more clearly by Daniel than by the inscriptions.

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* Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," pp. 156–159.

But Babylon confirms something of far more importance than historical allusions. It shows the truth of prophecy. Isaiah prophetically declared, (Isa. xxi, 9,) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." No obelisks lift themselves up defiantly as in older Egypt and Assyria. No graven images are brought thence for the museums of new nations. Mere rubbish takes the place of grandeur. Xerxes' overturning corroborates Isaiah's foreseeing. In the fifth century the canals became choked, and Babylon became a marsh, filled with "pools of water," as Isaiah had declared one hundred and seventy-five years before. Soon after the river changed its course, and in the seventh century, according to foretelling Jeremiah, it became "a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness; a land wherein no man dwelleth." Jer. l, 43.

These are a few of the many† recent voices by which the very "stones cry out" for God's word. "The stone cries out of the wall, and a beam out of the timber answers it." "This heap is a witness, and this pillar a witness." Let us see how "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

SCIENTIFIC.

Dr. Hitchcock and a few others hold that the Bible has not anticipated any scientific discoveries. But the ground of this conclusion is not fact but propriety. Because the Bible usually speaks of natural phenomena, according to optical truth, he deems that it never ought to speak according to physical truth. "For if we admit that one modern discovery can be found in the Bible, how can we vindicate that book in the numerous cases where it speaks of natural phenomena in accordance with the monstrously absurd notions which prevailed among those to whom it was originally addressed? If it describes the science of the nineteenth century in one instance why not in all?"* To this it will be sufficient to reply that the *Annuaire* of the French Bureau of Navigation, and other works of the highest scientific character, speak of science in the nineteenth century, notwithstanding they use the monstrously absurd terms of sunrise and sunset, and to investigate the facts in the case.

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* See "Historical Evidences," p. 352.

† Ibid., pp. 339–344.

As an assistant in this investigation, the brief article of Serres will be found valuable for the state of scientific discovery at the time of its writing. But many of the most important and convincing attestations of science have been educed since that time.

He writes with the grace and attractiveness of D'Aubigné, and with his enthusiasm also, which occasionally leads both a shade beyond truthful coloring, though each of them is among the most fair-minded of men. Some of his interpretations are the least trifle strained, some rather fanciful. Omitting such statements, we shall cull those deemed truthful and clear, adding such others as seem necessary to complete the portraiture.

"All human discoveries seem to be made only for the purpose of confirming more strongly the truths which come from on high, and are contained in the sacred writings." These words of Herschel have been getting a deeper and wider meaning by each discovery of man.

The opening chapter of Genesis contains, in a few master strokes, the main points of the history of the unmeasured ages of the pre-Adamic earth. Matter was created without form and void, slowly gathered into worlds, incandescent, covered with water. Mountains were reared, seas established, vegetation begun. Orbits of the planets arranged, animals introduced, and the whole crowned by the creation of man. All this has science confirmed. The meaning of that record has just been elucidated. Genesis is the book of God's notes of his own work for man; the discoveries of science the comment.

We cannot make this agreement of the original record and the comment clearer than by transcribing from a writer† eminently learned and distinguished (rarest honor of authors) for a knowledge of God's record, both in the book and nature, the following:

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* "Religious Truth Illustrated from Science," p. 66.

† J. W. Dawson, LL.D., author of Archaia.

PARALLELISM OF THE SCRIPTURAL COSMOGONY, WITH THE ASTRONOMICAL AND GEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH.

BIBLICAL EONS.	PERIODS DEDUCED FROM SCIENTIFIC CONSIDERATIONS.
The beginning.	Creation of matter.
First day. Earth mantled by the vaporous deep—Production of light.	Condensation of planetary bodies from a nebulous mass—Hypothesis of original incandescence.
Second day. Earth covered by the waters—Formation of the atmosphere.	Primitive universal ocean, and establishment of atmospheric equilibrium.
Third day. Emergence of dry land—Introduction of vegetation.	Elevation of the land which furnished the materials of the azoic rocks—Azoic period of geology.
Fourth day. Completion of the arrangements of the solar system.	Metamorphism of azoic rocks and disturbances preceding the Cambrian period—Dominion of existing causes begins.
Fifth day. Invertebrates and fishes, afterward great reptiles and birds, created.	Paleozoic period—Reign of invertebrates and fishes—Mesozoic period—Reign of reptiles.
Sixth day. Introduction of mammals—Creation of man and Edenic group of animals.	Tertiary period—Reign of mammals—Post tertiary—Existing mammals and man.
Seventh day. Cessation of the work of creation—Fall and redemption of man.	Period of human history.
Eighth day. New heavens and earth to succeed the human epoch—The rest (Sabbath) that remains to the people of God.*	

This distinction between the creation of matter and its subsequent arrangement cannot be clearer in language than it is in the Bible, cannot be more evident by monuments than it is in the very structure of the earth.

Through all the ages of ignorance, that looked upon the earth as a plain, supported on various feeble expedients, and walled round with impenetrable darkness, the Bible was saying, "He hangeth the earth upon nothing;" "He set a circle upon the face of the deep;" "He sitteth upon the sphere [Gesenius] of the earth;" and He that "filleth all in all" "coverest *himself* with light as with a garment." All of which science, with its feebler voice and less eloquent tongue, repeats.

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* Heb. iv, 9; 2 Pet. iii, 13.

A distinction between the primal light of incandescence and the final light by the sun has never been broached by any ancient writer save those inspired. The truth of the Bible, which in this regard formerly caused many a sneer against its supposed confusion of ideas, now inspires respect and reverence in every learned and honest man.

The world waited till the time of Torricelli to learn that the air had weight. It thrust itself against men for ages, overturned their works, drove their ships; but no man took the hint, or thought that *weight* was necessary to give momentum. The discovery only confirmed God's statement, that "He gave to the air its [*mischkal*] weight." Job xxviii, 25.

Discoveries in the department of meteorology by one whose name lately honored every page, now a disgrace to any, have been the delight and wonder of our age. The varying highways of the air have been traced. Ships spread their wings in certain breezes, short voyages and large profits follow. Harbors and coasts are forewarned of coming storm. The path of each rising mist is marked as it travels through the upper spaces, till it hurls itself to earth in rain. We are told why Sahara is desert, and are shown the American plains dry, because the coast range has pressed all the water from the spongy clouds. Our great storms do not move right on, but are continent-wide whirlwinds, traveling in the majesty of their power. But has one general principle been discovered not contained in these words? "The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north. It whirleth about continually; and the wind returneth again according to his circuits, [that is, established routes.] All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full. Unto the place from whence the rivers come thither they return again." Eccl. i, 6, 7. He that can read these passages and declare that no modern discovery has been anticipated by the Bible, must be struggling for consistency with previous declarations. Vast forces, equal in one year to the labor of all the inhabitants of the earth for two hundred thousand years, are concerned in uplifting and carrying the rain. Consistent with this truth are the allusions of the Bible. It is represented as the immediate work of Him who is almighty.

Mark how the uplifting of mountains and the consequent gathering of waters is portrayed: "Thou coveredst it [the earth] with the deep as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away. The mountains ascend, the valleys descend unto the place which thou hast founded for them." Psalm civ, 6–8. Numerous allusions in Job, Proverbs, and the prophets, no less than minute description, show the presence and inspiration of that Intelligence that was before the mountains were brought forth. The shells and marine *debris* of the Andes and Himalayas were recently regarded as evidences of a deluge; now, as proof that these very heights were once "covered with the deep as with a garment."

How exactly has that order in which the Scripture enumerates the introduction of tender grass, herb, tree, moving creature that hath life in water, bird, great reptiles, beast of the earth, cattle, man, been confirmed by the reading of the tombstones of those ages.

Serres insists that the Newtonian theory of the vibratory nature of light is acknowledged, if not taught, in the Bible. He quotes passages which he imagines (that is the word) confirmatory of the statement. The German translation of Luther favors his idea more than the English of King James; but he omits the proper consideration of the only passage which is based on this scientific truth. Discoveries of science have shown some of the supposed poetical figures of the Bible to be naked facts: for example, commentators gravely tell us that "morning stars" mean angels in the passage, "When the morning stars sang together." Job xxxviii, 7. Does not science teach the deeper and clearer truth that stars do sing? Poets who cull their brightest gems from the Golconda of God's word have often alluded to it:

And wheresoever, in his rich creation,
  Sweet music breathes, in wave or bird or soul;
'Tis but the faint and far reverberation
  Of that grand tune to which the planets roll.

Shakspeare, by a seeming inspiration, says:

There's not the smallest orb that thou beholdest,
But in his motion like an angel sings;
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim,
Such harmony is in immortal souls:
But while this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in we cannot hear it.

Let science now show that this is a fact. Musical tones are made by vibrations of air. High tones by many vibrations in a given time, low tones by few. The lowest tone the human ear can distinguish is made by 16.5 vibrations per second. If they be less, the ear detects each vibration. The eye sees a circle of light made by whirling a single point of fire at the rate of ten times a second. So the ear takes a constant sound by the repetition of single sounds 16.5 times a second. Tones run up the scale, or are increased in pitch by the increase of vibration. When sixteen thousand vibrations a second have been reached, the shrill high tone dies out in silence. Let it not be supposed that sound dies out at that point; but that "while this muddy vesture of decay doth grossly close us in we cannot hear it." Some ears can hear longer than others.

Now observe, light is caused by vibrations as well as sound. These vibrations, different for each color of light, have been made evident to the eye, have been counted: two rays of light falling on the same spot have been made to produce darkness, as two sources of sound can be made to produce silence. These vibrations must sing. Take off "this muddy vesture of decay," quicken spiritual sense, and divine harmony, star born, is heard pouring through the universe. Every world creates eddies, every cloud softens, every sun according to its color pours into the grand tide of song. "The Lord rejoices in his works." Not only did the stars sing in the morning, but they are continually

Singing as they shine,
The hand that made us is divine.

The Bible speaks of space as illimitable—never regards the heavenly bodies as animate—never falls into the error of the old astronomers in regard to the number of stars. Hipparchus puts that number at one thousand and twenty-two, Ptolemy one thousand and twenty-six; but the Bible regards them as the sand which is by the sea-shore, innumerable. It is God's high prerogative alone to tell the "number of the stars."

Allusion is distinctly made to the grandest relation existing among the stars. The greatest discovery of the mind of man is unquestionably that the Pleiades are the center of the revolving systems of the worlds. It reduces the sun to a planet, the planets to satellites, and the whole solar system to a very minute and secondary affair. But it inexpressibly enlarges man's thought, and magnifies the power of God. God convinced Job of weakness by asking if he could control the influence of the Pleiades, that reach thirty-four million times the distance from us to the sun, and exert absolute control over that body, which "rejoices as a strong man to run a race." And not only that body, but "innumerable" others. Overwhelming question! No wonder Job was humbled. It is the idea of the sun's motion in space, and not a supposed motion round the earth, that God means when he says, "His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it." Psalm xix, 6.

The aberrations of speculative philosophy, founded on insufficient data, concerning the original unity or variety of man, have nearly come to a close. The Bible declaration is being adopted. Science is teaching universal brotherhood.* One original language, and that not developed from half-uttered grunts, is seen to be the true conclusion. "If we were to be guided by the mere intersection of linguistic paths, and independently of all reference to the scriptural record, we should still be led to fix on the plains of Shinar as the focus from which the various lines had radiated." Such is the testimony of Sir H. Rawlinson.† The recent origin of man is proved—Confucius confuted, Moses confirmed.

One point more. Not in the past, but present and future. There is no fact more clearly established than that the center of the earth is a molten mass, that rocks can melt; that a volcano is not the result of a burning Enceledus heaving in agony, but a chimney of the central fire. "Out of the earth cometh bread, but at the same time underneath it turns itself as fire." Job xxviii, 5. "The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord." Psalm xcvii, 5. The very "elements shall melt with fervent heat." 2 Peter iii, 12.

Besides these special points of confirmation, we believe the general significance of science favors the teaching of the Bible. How few real geologists are infidel? "The undevout astronomer is mad." Lieut. Lynch says (Narrative, p. 253) his party began the exploration of the Dead Sea indifferent and skeptical; closed it with a profound and universal conviction of the truth of the Scripture record. It is the flippant philosopher in his study, not the explorer of earth or space, with a reputation to achieve rather than phenomena to observe, fascinated with his own conceptions, rather than awed by the marvelous works of God, that disbelieves the Record. The deductions of chemistry and botany render belief in a resurrection easy, and a new heaven and earth a demonstrated possibility. All states of motion and of rest declare the universal law of gravitation, and so every deduction of all science unites to establish this great truth—there is a God: such a God as the Scripture delineates, as far as it delineates at all, and certainly incomprehensible beyond. Bridgewater Treatises are feeble and short expressions of that man's idea of God who has intelligently looked into heaven, earth, self. One immortal work on "Analogy" has been written, but it only gathers a few among the many hints whereby God's works declare God.

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* In this agree Blumenbach, Haller, Cuvier, Dr. Pritchard, and Max Müller.

† Journal of Royal Arctic Society, vol. xv, part 2, page 232.

He that passes over this vast field of evidence can but feel, at the close of the review, that, important as it is, the character and standing of the Bible must not be made dependent on it. It is not on its value as a history, or a system of chronology, that its claims are based. Did every record of every dead and living nation unitedly declare its perfect historical accuracy, it would not be priceless to man did it not have a moral and divine character. This moral and divine character must be substantiated in ways other than by coincidence with profane authors. It stops in the sphere of Herodotus, if its evidence stops there, and mankind stops there too. Still this evidence is necessary. Men reasonably demand of a book claiming perfection a perfect chain of evidence. This kind takes captive the master-minds in the various departments of science, and leads them on to its higher meaning. That a book could originate in rude ages, and hold its place of power as the sovereign arbitrator of the highest thought among the most cultivated intellects of the most cultivated age, always contributing more to that cultivation of intellect than everything else, is an authentication of its divineness most recent and potent. Though the Bible be established as truthful history, though its claim to antecedent infallible knowledge be supported, yet its promises of divine indwelling and personal advantage must be vindicated by its author and itself alone.

Recent confirmations are not wanting here. Not in dead and buried Nineveh, but in living hearts are they found; not in the limits of an ancient city, but in millions of new-born souls in every waking land.

The order of these unfolding confirmations seems providential. Geology received its right direction from Werner, near the close of the eighteenth century. Thereby the opening chapter of Genesis was elucidated. The land that Abraham visited, where Joseph dwelt, and whence the Israelites went out, next yielded its treasures; thus Israel's servitude and providential exodus were confirmed; Assyria and Babylon, in proper order, added their important confirmations to the after periods of the Old Testament, science and fulfilled prophecy meanwhile filling up what history left blank. Then, crowning the whole, came that world-wide Pentecost of 1857, that, spreading through every language and nation and tongue under heaven, sets its seal of divine authentication on the supernatural declarations and personal promises of the New. Unutterable peace and a conscious spiritual presence are certifying to millions of hearts that God is true, and the Bible his word. The questions of the future are questions of degrees, and not of systems; for the Word of God "standeth sure."

ART. VII.—ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN METHODIST PULPIT.

Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of the Methodist Denomination in the United States, from its Commencement to the close of the year 1855. With an Historical Introduction. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. 8vo., pp. 846. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

DR. SPRAGUE'S commemorative volumes are well received. They are not only intrinsically excellent, but admirably adapted both to supply a deeply-felt public want and to minister to the edification of the American Churches. The volume now before us is the seventh in the series. Of the preceding, volumes first and second are devoted to Trinitarian Congregational Clergymen; third and fourth to Presbyterian; fifth to Episcopalian;

and sixth to Baptist. These have already been appropriately noticed in this Review, (see vol. xii, fourth series, p. 458,) and are barely mentioned here that the reader may have a connected view of Dr. Sprague's learned and lovely labors. The whole has, so far as we are capable of judging, been executed with as little partiality, or sectarian bias, as could be either expected or desired. In regard to the seventh volume we can speak positively, both because we have examined it more thoroughly than either of the preceding, and because we think we know somewhat intimately the men of whom it speaks. We say, then, that here our satisfaction is complete. In this regard the author could hardly have done better even had he been a Methodist. He has evidently aimed at the utmost impartiality, and if he has not succeeded we are incapable of detecting the failure.

That Dr. Sprague is a man of a large, generous, catholic spirit, there can be no reasonable doubt. For proof we need not go beyond the pages of the book under review; and yet we can hardly repress our inclination to refer to his able and excellent sermon, commemorative of the late Judge M'Lean, of the United States Supreme Court, with whom he seems to have been on terms of special friendship for several years. And we are the more inclined to enrich our pages with a quotation from this admirable discourse, as it gives so just a view of the true basis of evangelical catholicity:

> Is there not something in this beautiful character [that of Judge M'Lean] that is fitted to enlarge the circle of our Christian sympathies? We do well always when we cling to God's revealed truth, especially those truths which cluster more immediately about the cross of Christ. So also we do well when we maintain, and, if need be, defend our own mature and well-established views on less important subjects—views that may be regarded as strictly denominational. But all of this is strictly consistent with the largest Christian catholicism; with opening the arms of our fellowship to all who furnish evidence of loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. But is there not a disposition, on the part of many good men, to urge their own shibboleth as the practical recognition of discipleship; and even though there may be a general admission that members of other communions than our own may be true Christians, yet is there not too often an unworthy reserve in proffering to them our expressions of Christian courtesy and affection; and do we not sometimes practically consent that a wall of partition should remain between us and them, satisfying ourselves with the reflection that we have not helped to build it? Judge M'Lean

> was, during his whole religious life, a Methodist; but a Christian of nobler type, or one who was more at home in heavenly places than he, you would have to search for a long time before you would find him. And among his brethren whom he has left behind, as well as among those who range themselves under still different denominational banners, are many who, like him, are fervent lovers of the Saviour, and earnest and skillful laborers in his cause. May our Lord Jesus, the reigning mediator, unite the different branches of his family in closer bonds of love, and dispose them to a wider and more efficient co-operation!—P. 30.

Any Methodist who does not cordially respond to these sentiments is not worthy the name, and should at once seek an ecclesiastical home elsewhere. He is in the wrong fold—if, indeed, he belong to the "flock" of the heavenly Shepherd at all. There is some excuse for bigotry found in those who have been reared and educated in some other religious communities, but none at all for this unamiable quality when found in those who have been trained and fostered in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Her doctrine and her discipline are adapted to produce, and should produce, a very different fruit.

Social changes are generally effected by a gradual process, and hence, while going on, are scarcely appreciated. It is only by comparing the present with a somewhat remote past that we are enabled to see the change that has actually taken place. Those who have but recently stepped upon the walls of Zion can hardly imagine how differently Christian bodies now stand with respect to each other from what they did fifty years since. To one who compares the facts of that day with facts of the present, this seems like scarcely the same world. The change, too, is a most blessed one. The watchmen are beginning to see eye to eye. If written creeds remain substantially the same, the utterances of the pulpit are converging to a most delightful harmony. Step into any evangelical church, and hear the chosen minister, and one will be ready to say, This is just like what I am accustomed to hear in the sanctuary where I ordinarily worship. The practical difference is inconsiderable. Even the nomenclature both of the pulpit and the altar is becoming wonderfully similar. We were struck with this on reading the very interesting account of the recent conversion of the youthful commander-in-chief of our armies, as it appeared in the religious periodicals a few months since. His pastor, whom he consulted in reference to his personal salvation, soon after his appointment to the command of the army on the Potomac, not only gave him just such instruction as a Methodist minister would have given him, but, inviting him to kneel before the Lord, knelt and prayed most earnestly with and for him.

> At the close of this prayer General M'Clellan remained upon his knees, evidently under deep emotion, and Dr. Thompson continued also kneeling, till, after about two minutes passed thus in silence, Dr. T. laid his hand upon the general's shoulder and said, "M'Clellan, pray for yourself." Thus encouraged, the young soldier began, in almost smothered tones, to pour out his soul to God; and when he rose there was a glow of spiritual life in his countenance.

The whole scene must have been exceedingly beautiful; though we refer to it here simply to show how evangelical Christians are approximating each other in their modes and measures, as well as in their homiletic instructions. Forty or fifty years since such a transaction would have been regarded, probably, by a large portion of our Calvinistic Churches, as a dangerous practical heresy. We ourselves, at a more recent date, heard just such things denounced from the pulpit as adapted to lead souls to ruin. Setting unconverted men to *praying* and *seeking* was scarcely less exceptionable than setting them to cursing and swearing! It was not only a profane invasion of the divine "sovereignty," but was exactly calculated to engender and nurture "false hopes." But so things are not seen now. The simple teachings of the sacred text are being followed with little regard to the teachings of an earth-born philosophy. Evangelical Calvinists and evangelical Arminians, when their hearts are fused by a divine charity, find little difficulty in toiling together, even in the same harness.

But the volume now before us itself supplies the most pertinent illustration. Such a book, half a century since, even had the materials then existed, could not have been produced. There was nobody to write it. A candid and truthful judgment in respect to Methodist preachers, outside of the societies they served, would have been an anomaly. Nor should the prejudice of that day be condemned too severely. Those who cherished it had little opportunity to know these "itinerating interlopers." What common fame said of them would justify the most rigid and exclusive disfellowship. They were reported to be heretical in sentiment, and anything but pious and exemplary in conduct. To receive them, or bid them God-speed, would, therefore, have been quite generally considered a palpable breach of Scripture precept. Hence early Methodist preachers were, to an extent which would now seem absolutely incredible, regarded and treated as the filth and offscouring of all things. And now, strange to say, one of our most distinguished Presbyterian ministers and accomplished American writers gives the same men an honorable position in his clerical gallery! Verily, truth is mighty, and *does* prevail!

And our author is just as able in execution as he is catholic in conception. The work is, throughout, that of a master-hand. Dr. Sprague has laid under contribution the pens of at least one hundred and fifty ready writers,—divines, civilians, professors,—but still leaves his own classic impress upon every part of the performance. And yet no invidious alterations are made. The greater portion of the contributors are Methodist preachers themselves, who are permitted to furnish, without material modification, these portraitures of their sainted brethren. If, therefore, they are not truthful, the fault belongs to others rather than to the author of these annals. But we believe they are truthful. A more accurate picture could hardly be expected from the hand of erring mortals. And it is certainly a high gratification to know that justice has at length been done to those noble men who were once so great a blessing to the world, even though they may now be far above the reach alike of human praise and human censure.

The author's plan was to notice the more prominent deceased Methodist ministers, in all branches of the Methodist family, who flourished between 1760 and 1846. The number of his subjects is one hundred and eighty-one; and though he may have missed some names which were well worthy of a place in his Annals, yet all will admit that he has generally not only found the right characters, but the right men to delineate them. And it is certainly fortunate that the work was undertaken *when* it was, for had it been delayed only a few years longer, many of those who have so essentially aided in the execution of it, and who alone could do so, would have been silent in the grave with those of whom they speak.

It is a remarkable fact, that a very large proportion of the early Methodist preachers originated in Maryland and Virginia, and not a few at those very places where civil war is now raging. William Waters, the first itinerant raised up in America, was born in Baltimore, and buried by the side of his wife at the Falls Church, Fairfax county, Va. Philip Gatch, Freeborn Garrettson, John Hagerty, Nelson Reed, Joseph Everett, Philip Bruce, Peter Moriarty, Jesse Lee, William Phœbus, Wilson Lee, Isaac Smith, Ezekiel Cooper, Hope Hull, Daniel Asbury, Barnabas M'Henry, Bishop M'Kendree, George Roberts, Stephen G. Roszel, John Kobler, Daniel Hitt, Bishop George, George Pickering, Shadrach Bostwick, Tobias Gibson, Lawrence M'Combs, Solomon Sharp, John Sale, Thomas F. Sargent—in a word, till about 1795, nearly every Methodist preacher that was raised up in this country came from Maryland and Virginia, particularly Eastern Virginia. But from that time forward the glory of providing men for the Church has been almost equally divided among the different parts of our Zion.

It is also worthy of special remark, that the M. E. Church is chiefly indebted to these very men for her strong and decided antislavery views. Some of them were born slaveholders; but they could neither hope for salvation themselves, nor expect to be received by others as ministers of the Lord Jesus, till they had practically repudiated "the great evil." Nor were they silent on the subject. In public and in private they lifted up their voice against this "sum of all villainies." The old Baltimore Conference, in the days of her pristine purity, spake out in no measured terms on the heinous sin of slaveholding. Alas, that her sons should, like the Jews of old, "garnish the tombs of their fathers," while they uphold those very wrongs which those fathers so sternly rebuked! This sad defection was not, of course, the product of a day. The change was, doubtless, effected by slow and, to themselves, imperceptible degrees. It was not till a comparatively recent date that pro-slavery sentiments were avowed in our Church judicatories. At first, however, little more than a mere sensitiveness on the subject was evinced. It was still admitted to be a great evil; but then brethren from the North must not touch it, because, forsooth, they could not understand it. "Leave it to us," said they, "and we will take care of it." The writer remembers well when, for the first time, pro-slavery tenets were not only expressed but avowed on the floor of the General Conference. The speakers were the Rev. Samuel Dunwoody, of the South Carolina Conference, and the Rev. Thomas Crowder of the Virginia, both of whom are appropriately noticed in the volume under review. They said, distinctly and emphatically, that Mr. Wesley was mistaken, and that the system of slaveholding, as it existed in this country, was quite consistent as well with the Bible as with humanity. The avowal seemed perfectly astounding to everybody. Even slaveholders themselves were evidently quite abashed to see the matter placed on such a footing; especially in the presence of Northerners, who they knew had been told that slavery was regarded by the South as "a heavy burden and grievous to be borne." No reply was made, as we supposed at the time, out of sheer pity to those who seemed so much mortified. In a little over one decade, however, the position of Messrs. Dunwoody and Crowder became the general position of the South! The first great consequence was the division of the M. E. Church, and the second the attempt to dissolve the civil compact, and the consequent civil war; for we regard these as the complex result of the change at the South on the subject of slavery. Is it wonderful, then, that the retributive providence of God should cause the horrors of the present conflict to center just where the defection began—just were there was once so much light, followed by so much *chosen* darkness? Still, it is painful to know that the din of war *for* slavery is now heard over the very graves of those who once bore so faithful a testimony *against* it.

Of the whole one hundred and eighty-one ministers of whom Dr. Sprague in this volume speaks, probably not half a dozen had ever received what is technically called a theological education. Nor was the proportion of classically educated men much larger. We mean to say, that with respect to either theology or the classics they had received little or no *public* training. A few of them had had all the help in that way that could be reasonably desired; but this was not the case with the great majority. Some began their public career with little more than the simplest elements of an English education, and yet not unfrequently distinguished themselves for profound scholarship before they left the walls of Zion. Amid all their travels, and toils, and sufferings they found time for mental improvement, delving into science and letters with a zeal and a success which should command the admiration of the world. We have space for only a few examples.

Of the Rev. JAMES RUSSELL the Rev. Dr. Wightman says:

> At about his sixteenth year he became pious, felt himself called to the ministry, and realized the mighty impulse, intellectual as well as moral, which a true experience of religion confers. His first application for license to exhort was rejected on the ground of the want of qualification, and the privilege was granted very reluctantly on a subsequent application. Similar difficulties awaited him when he applied for license to preach and admission into the traveling connection.

Nor does this seem wonderful when we are told "he was scarcely able to read or spell when he began to ride the circuit." And yet of this same man Dr. Olin remarks:

> His rhetoric as well as his logic was that of common-sense and common life. For both he was much indebted to books. Reading had disciplined his mind and purified his taste; but it had left no other vestiges upon his public performances. The rich treasures which he gathered from various quarters were all subjected to the crucible. He gave them no currency till they were recoined and acknowledged the impress of his own intellectual sovereignty. . . . What has been said of Mr. Russell's language is equally applicable to his illustrations. He abounded in metaphors, and no man ever made a better use of them. Their object was always to enforce and illustrate his sentiments, never to bedizen them with finery. Nothing could exceed the efficiency or the simplicity of his rhetorical machinery. His manner was to conduct his hearers into the midst of scenes with which they were daily conversant, and then to point out the analogy which existed between the point he would establish and the objects before them. His comparisons were derived not only from rural and pastoral scenes, whence the poets gather their flowers, but from all the common arts of life, from the processes and utensils of the kitchen, and the employments of housewifery and husbandry. The aptness and force of his metaphors always atoned for their occasional meanness; and it was apparent to all that they were dictated by a shrewd acquaintance with the human heart. Their effect upon a congregation was often like that of successive shocks of electricity. I once heard him preach upon the opening of the books at the final judgment, when he presented the record of human iniquity in a light so clear and overwhelming that the thousands who were listening to him started back and turned pale, as if the appalling vision had burst actually upon their view.—Pp. 411, 412.

Though MARTIN RUTER, D.D., never enjoyed the advantages of anything more than a common-school education, he became an excellent scholar; being well acquainted with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French languages, besides a proficient in history and various branches of science.

JOHN BROADHEAD had slender opportunities in early life to acquire even a common English education, but finally became a man of much mental polish, not only distinguishing himself in the ministry but in the councils of the nation.

The Rev. F. C. Holliday says of the Rev. ALLEN WILEY:

> Though his early advantages for education had been very limited, and though he was burdened with the cares of a growing family, in a new country, with very few books and little means of increasing their number, he acquired a large stock of useful information, and became quite an accomplished scholar. . . . He usually rose at four in the morning, and, for a number of years, was in the daily habit of reading portions of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, in the original languages.—P. 573.

Of the Rev. JOSEPH A. WATERMAN Dr. Luther D. Waterman says:

> His opportunities for early education were circumscribed; but as his desire for knowledge was nothing less than a passion, it overcame the most adverse circumstances, . . . [so that he finally] became a thorough physician, a well-stored student at law; familiar with natural science and ecclesiastical history; a noted biblical scholar; a good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, with considerable knowledge of several of the modern languages; and well acquainted with the various systems of philosophy and religion. His grand aim seemed to be to make all his knowledge subservient as far as possible to the better understanding of the Bible.—Pp. 207, 208.

The Rev. HENRY B. BASCOM, D.D., never went to school after he was twelve years old, and yet became one of the most distinguished orators of the nation, was elected Chaplain to Congress, President of Madison College, and died Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.

All the education ever received by the Rev. ASA SHINN previously to his becoming a member of the M. E. Church was from a sailor, and yet he became a man of very considerable learning, and one of the most acute and powerful metaphysical writers in the nation.

These may be extreme cases, but they serve well to illustrate a striking fact. Down to within the last twenty-five years Methodist preachers had not, as a general thing, the advantages of an early education. This is more especially true of those who were raised up in the Southern and Western States. At the North and East, where schools were much more generally established, the masses were better educated, so that very few called from this portion of the Church to the ministry entered upon the work with so small a quantum of human learning. Still, large numbers of them began with little mental training, either literary or theological. They were, as Mr. Wesley would say, "*thrust*" out to call sinners to repentance, to hunt up the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But then they did not, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, "despise" learning. Their chief leaders, many of them at least, were men of education. Wesley himself had solemnly admonished all his followers to give themselves to reading, and had given to the ministry especially the most specific advice as to the manner in which their studies might be successfully prosecuted. And they did study. Books were scarce, but they gathered up every little scrap of literature, especially theological literature, upon which they could lay their hands. Thus they were all the time adding to their stores of knowledge, making not only books but the occurrences of daily life tributary to their mental development. Hence, in theology, nearly all of them were highly respectable; while in letters and philosophy not a few achieved a most splendid scholarship.

But then the same method of training for the ministry could not now be depended upon. Not only individual character but society itself has undergone such changes that a different instrumentality must be brought to bear upon it in order to secure the results proposed by the religion of the Cross. We want all the piety in the ministry now we ever had, but we want more learning to begin with than was needful for the time of which we speak. Large circuits, where a limited range of pulpit topics would suffice for the novitiate, have mostly ceased to exist among us, so that our young men must, not unfrequently, go at once to the pastorate of responsible charges. Hence some sort of previous training seems indispensable. It will be well, however, if we do not run into the opposite extreme, exacting in *every* case too much of the candidate. The door should, we think, always be left open for men to enter the ministry without passing the curriculum of either theological schools or collegiate institutions. For the Church to bind herself to any one mode of training would be to deprive herself of some of the most effective talent to be found among her members. She should insist upon an elevated standard, but leave all possible ways open for reaching that standard. Thus we shall not only avoid the error of some other religious communities, but keep up a needed elasticity in our ministry, as well as maintain something of the *animus* of our fathers. Any system of ministerial education that fails to do the latter must be radically defective. We must keep up the spirit, the life, the power of early Methodism, or our true practical efficiency, our power to move the masses, will be gone.

But however great their early disadvantages, no men have ever been more distinguished for popular eloquence than the ministers of the M. E. Church. They have almost everywhere carried "the common people" with them; and especially when they have had anything like a fair chance to open their mission among them. Though to neither philosophical profundity nor rhetorical niceties could large numbers of them make any pretensions whatever, yet, in shrewd acquaintance with human nature, in accurate knowledge of the plan of salvation, in glowing zeal, in broad philanthropy, in ready wit, in a word, in whatever qualities that go to make up the real power of the pulpit among the masses, they have had no superiors in any age or in any division of the Church.

Judge M'Lean, whose classic pen has filled many pages of this profoundly interesting volume, says of Bishop M'KENDREE:

> He was in the highest sense an eloquent man. With great simplicity and grace of delivery he united a force and beauty of illustration that approached nearer to the Sermon on the Mount than I ever heard from any one else. A child could understand him, and at the same time he commanded the profoundest attention of the learned. What he said was always so appropriate to his subject, and was uttered with so much ease and grace, that every hearer was ready to conclude that he could himself say the same thing. And yet no one could imitate his manner, could imitate the persuasiveness and beautiful simplicity with which he set forth the truths of the Gospel.

. . . When roused by his subject his mind expanded, and seemed to possess an inspiration almost without limit. His metaphors, when he indulged in them, were always chaste; but they came at his bidding in their divinest forms. Heaven and earth and hell were the instruments of his eloquence. On one occasion, when preaching to thousands at a camp-meeting in Ohio, he was describing the miseries of the lost, a strain in which he seldom indulged; but so appalling was his description that the congregation rose from their seats, with eyes fixed upon the preacher, and with a ghastly paleness of countenance that betokened absolute consternation. Observing the overwhelming effect, he paused for a moment, and then in a loud but soothing tone of voice, thanked God that his hearers were not in a world of woe, and a shout instantly went up from the multitude which must have been heard at a great distance. It was the involuntary shout of deliverance.—P. 171.

The following description of Bishop GEORGE, by Dr. Luckey, will remind the reader of Christmas Evans's celebrated sermon on the Triumph of Calvary. In melting pathos and in power to move the passions of an assembly, however, if not in bold and striking description, the advantage is certainly on the side of the Methodist bishop.

The subject of the discourse was the conquest which Christ achieved over sin and death. He announced his text: "When He ascended up on high He led captivity captive;" and, from the moment he uttered it, had complete command of his audience. The picture he drew of sin, and the desolations it has wrought, was truly terrific. Like a mighty cataract, he rushed on with constantly increasing impetuosity, till every nerve that had braced itself to resist was unstrung, and his hearers seemed passively to resign themselves to an influence which was too strong for them. At a felicitous moment, when the feelings of his audience would bear to be turned into a different channel, he exclaimed, in the language of holy triumph, and in a manner peculiar to himself, "But redemption smiled, and smiled a cure!"

His train of thought was now changed, but the power of his eloquence was not at all diminished. Sin had been personified as the tyrant monster, swaying his demon scepter over our race, and death in his train, dragging the conquered millions to their dark abode. A mightier than these was now introduced—the sinner's Friend and the conqueror of death. He came to destroy the works of the devil, and to deliver those who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage. The risen and ascended Saviour was represented as coming up from the empire of death, having seized the tyrant upon his throne, and then as triumphantly passing the portals of heaven amid the acclamations of heaven's shining hosts. The description was so vivid as to be almost overwhelming. The audience, which had just before seemed like a terror-stricken multitude, almost within the very grasp of the destroyer, now exhibited countenances relumed with returning smiles. The whole assembly was actually in a commotion.—P. 19.

Of the Rev. WILLIAM RYLAND it is said that the Hon. William Pinkney, himself one of the first orators of the age, after hearing him again and again, did not hesitate to pronounce him the greatest pulpit orator he had ever heard. (P. 393.)

Here follows Bishop Morris's estimate of three preachers of olden times. He says:

> Among the most celebrated preachers of the Great West, fifty-five years ago, were WILLIAM BEAUCHAMP, SAMUEL PARKER, and DAVID YOUNG, each of whom excelled in his own way. Beauchamp was the most instructive, Parker the most practical and persuasive, and Young the most overpowering. It was my good fortune, when young in the ministry, to hear them all. Under the preaching of Beauchamp, light seemed to break on the most bewildered understanding; under that of Parker, multitudes of people melted like snow before an April sun; while under the ministry of Young, I knew whole assemblies electrified as suddenly and as sensibly as if coming in contact with a galvanic battery. I have myself, under some of his powerful appeals, felt the cold tremors passing over me, and the hair on my head apparently standing on end. On camp-meeting occasions, where the surroundings were unusually exciting, it has sometimes happened that vast numbers of persons have simultaneously sprung from their seats and rushed up as near to the pulpit as they could, apparently unconscious of having changed positions. His force was not in imagination or declamation, but in properly combining and earnestly presenting the truths of God's word; and the impressions thus made were generally enduring.—P. 463.

Judge M'Lean touches the last portraiture as follows:

> Mr. Young, by the diligent culture of his powers, came finally to take rank among the most eminent of our preachers. He had great precision of thought and expression; and whatever his subject might be, he treated it so luminously that no attentive and docile hearer could fail to comprehend his meaning. There were a simplicity and naturalness of manner, which rendered his preaching exceedingly popular with the masses. And when his soul becomes stirred, as it sometimes did, from its lowest depths, he would enchain an audience beyond almost any of his cotemporaries.—P. 434.

The Rev. LEWIS PEASE, of the New York Conference, was distinguished for his power in the pulpit. The Rev. J. B. Wakeley says:

He *always* preached well, but it took a great occasion to bring out his full strength. At quarterly meetings, or camp-meetings, he was very apt to appear as the master-spirit. I recall particularly an instance of his overwhelming power, at a camp-meeting at Hinsdale, N. Y., in the fall of 1835. He preached twice on the occasion, and in each case moved and swayed the multitude as the wind does the wheat in summer. The text of his first discourse was highly charged with terror; it was the 8th verse of the seventy-fifth Psalm: "For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them." For more than two hours there was a vast sea of up-turned faces, gazing at him, in breathless silence, as he delivered one of the most alarming sermons I ever heard. It seemed as if the preacher was actually standing between heaven and hell, with the songs of the redeemed and the wailings of the lost both vibrating on his ears, and throwing his whole soul into an effort to secure the salvation of his hearers. When he came to the closing part of his text—"all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them"—he laid great emphasis on the words, "wring them out;" and he suited his gesture to the words, as if he were wringing something, "and drink them,"—that is, drink the dregs of the cup of Divine wrath. The description, throughout, was so unutterably terrific, that it seems as if every wicked man in the assembly must have been horror-struck.—P. 448.

Bishop Capers was one of the most fluent and persuasive preachers of the age. There was always a peculiar charm about his voice, words, and manner; an ease and naturalness that never failed to interest those who listened to him. This opulence of sweet sounds, and of tender, ready, and appropriate words, was the most distinguishing characteristic of his public speaking. Occasionally, however, he arose to the highest moods of impassioned eloquence. The Rev. Dr. Wightman says:

The most memorable instance of this occurred in 1822, at a camp-meeting in Putnam county, Ga. Dr. Lovick Pierce had preached an able sermon, and Mr. Capers closed the service of the hour with an exhortation. In this he seemed to drive in the chariot of the earthquake, his steeds the storm-clouds. The world of woe, at his bidding, uncovered its horrors; and its despair-riven victims incarnated, so to speak, and voiced, passed in awful procession before the audience, crying, "Woe, woe, woe!" The very heavens seemed to send back, in reverberating crashes, the terrific woes. The effect was awful beyond description. Some of the listeners afterward declared that the impression made upon them at the time was, that the preacher was more than a mere man.

Judge Shorter, who was present with Judge Harris, and heard the address, stated to a friend, a few days after, that those "woes" had been ringing in his ears ever since, and that he heard them day and night, asleep or awake. At the close, Dr. Capers called on the congregation to unite in solemn prayer, and the vast crowd, as one man, dropped upon the ground, and the voice of weeping and intercession smote the heavens. It was supposed that not less than a thousand persons were convicted of sin as the result of the meeting, and a revival of religion ensued which swept everything before it.—P. 462.

The Rev. JOSEPH FRYE, of the Baltimore Conference, often preached with surprising effect. The Rev. Alfred Griffith, who furnishes a sketch of him for these Annals, says:

I cannot forbear here to relate an incident, illustrative of his remarkable emotional power, of which I myself was a witness. It occurred in the Foundry Church in Washington, while the Baltimore Conference was in session, and during the administration of Gen. Jackson. Joseph Frye was the preacher, and the general one of the audience. The discourse was founded on the incident in the evangelical history touching the Syro-Phenician woman. He threw himself into his subject—itself one of great beauty and tenderness—with such deep feeling and mighty power, that the effect was quite irresistible. The President sat so near me that I was able to watch the movements of his great and susceptible heart as the preacher advanced, and it really seemed as if the old man's spirit was stirred to its lowest depths. The tears ran down his face like a river; and indeed, in this respect, he only showed himself like almost everybody around him. When the service was closed, he moved up toward the altar with his usual air of dignity and earnestness, and requested an introduction to the preacher. Mr. Frye stepped down to receive the hand of the illustrious chief magistrate; but the general, instead of merely giving him his hand, threw his arms around his neck, and, in no measured terms of gratitude and admiration, thanked him for his excellent discourse.—P. 472.

The Rev. F. C. Holliday says of the Rev. JOHN STRANGE:

There were times when his audience were held spell-bound by his eloquence, and sometimes they were raised *en masse* from their seats. As he possessed warm sympathies and a brilliant imagination, many of his sermons were highly descriptive. He could transport his hearers one moment to the third heavens, and make its bright glories present and real to them, and the next could bear them away to the world of woe, and freeze their blood with images of terror. He often employed metaphorical representations with wonderful effect. Once, when preaching on the love of God, he compared it to an ocean. "Let us," said he, "try to sound this ocean with a line;" and, while pantomimically letting down his line, he became deeply excited, and cried out at the top of his shrill voice, "More line! more line!" The effect was at once to enrapture and convulse the entire congregation in a large encampment.—P. 505.

Judge M'Lean's supplementary testimony is equally strong and striking:

> Mr. Strange had a countenance indicative of high intelligence. His voice and manner were peculiarly attractive. He spoke with great ease and fluency, and, when under excitement, his voice became piercing and tremulous. At times, he would seem to have power of utterance almost superhuman. This did not result so much from the volume of his voice as its shrillness and peculiar modulation. It would seem to float upon the excited feelings of his auditory, thus producing an effect to which nothing I ever heard furnished any approach to a parallel.—P. 511,

The Hon. Grant Goodrich, Judge of the Superior Court, Illinois, says of the Rev. P. R. BORIN, of the Illinois Conference:

> He was one of the handsomest men I ever saw. Great intellectual power was blended with a singular beauty of feature and expression. His eyes were blue, large and lustrous, and, when he was animated; they seemed the medium through which his soul was not only beaming, but actually blazing forth. When his features were in repose, there was a sweet sadness on his face that won all hearts. His voice was like the music of running waters; when he sought to persuade, there was a deep, plaintive earnestness in its tones, which was well-nigh resistless; and when he uttered the language of warning or denunciation, it seemed, by an indescribable power, to pierce to the inmost soul. Men of more intellectual polish and profounder thought I have often heard, but never one so effectively eloquent—one who possessed such perfect control of the will and heart as Mr. Borin. His own heart seemed a fountain of tenderest sympathy, and he made his hearers feel that their salvation lay upon it as a crushing agonizing weight.—P. 785.

Of the eloquence of Coke, and Fisk, and Olin, and Summerfield, and Cookman, and many others, these Annals speak in glowing terms; but we have not space to reproduce what is said of them, nor is it necessary. Their singular power in the pulpit is already too well known to the Christian public to need further elucidation.

To the essential *catholicity* of its subjects, the book before us bears the most ample testimony. What, however, is said of one of them by the Rev. William Thatcher, may be regarded as a tolerably fair indice to the whole:

> Dr. Coke held the distinctive principles of his denomination with great firmness, and was always ready to defend them on suitable occasions; but he was far from being a lover of controversy, or from contracting the circle of his Christian regards and sympathies so as to exclude any who appeared to love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. He believed that his own system embodied the truth in the purest form, and therefore he preferred it to any other system; but he believed there were excellent Christians in all other evangelical communions, and therefore he could look with complacency and thankfulness upon their prosperity.—P. 140.

Many of these men, especially those of the earlier day, suffered persecution. Details are, however, out of the question. A single instance is all we can at present give. In 1780 the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, then laboring in Maryland, was seized by a company of wicked men, who took him before a magistrate, by whom he was sentenced to jail. While they were on their way with him thither, the night being very dark, a sudden and mysterious flash of lightning so affrighted them that they forsook him, and left him to his liberty. His biographer says:

> On the Sunday after these circumstances occurred, however, as he was engaged in a religious service, he was actually seized by a company of about twenty persons, one of whom presented a pistol to his breast. After this frightful and furious onslaught he was hurried away to prison, where he had a dirty floor for his bed, his saddlebags for a pillow, and a cold east wind blew directly upon him. But his friends in and out of the country (Dorchester) soon rallied in his behalf; and, at length, through the influence of Mr. Asbury with the governor of Maryland, he was set at liberty.—P. 59.

Persecution, in forms generally less gross to be sure, was almost common to the preachers of that day. They expected it about as much as they expected their daily bread. Gibes and groans, and amens, and derisive songs, were to them mere matters of course. Nor were such things, to men of refinement and gentlemanly feeling, by any means a mere trifle. Though divinely sustained and comforted, they often felt them most acutely, while they bore them most heroically.

Of the toils and deprivations of these good men our author gives a tolerable idea, so far at least as such things can be described. In the present greatly changed state of the country, and the improved condition of society, however, it is very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to appreciate fully what our fathers did and suffered. And those labors were performed, and these sufferings endured, so far as earth is concerned, almost literally without consideration. Only think of a man doing the work of the Vermont District for a whole year,—as Bishop Hedding did, some fifty years since, when presiding elder,—suffering hunger, cold, nakedness, persecution, for the sum of sixteen dollars! And his lot was probably no worse than that of at least one half the itinerants of that day. Never, till the lives of the just are seen in the light of the final judgment, will it be known, or *can* it be known, what has been done and suffered to give a free Gospel to these United States.

It is not wonderful that such men, as Mr. Wesley said of the Methodists of his day, "died well." They were always peaceful and happy, and often triumphant, on approaching "the dark valley." Of the Rev. Stephen G. Roszel it is said: "His last days were marked with great serenity, and the closing scene was like the glorious going down of the sun." John Broadhead's "departure was peaceful and triumphant." Of Peter Vannest it is said, "The language of praise and thanksgiving was continually upon his lips, until death's seal was placed upon them." When dying far away from home, Elijah R. Sabin exclaimed, "O how sweet is the love of God in the midst of affliction! O, brethren, come magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together! I'll praise him while he lends me breath." The death-bed scene of Elijah Hedding "seemed illuminated by the glories of an immortal life." "In a state of calm and joyful hope" Michael Coate "passed away to his heavenly rest." William Keith "rendered his dying testimony to the sustaining power of the truths which he had preached, and requested that his absent friends might be informed that he died trusting in that Saviour to whom he had devoted himself." Near his final hour Smith Arnold said: "I expect soon to drink the pure water of life in my Father's kingdom." Jacob Gruber said: "To-morrow I shall spend my first Sabbath in heaven." Christopher Frye "was perfectly self-possessed; conversed with his friends with the utmost calmness in respect to his approaching end, and not the semblance of a shadow rested upon his future and eternal prospects." Lewis Pease "died in perfect peace." Joseph A. Merrill "passed away as gently as an infant falls asleep." Those who stood around the dying bed of Coles Carpenter heard him whisper, "Glory, glory, glory!" until the silence of death ensued. As William Ross "approached the grave he was full of peace and joy." Melville B. Cox died in Western Africa, "looking upward, and faintly calling to his adorable Redeemer, 'Come, come!'" John Slade died "strong in faith, giving glory to God." Lyttleton Fowler, when dying, looked around and said: "O what a glorious sight! I have seen the angelic hosts, the happy faces of just men made perfect." The whole dying scene with Abner Chase "was indescribably glorious."

A single instance will show the state of readiness to meet the final Judge in which those good men habitually lived. The Hon. Thomas Scott, after giving a high character of Valentine Cook, as it respects both learning and piety, says:

> During the frightful convulsions of nature that occurred in the vicinity of New Madrid, on the Mississippi river, in the winter of 1811–12, the whole country was thrown into commotion. Mr. Cook, being at the time at home, was suddenly aroused from his slumbers at midnight, and finding his bed and house rocking and staggering, and supposing the end of all things had come, sprang from his bed and made for the door. Mrs. Cook, in great agitation, exclaimed, "O, Mr. Cook, wait for me, wait for me!" "No, my dear," said he, "when the Lord Jesus comes I'll wait for nobody."

Such is a faint picture of the men by whose agency the Methodist Episcopal Church and her several offshoots were planted in North America. Who will deny that they are worthy alike of profound veneration and of grateful remembrance? Posterity should come and say over their tombs, as Pericles did over the bodies of his deceased fellow-soldiers, "You are like the divinities above us; you are no longer with us; you are known only by the benefits you have conferred." If, however, glorified saints are at all observant of what takes place on earth, or are in the least affected by what is done in the Church militant, the most grateful offering we can make to their memory is, to follow them as they followed Christ. Noble was their example on earth, and great is their reward in heaven. In their day they turned many to righteousness; and now shine as the brightness of the firmament, and will continue to do so as the stars, for ever and ever. And if their sons walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing, they will share the same glorious destiny.

We have barely room to add, that not only the Methodist community, but the whole Christian public are under high obligations to Dr. Sprague for this uncommonly meritorious volume. Everybody may be profited by knowing more of the men of whom it so appropriately speaks. Good people, who have long cherished an honest prejudice against these "itinerants," will feel especially thankful for the means of forming a juster opinion concerning them. Those who are more immediately interested will, of course, procure and read a book of such intrinsic and abiding value. It has really all the fascination of the most taking novel, and all the inappreciable worth of truth itself; so that it is equally adapted to please and to profit. No one who reads it will ever get weary of its pages.

ART. VIII.—EXEGESIS ON 1 CORINTHIANS vii, 20–24.

THIS passage, which has been so often surrendered by critical scholars to the support of slavery, simply teaches the plain duty of contentment. Contenting one's self is restraining his lawful desires within the limits of actual possession. If to a man God allots poverty, under its pinchings he ought to be contented. But would the command, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called," have prohibited an indigent member of the Corinthian Church from embracing a providential opening for the improvement of his temporal condition? If the command, "Let every man abide in the same calling," etc., would not have allowed a slave to embrace proffered freedom, then the same command would not have allowed any Corinthian tent-maker to embrace an easier and more lucrative employment if to him any such were offered. Could a man of Paul's common sense say, Art thou called, being a tent-maker? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be something better, still prefer tent-making. This is another instance of that fatuous tendency of the human mind honestly to apply to slavery, or to any popular vice, a principle which, when applied to other subjects, seems so absurd as to be laughable.

In verse 20 the apostle teaches that Christianity was not designed to interfere in a violent way with the established relations of society, but that the orders, arrangements, employments, and positions of civil society should be as little disturbed as possible, consistent with the truth and with the spiritual interests of the world. Fanaticism might say, if a menial laborer be "translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son," and thus become a child of God and an heir of glory, he should at once be taken out of his inferior and placed in a superior position among men. Such an idea would be as fatal to the interests of Christianity as to the peace and plans of society. But while Paul teaches the important thought that Christianity does not aim precipitately to break up the relations of society, he also teaches that no employment, however degrading; no position, however humble, need interfere with the real interest and true dignity of human nature. He teaches, do not fret at evils, nor chafe at wrongs which, for purposes known only to himself, God does not see fit to remove. Under the general command in verse 20, on the duty of contentment, he specifies a class of persons most likely of all others to be discontented. As discontent is a state of mind so unfavorable to piety, he would especially put on their guard those who were most exposed to such a temptation. He exhorts the slave to be contented under the wrongs of slavery, unless Providence should open the way for him sinlessly to obtain his freedom.

The great difficulty at which commentators have stumbled in the rendering of this passage has been with the εἰ καὶ, as though it signified *even if*, and could have no other signification. But Dr. Robinson, in his Lexicon of the New Testament, gives for his first definition of εἰ καὶ, *if also*. Dr. Charles Elliott renders εἰ καὶ *if also*, and translates the passage, "if also thou art able to become a freed man." Olshausen renders it, "if thou canst also obtain bodily freedom, in addition to your spiritual freedom, do it rather." But Paul himself uses in many other places *εἰ καὶ* in the sense of *if also*. For example, 2 Corinthians xi, 15, Satan transformed himself into an angel of light, therefore it is no great thing (*εἰ καὶ*) *if also* his ministers be transformed. The sense of the passage then is, Art thou called, being a slave, care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, if, in addition to your spiritual freedom, you can also obtain your bodily freedom, do it rather. The verb *χραομαι*, which in our translation is rendered "use it," is defined by Dr. Robinson, "to use and to make use of." The meaning of "making use of" a thing is to profit by that thing. The apostle uses *χραομαι* in the sense of profiting by, or taking advantage of; for example, 1 Corinthians ix, 11, 15: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? But (*εχρησαμεθα*) we have not used this power: but we suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ." They which preach the gospel should live by the gospel, but I have used (*εχρησαμην*) none of these things. He did not profit by, he did not avail himself of the privileges to which he was justly entitled. It is in this sense he uses *χρῆσαι* in the passage before us. But if also thou mayest be free take advantage of it. After *χρῆσαι* some learned men would supply *δουλεια*, others would insert *ελευθερια*; but to understand either word would be not only needless, but also unnatural. But if also thou mayest be free take advantage of being made free. Being made free is the object of *χρῆσαι*.

In verse 21 the apostle groups two commands, and in verse 22 he enforces those two commands by two appropriate motives. The first command is to be contented in unavoidable slavery. The second command is to embrace liberty if it could be obtained without violence. The motive for contentment is, that a slave, who is a Christian, is the Lord's freeman. Christ has redeemed him, the Holy Spirit has regenerated him, and soon he will be "in the presence of the angels of God." Such considerations should reconcile him to, and sustain him under any temporary hardships and injustice. The second command he enforces by the consideration that the Christian who is a freeman is the servant of Christ.

Though the Christian slave does serve Christ with his Spirit, he is compelled to serve his owner with his body. But the freeman who is a Christian can serve Christ with his Spirit, likewise also with his body. And the fact that he can render Christ effective service through his personal liberty, is the weighty consideration why the Christian slave should embrace proffered freedom. The body of the slave is under the control of his master, who at any time may be cruel and unjust; but the Christian freeman is the servant of a divine Master, who can never require any duty in conflict with his true interests. A freeman escapes all the woes of a state of slavery, which Dr. Channing pronounced to be "every vice heightened by every meanness." If to each command the apostle had annexed its appropriate motive, the passage would have read as follows: Art thou called, being a servant, care not for it; for he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman. But if also thou mayest be free, take advantage of it; for he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. But in lieu of enforcing each command by its appropriate motive, he first groups the two commands and then presents the two motives to secure obedience. An illustration might put the sense of the passage in a clear light: Art thou called, being an ignorant man? care not for it; but if also thou mayest be learned take advantage of it; for he that is called in the Lord, being an ignorant man, knoweth God, (the knowledge of whom is the best of all knowledge;) likewise also, he that is called, being a learned man, can serve Christ with his learning, as well as with his spirit; or, to change the order: Art thou called, being an ignorant man? care not for it; for he that is called in the Lord, being an ignorant man, knoweth God, (whom to know is eternal life.) But if also thou mayest be learned take advantage of it; for he that is called, being a learned man, can serve Christ with his spirit, likewise also with his learning. The motive for the ignorant Christian to be contented, under unavoidable ignorance, is the fact that he has the knowledge of salvation. The motive for obedience to the command to take advantage of being learned, if providence opened the way to learning, is the fact that the Christian, who is also a learned man, can render important service to Jesus Christ with his learning.

All the commentators I have examined declare that the second clause of verse 22 expresses a consideration which was intended to soothe the slave, and reconcile him to a state of bondage. He that is called, being free, is the servant of Christ. But what is there in the fact that all Christians are the servants of Christ, which is calculated to soothe a man in a state of involuntary servitude? Is there any possible analogy between slavery and the service of the Redeemer? The service of Christ is ennobling, and variously and indescribably blessed. The more perfectly any one serves Jesus Christ the more perfect and glorious his character, and the more ample his usefulness and fathomless his joy. The most abject slavery and obedience to the Son of God is the loftiest liberty; his most inexorable restraints the most rapturous and out-bounding freedom. What is there in such a service analogous to slavery? what is there in such a service calculated to reconcile a man to the craunchings of a system which Dr. Bushnell declares to be essentially barbarous? How can the fact that all Christians submit to the restraints which hold the immortal soul in blessedness, as it rolls along and up forever on the curve of moral excellence, soothe a man robbed of his manhood? how can it reconcile him to wrongs omnipresent to all his being, interests, and hopes? Such a statement from the lips of the unlearned would seem simply nonsense. But to regard the second clause of verse 22 as a motive for embracing proffered freedom affords most excellent sense. The idea of δουλος, in the clause, "he that is called, being free, is the δουλος of Christ," must be the same as the idea of δουλος in the clause, "he that is called in the Lord, being a δοῦλος, is the Lord's freeman." In both clauses δοῦλος must refer to an identical thing. But δοῦλος, in the clause, "he that is called in the Lord, being a δοῦλος, is the Lord's freeman," manifestly means bodily service. The Christian slave gives to his master the service of his body, while to his Saviour he renders the service of his spirit. The word δοῦλος, therefore, in the clause, "he that is called, being free, is the δουλος," can have no meaning but bodily service. That bodily service which the slave renders his master, the Christian freeman renders his Redeemer. The Christian freeman serves Christ with his spirit because he is a Christian, and he serves him with his body because he is the "δοῦλος of Christ." The slave and freeman both render Christ spiritual service; but the Christian freeman gives to his Saviour the bodily service which the

Christian slave is coerced to give to his master. The idea which "*ὁμοίως*" qualifies is bodily service, and the sense is that the Christian freeman serves Christ with his spirit, likewise also with his body. This pre-eminent advantage renders imperative the commands to embrace freedom, if it could be obtained without violence and sin.

All the commentators I have seen fail to see the meaning of the twenty-third verse. They consider it an address to freemen; they regard it as an exhortation "not to submit to human opinions," "not to bow to needless customs," "not to sell themselves into slavery," "not to entangle themselves in the anxieties to be free." But such interpretations destroy the continuity of the apostle's thoughts. It is much more natural to consider it as a continuation of his address to slaves. Paul very well knew how oppression stupefies the conscience of the oppressor, and robs the oppressed of all his manly qualities. He knew how soon slavery took the spirit out of a man, and embruted him down to a mindless, willess, rightless chattel. Having just urged contentment upon those slaves who might be chafing under the wrongs of slavery, he now turns to those whom oppression had sunk down beyond the point of torment, down to indifference even at the loss of the rights and the dignities that inhere in human nature; such he exhorts by the most solemn consideration not willingly to be the slaves of men. By the most sacred of all considerations he would arouse consciences stupefied by inhumanity: Ye are bought with a price, be ye not the servants of men. But many of the commentators reply that the apostle does not use the verb *to be* in this passage. He does not say, Be ye not the slaves of men; but he says, Become not the slaves of men. From this fact they infer that the apostle, in verse 23, addresses freemen and not slaves. But if, in addressing slaves, he had used the verb *to be*, "*μη ισθι*," *Be ye not the slaves of men*, it would have been in direct conflict with his command in the 21st verse. It would have urged slaves not to remain in slavery, but to chafe at the restraints of bondage. Having commanded them to submit quietly to unavoidable slavery, he could not exhort them to take their liberty at all hazards. If he had used the verb *to be*, he would have taught them to throw off the yoke of slavery, and to do it violently if necessary. Such a command would have authorized unjustifiable insurrection. Such a command could have had no other signification. The lynx-eye of the oppressor would have seen its force. He would have made it the ground of persecuting the apostle and opposing the religion he was introducing. If freedom had depended absolutely on the simple will of the slave, then, doubtless, the verb *to be* would have been used by the apostle. But as freedom depended on the will of the master and the arrangings of divine providence, he could not use that verb without doing wrong, harm, and producing violence. He commands the slave to profit by liberty, if sinlessly it could be obtained, because in a state of freedom he could serve Christ likewise also with his body. Now, if liberty is proffered you, liberty with you is optional; and if liberty is optional, then in the order of thought you are free, and from that point do not consent to become again a slave. Do not choose, from any consideration of ease, of habit, of freedom from care, to become a bondman; do not allow any unmanly or groveling tendencies, or any fear to go forth relying upon your own resources, to incline you to remain in slavery. On no consideration consent to be a slave if thou mayest be free; "for you are not your own, you are bought with a price." Let every Christian escape, if possible, a state which Edmund Burke declared "is so improper, so degrading, so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature that it ought not to be suffered to exist." Let him break away from an institution which Franklin declared "as an atrocious debasement of human nature," and which Baron Humboldt affirms is opposed to *all* the principles of morality. But if the fact that in verse 23 he uses the verb "*γινεσθε*" is proof that the apostle does not here address slaves, then the fact that he uses *γινεσθε* when he says, "Be not children in understanding," is proof that he does not address children in understanding. But if those whom he addresses are not children in understanding, why does he say in the same breath to the same persons, Be perfect in understanding? Evidently he addresses those whom he regards as children in understanding, and commands them, Be not children in understanding. So in the passage before us the apostle addresses slaves, and commands them with the divine authority of inspiration to grasp at liberty, if in any way it could be obtained without sinning against God. Now, while the above interpretation is natural, simple, consistent, in violation of no principles of grammar, philosophy, theology, or common sense, it is in direct opposition to very many of our ablest critics.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.—The great religious societies of England, as was to be expected, have suffered, as well as those of America, from the distress which is caused in both hemispheres by the continuance of our civil war. Yet several of them, as the British and Foreign Bible Society, could report an increase of their receipts, and all a vigorous prosecution of their operations. For some time it was feared that the bi-centenary agitation might lead to a rupture between evangelical Churchmen and Dissenters, and to a withdrawal of the former from the religious societies in which hitherto both have been fraternally united. Several lecturers of the Nonconformists having charged the evangelical clergy of the Established Church with dishonesty for remaining in a Church, part of whose liturgy they desire to be altered, the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Birmingham, retired from the local committee of the Bible Society. The apprehension that his example might be extensively followed was dispelled by the meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was, as usual, presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and participated in by a number of bishops, who emphatically declared their continuing adhesion to the catholic platform of this great national society of Protestant England.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The efforts made for fully restoring to the Established Church of England the right of synodical action and self-government continue to be successful. In the Convocation of Canterbury, on motion of the Bishop of Oxford, the House of Bishops unanimously resolved to request the President of the House (the Archbishop of Canterbury) to address to the Archbishop of York an earnest desire that measures be devised by which both provinces might act together harmoniously and with concurrent deliberations, especially with regard to the action which had been taken in reference to the change of one (the 29th) of the canons. A petition in favor of the convocation resuming synodical action through the Queen's dominions was, also on motion of the Bishop of Oxford, unanimously referred to a special committee. Still more important were the resolutions of the Convocation of York, which met on March 18. The Lower House adopted a resolution, not only asking for harmonious action of the two convocations, but for a union of the two convocations into one body, "so that, without prejudice to the occasional assembling of provincial synods, the general convocation of the clergy of the Church of England, which now consists of two provincial assemblies, may meet together as one national synod." From the discussion it was evident that, in contemplating the convocation of a national synod, the Irish Church was by no means forgotten, and that even a closer union of the colonial Churches with that of England has been taken into consideration. Important resolutions relative to the reorganization of the Established Church have also been passed by the English Church Union, an influential association of High Churchmen. They demand that the highest court of appeal in ecclesiastical matters should be the Upper House of Convocation, with the understanding that the bishops exercise the power of calling to their assistance as assessors theologians and laymen learned in the law; and, with regard to any bill on ecclesiastical subjects in Parliament, that, previous to the introduction into the legislature of any bill for the amendment of ecclesiastical discipline, both the English and

Irish Convocations ought to have the opportunity of fully discussing the scope and details, seeing that the priests of the Church in England are not represented in Parliament.

The Scottish Episcopal Church is following the example of the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and making strenuous efforts for reviving the synodical constitution. On July 8 a General Synod is to meet for the first time since 1838. It is expected that the communion-service of the Church, which is generally regarded as being of Romish proclivity, will be modified, and that thus the way will be prepared for a final union of the Episcopal Church in all the three kingdoms. The High Churchmen of England and Scotland are, however, falling out on this question. For many the very charge of Romish proclivities is a reason to wish the liturgy to remain as it is; while, on the other hand, Mr. Cheyne, a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, who some years ago was tried on the charge of having Romanizing views, has declared in favor of the change.

In Parliament the advocates of the political prerogatives of the Established Church have again succeeded in rejecting the Church Rate Abolition Bill, though only by one majority. The friends of a separation of Church and State find, however, some consolation in the fact that this time four more votes were cast for the bill than last year.

FRANCE.

The Anniversaries.—French Protestantism, if we may judge from the anniversaries of the present year, continues to be in a prosperous condition. Notwithstanding the distress prevailing in the manufacturing districts, many of the societies have had an increase in their receipts, and extended their operations. Thus the Missionary Society has been able to reinforce its prosperous mission in South Africa, and to open a new mission in the important French colony of Senegambia, in western Africa, whose governor is a Protestant. The missionaries of the parish have received during the past year into the Church 145 adults, and they are now preparing 500 more. The receipts amounted to 161,348 francs. One of the most remarkable addresses was again made by M. Guizot, who this year spoke at the meeting of the Protestant Bible Society. He avoided all allusion to his paradox political opinions, by which he gave last year so great offense to the Protestant world, and made an admirable speech on the Inspiration of the Bible, which is highly commended by the entire Protestant press, and has even been republished by the leading political papers. The son of Guizot, who has already won among scholars a fine reputation by several works of great merit, also took an active part in the proceedings, and presented the annual report. Besides the Protestant Bible Society, two other societies, the French and Foreign and the British and Foreign Bible Societies, are zealously laboring on behalf of the spreading of the Bible. The latter society disposed again of the largest number of copies, (113,000,) and has, since it commenced its operations in France, circulated in all nearly 5,000,000 copies.

Like the Bible Society, the Tract Society was also addressed by an eminent French scholar, Professor Rosseeuw St. Hilaire. He is a convert from the Roman Catholic Church, and ranks, like Guizot, among the best historians of France. He spoke on the immoral character of the popular literature which is circulating among the working-men, a subject which well deserves the greatest attention of the Christian philanthropist. He recommended to the Christian associations an earnest study of the proper means for obviating an evil that is fraught with so great danger for society.

The three Home Missionary Societies—the Evangelical Society, the Central Protestant Society of Evangelization, and the Evangelical Society of Geneva in Switzerland—were all able to report progress. New congregations continue to spring up in Catholic districts, and take root in spite of severe persecution. The reopening of the Protestant schools in the department of the Haute Vienne, which have been so long closed, was this year an occasion for special joy and gratitude.

The Rationalistic Controversy in the Lutheran Church.—A great agitation has recently sprung up in the Lutheran Church of France on account of the appointment of Mr. Colani, one of the leading men of the Rationalistic, or, as it is commonly called in France, the Critical School of Theology, at the

Lutheran Theological Seminary of Strasburg. The Lutheran Consistory of Paris, which consists of ministers and laymen, regarded it its duty to address to the Directory of Strasburg (the highest board of the Church) a letter, in which the appointment of a professor who is known to reject all the principal doctrines contained in the Confession of Augsburg is declared to be a wrong inflicted upon the Church. The Directory of Strasburg consists mostly of men who approve the views of the new professor, and, as the Church has no self-government, it is not likely that any measure for the removal of Mr. Colani will be taken. The controversy has, therefore, to be entirely fought by the orthodox party on literary ground; and as the orthodox party have no organ of their own in the French language, they must appeal to the Church in pamphlets. Of these quite a number have been published. The first one was by Mr. Hosemann, a Lutheran clergyman of Paris, in a letter addressed to Mr. Colani, (*Un Mot à propos de l'appel adressé à Mr. Colani par la Séminaire Protestant de Strasbourg.*) Mr. Hosemann insists that all clergymen who cannot honestly subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg should leave the Church. To this Mr. Colani and several of his friends replied, claiming the liberty of free investigation as a fundamental right of every Protestant, and charging Mr. Hosemann with misquoting the writings of Colani. A brief survey of the entire controversy has been given in a pamphlet by Mr. Meyer, the President of the Consistory of Paris, (*Simple Exposé du Debat.*) Colani and his school go far beyond the opinions expressed by the English Essays and Reviews. There is another Rationalistic party, of which Pastor Leblois is a well-known representative, who go still further and openly confess the views entertained in the eighteenth century by the Deists. They, of course, sympathize in this question with Colani. In opposition to these Rationalistic schools there is an evangelical party which sympathizes with the United Evangelical Churches of Germany, and which has of late made some progress under the able leadership of Rev. Mr. Härter, and an old Lutheran party, with all the High-Church proclivities which characterize this party in Germany. Members of all schools begin at length to see that it will not be possible to keep these discordant elements together much longer. The orthodox party in particular are desirous to have the right of self-government restored to the Church, very confident that a direct appeal to the Churches would soon lead to a withdrawal or expulsion of the Rationalistic element.

GERMANY.

State and Church.—The elections for a new House of Representatives in Prussia have resulted in favor of the party of progress, which, among all the political parties of the country, is most favorable to the self-government of the Protestant Church. The Ministry of Public Worship had addressed a circular to all the clergymen of the Established Church and to all the superintendents of public schools, calling on them to use their influence against the election of candidates of the progressive party, and a large portion, especially among the High-Church party, acted in accordance with this request. The conservative party, which adheres to the theory of a theocratic state, and is an implacable enemy to the establishment of religious toleration, will again, as in the last House of Representatives, control no more than about a dozen members. It may be expected that in the new house a motion that the full right of self-government may be restored to the Evangelical Church will be made and carried. The "Catholic" party, which counted in the last House of Representatives about fifty members, has suffered a considerable loss at the recent election. A circular of the bishops, urging on their people the duty of electing conservative Catholics, had been of no avail.

Protestantism in Bohemia.—The Protestant periodical literature of Austria has received a valuable addition by the establishment at Prague of a journal in the Bohemian or Cechic language, entitled *Huss, an Evangelical and National Journal.* It is edited by Rev. Wencel Schubert, a clergyman of the Helvetic Confession, (the name given in Austria to the Reformed Church,) and, as its title indicates, it will try to revive among the Bohemians the remembrance of the glorious age when their ancestors, under the leadership of men like Huss, were the foremost champions of religious reformation. The new paper, therefore, fully sympathizes with the national movement which is now pervading and uniting all the Slavic tribes of Austria, and especially the Bohemians or Cechi. It calls on the Bohemian Protestants to separate from the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, as they are ecclesiastical organizations of foreign not native origin, and to form themselves into a "United Evangelical Church of Bohemia," on the basis of the confessions of faith of 1535 and 1575. Such a movement would be undoubtedly of the utmost importance, as the masses of the Cechic people (who, notwithstanding the continued oppression of the Austrian government) still form fully two thirds of the total population, begin to be aware of the simultaneous prosperity and decline in Bohemia of the Cechic nationality and of evangelical Christianity. In fact a reformatory movement has already hopefully begun. An agent of the Protestant Association of the Rhine Provinces of Prussia, who spent last year several months in the German and Slavonian provinces of Austria for the purpose of obtaining reliable information on the condition of Austrian Protestantism, makes the most encouraging statement respecting this point. He says: "The Evangelical Church is popular with the Bohemian people. Catholics often travel many miles in order to be present at the religious worship of the Protestants. Bibles and devotional books are bought in large numbers. The aversion to the Roman priests is greater in Bohemia than in any other part of Austria. In a single village 124 Catholics were received in 1860 into the Evangelical Church. The people were unwilling to pay the Peter-pence or to sign addresses to the pope. Hussite reminiscences still survive; and the names of Huss, Jerome, Ziska, etc., have an electric influence on every Bohemian. Public opinion everywhere expresses itself in favor of the evangelical Church. The political press also shows much sympathy with Protestantism. The total number of Protestants in Bohemia amounts to 87,000 souls, of whom 31,000 are Lutherans and 56,000 Reformed. Nearly all the congregations in Northern Bohemia, which are in close contact with Germany, are Lutherans; while the majority of those speaking the Bohemian language belong to the Helvetic or Reformed Confession. In Northern Bohemia Rationalistic views have spread to some extent; while in the south, where the influence of Germany is little felt, the clergy adhere strictly to biblical theology, and the people would never tolerate a Rationalistic sermon. In this part of Bohemia little was known of the Protestant Churches of Germany; only of the Gustavus Adolphus Society the people had heard. Some of the congregations have already been assisted by this society in building new churches and schools; but as the salaries of the ministers and teachers are too small, there is an increasing want of both, and many, both clergymen and school-teachers, express a desire to receive fixed salaries from the state.

ITALY.

Protestantism in Naples—Cresi—Albarella.—It is a remarkable circumstance that Naples, which before 1858 granted to Protestants the least toleration, is now the most promising field of the evangelical mission. A history of the Protestant movements in the south of Italy is given in the report of the Naples Evangelization Aid Society, which was founded in the winter of 1861 by members of various Protestant communions. It has raised and disbursed about £400. The Marquis Cresi, who presides over a meeting of Italian Christians, and superintends the colporteurs of several societies in the towns and provinces, is highly esteemed, as well as his assistant, Signor Cerioni, an ex-priest, who was many years ago received into the Christian Church at Malta by the Bishop of Gibraltar. The female school begun in the fisherman's quarter, the Mergellina, by Signor Cresi and the Russian Countess Steinbock, and taught by Miss Sprenger of the German Protestant school, has fifty scholars. In addition to two Calabrian priests, Calva and Gioja, who have since been studying in Florence and Genoa, the society has been applied to by a large number of priests, who were desirous of leaving the Roman Church if they could only find an opportunity to earn a livelihood. Four priests have actually left their Church. The evangelical school for boys begun by the society, though under the ban of the clergy, has eighty scholars in attendance. Two able teachers have been employed, and Mr. Buscarlet, the Scotch minister at Naples, superintends the religious instruction of the children. An evening school for adults has been attended by forty workmen, who not only learn to read the New Testament, but give evidence that they lay to heart its teachings. In the course of the last year Cresi has circulated 2,100 Bibles and 2,700 New Testaments. His celebration of divine service was, toward the close of last year, regularly attended by sixty or seventy persons. He proceeds with great caution, excludes politics from the pulpit, and with all evangelical decision shows in his polemical discourses against the Roman Catholic Church no offensive want of moderation. It has been announced that Signor Cresi was about to publish a confession of faith which will substantially agree with that of the Waldenses, though he does not belong to the communion.

A still more efficient laborer in the Protestant cause is Signor Albarella, an advocate in Naples, who has devoted himself gratuitously to the work of evangelization in that city. For a time he was either president or a leading supporter of the Society of Operatives, and the political element often entered largely into his harangues. But later he withdrew from these societies and devoted himself wholly to the work of evangelization. The friends of the evangelical work in Naples are in much distress because Albarella has been recently appointed by the Minister of Grace and Justice to the post of Subprocuratore Regio in Campo Basso, quite at the extremity of the peninsula.

SCANDINAVIA.

PROGRESS OF THE BAPTISTS.—The Baptists are rapidly increasing in Sweden, although the intolerant legislation has only been partly repealed, and still puts many legal obstacles to the spread of every denomination of dissenters. At the end of the year 1861 they counted 150 churches, with 4,865 members, and 891 children in Sunday-schools. During the year 639 persons were added to the Churches by baptism. They have now perfected their organization, having at the last triennial conference, held at Stockholm from June 23 to June 28, 1861, divided their Churches into seven associations: Norrland, Dala, Gotland, Stockholm, Nerike, Smaland, and Skien. With each of these associations a missionary society is connected, and a number of colporteurs and missionaries are supported by them; besides there is also a colporteur school, commenced in 1856. The Churches, although still young and feeble, and greatly in need of aid for supporting a greater number of home missionaries, have already commenced to contribute for the foreign missions of the American Baptists in Burmah.

In Norway the first Baptist Churches were organized a few years ago by Mr. Rymker, a colporteur of the American Baptist Publication Society, at Porsgrund and Laurvig. A third Church was organized in 1861 at Skien. Numerous additions to these new congregations are expected from the remnants of a sect of Lutheran seceders, founded in 1856 by a clergyman of the Lutheran State Church by the name of Summers. This sect favored the introduction of the baptism of adults, though not absolutely rejecting infant baptism. The founder returned in 1860, together with some of his followers, to the State Church, but many other members are inclined to join the Baptists.

RUSSIA.

HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Church Aid Society of the Lutheran Church, which was founded in 1859, has recently published its second annual report. Though still in its infancy, this society has already done good service in the cause of evangelical Christianity. The central committee has its seat in St. Petersburgh, and among its members are some of the highest officers of the Russian empire. Besides there are twenty district committees, which again embrace numerous branch committees. The annual report gives a frightful picture of the spiritual destitution of the Lutherans in some of the provinces. The parish of Novgorod extends over a territory larger than the aggregate area of Sweden and Norway; it has 2,083 members and 2 schools. In the "government" (province) of Vladimir 1,132 manufactories employ 80,000 workingmen, a majority of whom are Lutherans; yet there was not one Lutheran congregation until 1859. It has, however, made good progress since. The congregation has subscribed 900 rubles annually for the salary of the pastor, and 2,000 rubles for the erection of a church and parsonage. To the territory of the district committee of Moscow belongs also West Siberia, with only two parishes, Tomsk and Tobolsk. Both can only be maintained by aid from abroad. The parish of Tobolsk has a Lutheran population of 329 souls, among whom are 168 exiles, and is without a school. The parish of Tomsk, with a territory equal to the aggregate area of England and France, has a population of 168 souls, and its pastor has applied to the committee for the means that will enable him to visit all the members of his congregation once a year. Still worse is the condition of the Lutherans in East Siberia, a country equaling in extent five sixths of Europe. It has only one Lutheran parish at Irkutsk, with a Lutheran population of 1086 souls, scattered through all parts of this immense territory. To see all his parishioners the pastor had to travel in one year 60,000 versts, (one verst is equal to about two thirds of an English mile.) The district committee of the Church Aid Society at Irkutsk consists of six members—all Germans. Only a minority of the Lutherans in East Siberia are free men; by far the larger portion are exiles, who are again divided into two classes, those who have to work in the mines and are employed for gold-washing, and those who obtain permission to settle. The wants of the second class were for the first time attended to in 1857, when a German clergyman commenced to unite them into colonies. Of all the Lutherans who had previously been sent to Russia no trace has been left. At present about 500 settlers have been collected into three colonies, one Finnish, one of Letts and Germans, and one of Esthonians. Altogether the receipts of the Church Aid Society amounted in 1860 to 13,287 rubles, and in 1861 (until July) to 24,980 rubles. The society begins to awaken a general interest among the Russian Lutherans, and has undoubtedly a great mission to fulfill. The interest in the foreign missionary cause is likewise greatly on the increase. We have given an account of it on another page in an extract from a Russian quarterly. (See Synopsis of Foreign Quarterlies.)

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN ST. PETERSBURGH.—The Protestant Churches in St. Petersburgh are divided into fifteen congregations, with about 44,000 communicants. Eleven of them are Lutheran, one English, one Dutch, one German Reformed, one French Reformed. Of the Lutheran congregations one is Swedish, one Finnish, one Esthonian and German, one Lettish, the others German. Every Sunday there is preaching in the German, Swedish, Finnish, English, French, Esthonian, and Lettish languages, and occasionally in the Russian and Polish. There are but few paupers among the Protestants, and the collections made for the sick and the poor are admirable.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN FINLAND.—Finland is a part of the Russian empire, but politically as well as ecclesiastically in no connection with the other provinces. Of the inhabitants only 36,062 belong to the orthodox Greek Church; all the others, 1,688,131, are Lutherans, who have an archbishop at Abo and two bishops at Borga and Kuopio. Four years ago a missionary society was founded in Finland, for which, as the report of 1861 shows, a sincere sympathy begins to be manifested. In the year 1861 the society sent 2,000 silver rubles to the mission in Leipzic, and as much to Pastor Harms of the Hermannsburg Mission, and still there were 10,000 silver rubles remaining, which the society is now applying to the preparation and sending forth of a missionary. As Finland has, as yet, not any mission school, or any mission field of its own in heathen lands, it was resolved to employ the money for the present in the service of another mission. The mission of Gossner's Missionary Society (of Berlin, Prussia) among the Coolies at Nagpur, in India, has been selected for this purpose. In the beginning of 1861 2,000 rubles were sent to this German society to aid in sending out another missionary; besides, Finland promised that if a station in the same neighborhood could be given to it within three years it would support the station and two missionaries. In the mean time two Finnish youths have offered themselves as missionaries, and last autumn went to Germany to be educated. A preparatory school has also been instituted in Helsingfors, and several have already offered themselves for mission work. In order to enter into more intimate relation and correspondence with other missionary institutions, the committee has proposed to its secretary to visit, at its cost, several foreign countries. Of the society's periodicals, 2,250 copies in Swedish and 2,300 in Finnish were circulated during last year. New books on missions have also been published in editions of four or five thousand copies.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

FRANCE.

Spirit of the Roman Church.—One of the most daring attempts to revive the bloody traditions of the Roman Church has been recently made in a circular of the Archbishop of Toulouse, calling upon the people of his diocese to celebrate in a pompous style the restoration of Roman Catholicism in the city of Toulouse in 1562. This restoration was effected by the massacre of four thousand Protestants, when, after a contest of six days between Roman Catholics and Protestants, the latter concluded a capitulation, according to which their lives were to be spared. The impression produced by the publication has been profound, and has once more clearly shown that even in Roman Catholic countries the principle of religious toleration has taken deep root. All the leading dailies of Paris, both of the liberal party and of the government, agreed in blaming, in the very strongest terms, this outrage on public opinion. Hardly have two or three of the Jesuitical party dared to make a timid apology on behalf of the archbishop, while Roman Catholic organs in other countries have openly censured him. The official organ of the French government published with regard to it the following note: "The government has decided that all processions or outward ceremonies relative to the celebration of the jubilee shall be prohibited." So general and emphatic has been the public dissatisfaction that the archbishop has been himself compelled to send to the journals an explanatory letter, in which he states that the object of the jubilee is not to glorify the excesses committed in the religious conflict, but to bless God for having granted to the Roman Catholics a victory which preserved the city of Toulouse from becoming a kind of French Geneva. He even pretends to be "tenderly united in heart to his dissenting brethren." This weak attempt of justification, as was to be expected, has utterly failed to make any impression on the public mind. The persecution of the Protestants in Spain leaves no doubt what the bishops would do if they had the power.

ITALY.

The Great Assembly of Bishops.—For the second time during his pontificate Pope Pius IX. has convoked the bishops of the Roman Catholic world to assemble at Rome. They have been officially invited to take part in the canonization of twenty-three Japanese martyrs, who were put to death about two hundred years ago for refusing to apostatize from Christianity. But even Roman papers indicate that this invitation is merely a pretext, and that in reality the presence of the bishops is wanted in order to give the more weight to some papal declaration respecting the temporal power of the pope. The behest of the pope has, however, been duly obeyed in all the countries of the world, and the assemblage is expected to be very numerous. From the United States the Archbishops of New York and Cincinnati, the Bishops of Brooklyn, Albany, Buffalo, Boston, Newark, Dubuque, Chicago, St. Paul, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and probably others, will be present. Of the French bishops about one half (36) have declared their intention to proceed to Rome, although the French government has requested them not to go. From Spain the departure of two cardinals and twenty bishops is announced. All the Bavarian bishops will be there, except one who is blind. From Russia three bishops are expected, whose expenses their government has volunteered to pay. All the other countries, inclusive even of Western Asia, will send a large contingent. It is expected that about four hundred bishops in all may attend.

Little doubt can be entertained that the bishops almost unanimously will give their consent to any declaration, however strong, which the pope may see fit to propose. Among the lower clergy it will be in no country met with so much resistance as in Italy. Especially in the lower part of the peninsula a liberal association, called the Mutual Aid Society, is making great progress. The membership of the society is between four and five thousand, the great majority of whom are priests. Among the lay members are about forty deputies of the Neapolitan provinces. Only the priests, however, are entitled to aid from the funds; and it is by them that the *Colonna di Fuoco* ("Pillar of Fire") is edited, printed, and circulated. This bi-weekly paper and the society whose organ it is, seek not only the removal of the temporal power, but look also for ward to the overthrow of the spiritual supremacy of the pope, or, as they call it, the "autocracy of the papacy." They still cling to Rome as the center and to the pope as the head of the Church; but at the same time they plead in a memorial addressed to the pope, and signed by six hundred priests and four thousand of the laity, for the removal or rectification of indulgences, the confessional, the superstitious worship of images and relics, the introduction of lay influence into the councils of the Church, and the improved and liberal education of the priests. The movement is headed by a Bishop Caputo, who, in virtue of the office of Chaplain-general, which he held under the Bourbons, has been able to open all the royal chapels, such as San Francesco di Paolo, opposite the king's palace, to the ablest preachers in the society.

In the north Passaglia remains the center of the reformatory movement, though he does not, however, go so far as the Neapolitan Society, but as yet aims only at the abolition of the temporal power of the pope, hoping that the spiritual power in its present condition will be vastly increased. In this sense he intends to present a petition to the pope previous to the meeting of the bishops in Rome, and hopes to obtain for it the signatures of twenty thousand priests.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

SIR GEORGE CORNEWELL LEWIS, besides performing the arduous duties of Secretary of War, which he performs with a very thorough energy, astonishes her majesty's subjects by publishing treatises whose depth and value would seem to require the devotion of a man's whole time to scholastic study. His "Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History" is ranked among the most notable achievements of English scholarship. His "Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients" is a solid and learned work, the fruit of his vacation hours. It begins with the primitive astronomy of the Greeks and Romans, which is that of Homer, as well as that of Deacon Homespun, and every other person who judges by obvious sense without science. To the savage and the rustic the world is "a circular plane, surmounted and bounded by heaven, which was a solid vault or hemisphere, with its cavity turned downward. Sir George is utterly destructive upon Bunsen and the whole group of Egyptological chronologists. His irreverent words are: "Accordingly, the operations of Bunsen and the other modern critics upon the ancient history of Egypt rather resemble the manipulation of the balance-sheet of an insolvent company by a dexterous accountant, (who, by transfers of capital to income, by the suppression or transposition of items, and by the alteration of bad into good debts, can convert a deficiency into a surplus,) than the conjectures of a speculative historian, who undertakes to transmute legend into history." And again: "Bunsen's work on Egypt is a book of metamorphoses. By his method, Agamémnon or Achilles might be identified with Alexander the Great, Pompey might be identified with Cesar, and Hannibal with Scipio. Such identifications as that of William the Conqueror with William of Orange, or of St. Louis with Louis XVI., would be so obvious and natural as not to require formal proof, and would be disposed of in a parenthesis, if this mode of dealing with evidence were transferred to modern history." This is just enough, perhaps, so far as the stupendous chronologies of Bunsen are concerned. But Birch, Poole, and Sharpe, belonging to a more modest school, may seem to rescue Egyptology from the imputation of being pure romance.

Who was the St. George claimed by England as her tutelar, with his cross upon her banner? Gibbon and others identify him with an Arian Bishop of Alexandria, who, in spite of his canonization, was a thorough villain, rather than a saint. The point of identity has been greatly debated. John Hogg, Esq., Honorary Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, professes to have settled the question by new documentary evidence. In a pamphlet entitled, "Supplementary Notes on St. George the Martyr," he says:

In the year 1858 I was fortunately enabled, by careful examination of the Greek inscription (No. 40) which Mr. Cyril Graham had, in the previous summer, copied from a very ancient church—originally a heathen temple—at Ezra, in Syria, to determine most satisfactorily that *Saint* George had *died before* the year A. D. 346, in which he is expressly called a "holy *Martyr.*" Also, it is clear that this date occurred during the lifetime of the *other* George—the Alexandrian *bishop*—who survived for fifteen years longer, namely, to A. D. 362; and who then, having expiated his vices and base conduct by assassination, could *not*, under any consideration, be esteemed a *Martyr*.

This *confusion of identity* is supposed, and indeed with much probability, to have been *purposely* made by the Arians, in order to raise the credit and repute of their own bishop, George, whom they had elected at Alexandria in the place of Athanasius, and while he was in retirement, at the expense of the fame and virtues of George the Syrian martyr. From the authorities detailed in my preceding and present papers, we find, on the *one hand*, that *Saint* George was born at *Lydd*, or *Lydda*, in Syria; that his parents, being in good circumstances, and Christians, nurtured him "in the fear of the Lord," as in fact we know that "all who dwelt in Lydda" had "turned to the Lord," even as early as the year of Christ 38, after St. Peter had come down to them. That his parents took him when young into Cappadocia, from whence he went to Nicomedia, where the Emperor Diocletian resided, and in whose army he served as an officer. By the orders of that emperor he, with a great many more Christians, suffered cruel torments, during, in all likelihood, the *ninth* persecution. That, according to the legends, shortly before his death, he rescued, by his prayers, the Empress Alexandra from the depths of hell, and vanquished by his prowess the ferocious Dragon, both being merely fabulous, but excellent *emblems* of the true Christian's victory over hell, and conquest of sin, or the Devil.

On the *other hand*, we learn that the *second* George was *born* in a fuller's mill, according to some, *in Cappadocia*, or, as others state, in the neighboring district of *Cilicia;* that after certain disreputable acts he, assuming "the profession of Arianism," proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, of which city he was chosen *bishop* by the followers of that heretical sect; that, in consequence of his vile conduct and intolerable exactions, the heathen populace there murdered him, with his two friends, the master of the mint, Dracontius, and Count Diodorus.

Hence the confusion, whether designedly or erroneously, may have arisen from *both* Georges being reported to have been *from* or *in* Cappadocia; from the stories of the Empress *Alexandra*, of the city of *Alexandria*, and from the slaughters of the beast *Dragon*, and of the man *Dracontius*.

Stier's "*The Words of the Angels; or, Their Visits to the Earth, and the Messages they Delivered,*" has been published by Hamilton & Co., London. The translation is said to be clear, and the work equal to Stier's reputation.

Christ the Life of the World: Biblical Studies on John's Gospel, Chapters xi–xxi, by Rudolph Besser, D. D., translated from the German by M. G. Huxtable, is published by the Clarkes.

Alford, the Commentator, has published a work entitled, *The Old and New Dispensations Compared.*

Perhaps the most accomplished exegetical scholar in England is Professor Charles J. Ellicott, of Kings College, London, author of the Life of Christ, noticed in a former number of our Quarterly. A volume of his sermons, under the title *The Destiny of the Creature*, has been published in London, delivered by him before the University of Cambridge, in his capacity of select preacher, during the month of March, 1858. They are estimated very highly by English critics. They discuss with great thoroughness, with a full reference to modern science, but a profound reverence for Scripture, the great topics of man's creation, the fall, human suffering, death, and restitution. In the restitution he recognizes no blotting out of the ineffable contrariety of good and of evil. In the nature of man he recognizes body, soul, and spirit, as three distinct elements of the human constitution.

Calvin's Works are published by Clarke, of Edinburgh, in fifty-one volumes. Of these, three are his Institutes, three are tracts, and forty-five are Commentary.

The Religions before Christ; being an Introduction to the First Three Centuries of the Church, by Edmund de Pressensé, Pastor of the French Evangelical Church, and Doctor of Divinity of the University of Breslau, translated by L. Corkran, with a preface by the author, is published by the Clarkes, of Edinburgh. This work is fully noticed in our Synopsis notice of the Revue Chrétienne.

GERMANY.

The increasing acquaintance of scholars with the languages and literatures of the East has already led and is still leading to a considerable enlargement of our knowledge of ancient Church history. Nearly every year furnishes several publications opening new sources of information. Among the recent works of this kind is a translation of the Church History of John, the Monophysite, Bishop of Ephesus, by Schönfelder.* The third part of the Syriac original was published by Cureton, in 1853, who, in a brief introduction, spoke of the great importance of this author, especially for the Church history of the East and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1856 a young Dutch scholar, Dr. Land, published a treatise under the title, "John, Bishop of Ephesus, the first Syriac Church historian," (Johannes Bishop von Ephesus,) in which he discussed the general relations of Syriac literature, and the productions of the Syriac Church historians in particular, the person and history of Bishop John, his style and treatment of Church history, and the contents of his work. The promised translation of Cureton having not yet appeared, Schönfelder resolved to make the work accessible to those who do not read the Oriental languages, in a German translation. He has added to the translation a treatise of the Tritheites, tracing the history of the controversy and the doctrine of this sect.

An entirely new source of information on the history of Manicheism has been opened by the publication of an extract of an Arabic history of literature ("Fihrist") of Abû'lfaradj Mohammed ben Ishak al-Warrâk, edited, together with a German translation, commentary, and index, by Gustavus Flügel.† The history of Manicheism, the most dangerous of all the sects of the third and fourth centuries, and the life of its author, Mani or Manes, are still far from being sufficiently elucidated, for there are two greatly varying accounts of them, the one found in Greek, the other in Oriental writers. It is especially to the latter class of writers that we must look for new light on points still involved in obscurity, as the literary discoveries of the last years prove that a considerable number of Arabic and Syriac, and other Oriental works bearing on the ancient history of the Church, have hitherto been entirely unknown. The work of Flügel will, therefore, be hailed by theologians as the first installment of new Eastern literature on the history of Manicheism, which we hope may soon be followed by others.

David Frederick Strauss, who, several years ago, announced his intention to quit theological studies altogether, has resumed his attacks upon Christianity in a work on Reimarus, the author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments.* Reimarus (born at Hamburg in 1694, died in 1768, as Professor of Oriental Languages) was one of the fathers of Rationalism, yet he did not dare to publish himself his principal work, which, in the manuscript used by Strauss, bears the title, "An Apology for Rational Worshipers of God, written by . . . Hamburg, 1767." It was imparted by him to his intimate friends, and a few years later edited (in an abridged form) by Lessing, who had secured a copy, and represented them as manuscripts belonging to the Wolfenbüttel library, of which he had the charge. The original manuscript is in Hamburg, embracing two volumes, of two thousand and forty-four pages. A complete edition of it has never been published, and also Strauss has not undertaken to publish one, as many of the opinions of Reimarus are so absurd that even the Rationalists are ashamed of owning them. Strauss gives a brief biography of Reimarus, and then discusses the origin, the aim, the history, and contents of his chief work.

The origin of Christmas, the customs and (occasional) superstitions connected with it, are the subject of a new book of Paulus Cassel, a converted Jew and prolific writer.† The author opposes the opinion frequently advanced in modern times, that institutions and customs like those of Christmas are only remnants of paganism transplanted upon Christian soil. His work is divided into three books. In the first, which bears the heading, "Origin of the Festival," he attempts to show that the birth of Christ really coincides with our Christmas, and that already the prophets of the Old Covenant have pointed to the Christmas night, (from December 24 to 25.) The second book, headed "Names and Customs," gives a very full and interesting description of the mode of celebrating Christmas; the solemnities in the church, the Christmas-tree, the crib, the Christmas-fire, Christmas presents, etc. In the third book we find an account of a large number of superstitions which have attached themselves to the celebration of Christmas. An appendix gives copious literary references.

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* Schonfelder, Die Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt. Mit einer Abhandlung über die Tritheiten. 8vo., pp. 311. München, 1862.

† Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus, etc. Von G. Flugel. Leipzig, 1862.

* Strauss, H. S. Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift fur die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes. Leipzig. 1862.

† Weihnachten, Ursprünge, Bräuche, und Aberglauben. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche und des deutschen Volkes. Berlin, 1861.

The history of the patriarch Cyril Lucaris, and his attempts to effect a union between the Greek Church and Protestantism, has not yet been treated so thoroughly as the important subject demands. The work of A. Pichler* on "The History of Protestantism in the Eastern Church in the Seventeenth Century; or, the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and his Times," is the first complete monography on the Protestantizing Patriarch, and his attempts at a reformation of his petrified Church. The author says that he has endeavored to compare carefully all sources of information, part of which have not been made use of before. The Roman Catholics have paid no attention to the history of Cyril; the Calvinists, on the other hand, are charged by the author with having "transmitted their historical lies and adventurous distortions from book to book, and from generation to generation, more faithfully than a truth of the Gospel." The work begins with briefly characterizing the religious and political condition of Europe and of the Christian countries of the East, which must be known in order to understand the labors of Cyril. Cyril was born in 1572 upon Candia, studied at Venice and Padua, later visited Germany, especially Wittemberg and Geneva, where he became acquainted with the Protestant doctrine, by the introduction of which he tried to improve the Greek Church. About 1601 he became Patriarch of Alexandria; in 1612, vicegerent of the exiled Patriarch Neophytus of Constantinople; in 1621, Patriarch of Constantinople. In consequence of his reformatory exertions he was repeatedly exiled. and on account of having taken part in a translation of the New Testament into modern Greek he was strangled in 1638.

The science of language has been undoubtedly making great progress since the beginning of the present century, however much some of its foremost champions may have deviated from the firm ground of facts into the lofty region of fanciful speculations. The relation of the results of modern linguistic researches to the biblical account of the original unity of the human language is, therefore, a subject well worthy to engage the deepest interest of the theologian. It has recently been treated of in an elaborate work by Franz Kaulen,* a young teacher of Roman Catholic theology at the University of Bonn. "In the history of human development," says the author, "there is after the first sin no event of greater importance than that of the great apostasy, which is designated by the confusion of language at Babel and the subsequent separation of the human family. The account in Genesis forms the sum of all the knowledge which the science of language must regard as the highest aim of its investigations. Two points are contained in the catastrophe at Babel, the original unity of language, and secondly, the ceasing of this unity, or the confusion of language, and, connected with it, the dispersion of the human family. In order to vindicate the biblical account from infidel negations, it must be shown, with regard to both points, that they are not only not at variance with the results of linguistics, but also that they are integral links in the chain of the entire development within which God has prepared the human race for redemption." The author first investigates the original unity of language; he examines the inferences drawn from the present multiplicity of languages, and argues that science has not been able to show the original plurality of languages; and that, therefore, the stand-point of faithful submission to the account of the Bible cannot be shaken. In the second part he discusses the separation of the languages, the relation of this occurrence to the other great facts in the history of the race and of Divine revelation. The original sin, he shows, planted the germ of the diversity of languages, and the completed apostasy from God, which was manifested in the construction of Babel, matured this germ into fruit. He then sums up the results of modern science respecting the difference of languages, and finds in them nothing which would in any way conflict with the account of the Bible.

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* Pichler, Geschichte des Protestantismus in der Orientalischen Kirche in 17st. Jahrhundert. 8vo., pp. 254. Munich, 1862.

* Kaulen, Die Sprachverwirrung zu Babel. Linguistisch-theologische Untersuchungen über Gen. xi, 1-9. 8vo., pp. 248. Mainz, 1861.

In honor of the centenary commemoration of the birthday of the German philosopher, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, several works have been published, the most important of which is a second revised and greatly enlarged edition of the "Life and Correspondence of Fichte,"[*] by his son, Immanuel Hermann Fichte, Professor of Philosophy at Tübingen. It is a volume in some respects unique in its kind, for there is hardly another instance on record of both father and son having been equally distinguished in philosophy as the two Fichtes. More, therefore, than is the case in other biographies of celebrated men written by their children, the younger Fichte was the right man to give an account of the life of his father.

Another work by Prof. J. H. Loewe[†] traces the philosophy of J. G. Fichte "in the aggregate results of its development and in its relation to Kant and Spinoza." The author disagrees with those who assume between the first and the second period in the life of Fichte a gap that cannot be filled up, or, at least, (like Erdmann,) an essential alteration of his stand-point; but he tries, on the contrary, to prove, as the younger Fichte had done before him, that there is in the philosophical writings of Fichte a steady and continuous development of his original principles. In an appendix he discusses Spinoza's idea of God and history.

FRANCE.

One of the most interesting books of the season is a biographical sketch of Father Lacordaire, by Count Montalembert.[‡] Montalembert, the most gifted historian of Monasticism, was in every respect well qualified to write the life of the most celebrated monk of the nineteenth century, Father Lacordaire, with whom he had been for many years united in the bonds of the most intimate friendship. Both commenced their public career as pupils of Lamennais, but both abandoned their master when he refused to submit to the dictates of the pope. Both gained, during the reign of Louis Philippe, a great reputation as orators, the one in the pulpit, the other in the Chamber of Peers, and both were listened to with admiration and applause by audiences which were far from sharing their sentiments. After the establishment of the republic in 1848, both were elected members of the Constituent Assembly, and, some years later, by the votes of the greatest scholars of France, both obtained seats in the French Academy. Both, with a spirit of manly independence, refused to support the despotic government of Louis Napoleon, and were earnestly desirous to reconcile Roman Catholicism with the spirit of modern civilization. Both have, therefore, been again and again denounced by the ultramontane press, such as the *Univers*. Both were editors of the *Correspondant*, the ablest organ of the liberal party among the Roman Catholics of France. The Protestant *Revue Chrétienne*, of Paris, calls the work of Montalembert one of the most important contributions to the history of our age, and recommends to its readers not to delay its reading.

Father Gratry is another leading man of the same school to which Lacordaire and Montalembert belong. He is by far the foremost representative of Christian Philosophy now living in France, and acknowledged as such by philosophical writers of all schools. But while he often writes on the abstrusest points of metaphysics, he not less rarely devotes his pen to popular works, aiming at the re-establishment of faith among the masses of his countrymen. Of the latter class is his most recent work on Duty.[*] E. de Pressensé, in a late number of the *Revue Chrétienne*, speaks very highly of the talents and the Christian character of Father Gratry. He regards him as the best among the orators who were chosen to fill the pulpits of the Paris churches during the season of Lent. "Father Gratry," he says, always enters into a profound examination of every question. We have heard him pay the most beautiful homage to the vast labors of German theology, and bitterly regret the superficiality reigning among us. Referring to an admirable letter of Leibnitz, which has recently been found, he has acknowledged that epochs of transition have also a sunny-side, that faith issues from them more firmly established. Every heart was moved when the orator, at the close of his discourse, exclaimed: 'Gentlemen, search for truth and God will bless you.' Such a course will make Christians and not bigots."

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[*] J. G. Fichte's Leben und Literarischer Briefwechsel. Leipzic: Brockhaus, 1862.

[†] Loewe, Die Philosophie Fichte's nach dem Gesammtergebniss ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Verhältniss zu Kant und Spinoza. Pp. 898. Stuttgardt, 1862.

[‡] Montalembert, le Comte de. Le Père Lacordaire. Paris, 1862.

[*] Gratry, Les Sources (seconde partie) ou le Premier le dernier livre de la Science du devoir. Paris, 1862.

A third edition is published of the Essays of Religious Philosophy, by Emile Saisset.[*] The new edition has been greatly enlarged. Among the ideas developed in these essays some have been contested, as the definition of Pantheism, and the author's views on the infinity of creation. Under the heading *Eclaircissements*, M. Saisset has added to his book three chapters, which complete his thoughts on the gravest questions that can agitate the human mind. M. Saisset has been long known to the literary world as a talented writer on philosophy and the religious condition of mankind, and is one of the principal contributors on this subject to the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

The literary world in France is delighted with the discovery of important documents respecting the life of the great Christian philosopher, Malebranche.[†] Great curiosity was awakened some twenty years ago by a report that the manuscript of an old biography of Malebranche, prepared by Father André, whose interesting history has been narrated by M. Cousin, had fallen into hands which were determined not to give it to the public. André had carefully collected a large number of letters and other important documents, which he was preparing for publication, when his superiors compelled him to give up this labor. No more than three or four letters of Malebranche were known; and he was believed to have lived retired in his cell, desirous to be forgotten by all. But now it is known that the illustrious Oratorian, notwithstanding his attachment to solitude, was in literary communication with distinguished persons, such as Bossuet, Leibnitz, Prince Condé, etc. Cousin, in 1843, (in his "*Introduction aux Œuvres Philosophiques du Père André*, p. 51,) gave vent to the general indignation of the French scholars at the withholding of documents so important, and he threatened the unknown possessor of these treasures with the wrath of the entire literary world. It seems that this challenge has not had any result, and the natural curiosity of the scholars have therefore been the more gratified by a discovery of Abbé Blampignon, who has found in the library of Troyes considerable fragments of the life of Malebranche by André, of a considerable number of his letters, preserved by Father Adry, the last librarian of the Oratory, and a biographical work, prepared by Adry shortly before the revolution, with the aid of the memoirs of the Marquis d'Allemans, of the Councilor Chauvin, and of Father Lelong, all well known as particular friends of Malebranche. M. Emile Saisset, on the basis of these discoveries, gives in a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (April 1) an excellent article on Malebrauche, his struggles and his character.

Abbé Migne,[*] the indefatigable editor of the works of all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and a number of dictionaries of the several branches of theology, has commenced the publication of a very extensive and comprehensive Index to his Collection of the Latin Fathers. It will comprise eight volumes.

Among other recent theological publications of France we notice the following:

Alfrédy, De l'Influence du R. P. Lacordaire sur la génération actuelle.

Delière, l'Abbé, Tableau d'une église nationale d'après un pope russe. (An account of the country clergy of the Russian Church, based on a work published by a Russian priest at Leipzic.)

Martin, l'Abbé F., et l'Abbé Fleurin, Histoire de M. Vuarin et du rétablissement du Catholicisme à Genève. 2 vols.

Deschamps, l'Abbé A., de la discipline bouddhique, ses développements et ses légendes. Etudes nouvelles pour servir aux travaux de l'apologétique Chrétienne.

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[*] Saisset. Essais de Philosophie Religieuse. 3d edition. 2 vols. Paris, 1862.

[†] Blampignon, l'Abbé E A. Etude sur Malebranche, d'après des documents manuscrits, suivie d'une correspondance inédite. Paris, 1862.

[*] Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. T. 218.

Martin, La Morale chez les Chinois.

Ramière. L'Eglise et la Civilisation Moderne.

Ventura, Œuvres Posthumes, Conferences, Sermons, Homilies.

RUSSIA.

From a foreign paper we get information on a subject on which very little has been hitherto known—the theological periodicals of the Russian Church. From 1821 to 1855 there were only three religious journals in all Russia, namely, *The Christian Reader*, a monthly organ of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg; *The Sunday Reader*, a weekly review, established in 1837, and brought out at Kieff by the Ecclesiastical Academy of that city; and *The Works of the Holy Fathers*, a quarterly review, established by a Russian theologian of some celebrity, Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow. In 1855 a new monthly review, called *The Orthodox Interlocutor*, was founded at Kasan, with the object of confuting the schismatics. Since 1858 the Sacred Synod of St. Petersburg has established, or else sanctioned, the establishment of the following journals: *The Spiritual Companion*, which serves as an official bulletin for the acts of the Sacred Synod through the whole Russian Church; *The Pilgrim*, at St. Petersburg; *The Country Priest's Manual*, at Kieff; *The Orthodox Review* and *The Useful Reader for the Soul's Health*, at Moscow; *The Labors of the Ecclesiastical Academy*, at Kieff; *The Diocesan Gazette*, containing all the official news, and treating on subjects connected with religion, morality, and ecclesiastical history; and, lastly, *The Spirit of the True Christian*, a monthly review, which was founded in September, 1861, by some of the priests of St. Petersburg to supply simple expositions of the truths of Christianity, and to satisfy the religious wants of the people.

According to a statement of M. Petroff, a Russian archpriest established at Geneva, the principal difference between these journals is their official or non-official character. The former class always comprises two parts, one of which is invariably consecrated to the reproduction of the works of some one of the fathers of the Church in the Russian language, and the other to cotemporary sermons, dissertations, or works of theological erudition. The non-official papers are of a more popular cast, and all of them contain a bibliographical department, reviewing recent theological literature.

In a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* we find the following respecting one of the periodicals published at Moscow: "There has been published at Moscow, for two years, a religious review with semi-liberal tendencies, which proposes nothing less than to spiritualize the orthodoxy of the Russian Church, which cherishes toleration and defends the liberty of thinking. The editors of this review, nearly all of whom are priests, are initiated into the philosophical literature of Western Europe, and they follow with attention the religious questions which are now being discussed in Germany, in England, in France, in Italy."

ART. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, April, 1862.—1. Modern Philosophy Pantheistic. 2. Religious Instruction in Colleges. 3. Swedenborg's Theory of the Divine-Human. 4. The Homeric Doctrine of Sin. 5. The Perpetual Observance of the Sabbath. 6. The Origin of Idolatry. 7. Passaglia, Guizot, and Döllinger on the Roman Question.

BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1862.—1. The Church not a Despotism. 2. Essays on the Reformation. 3. State Rebellion, State Suicide. 4. Emancipation and Colonization. 5. Weninger's Protestantism and Infidelity.

Christian Review, April, 1862.—1. Growth and Relations of the Sciences. 2. The Chinese Coolie Trade. 3. The Righteous Dead between Death and the Resurrection. 4. West Indian Missions. 5. Recent Ministerial Biography. 6. The Religious System of the Chinese Pretender.

Danville Review, March, 1862.—1. Reason and Faith; or, the Right Use of Reason with Regard to Revelation. 2. The Covenants of Scripture. 3. Imputation: Part III. Imputation and Original Sin. 4. The Secession Conspiracy in Kentucky, and its Overthrow. 5. In Memoriam: A Tribute to Rev. Stuart Robinson, and others. 6. Jurisprudence, Sacred and Civil.

Evangelical Review, April, 1862.—1. Ministers of the Gospel in Time of War. 2. John Godfrey Herder. 3. The Imperishableness of Christianity. 4. The Races of Men in French History. 5. Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers. 6. Luther's Works.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, April, 1862.—1. The College as a Means of Ministerial Education. 2. God a Hearer and Answerer of Prayer. 3. The War and Slavery. 4. Systematic Theology: its Relative Position in a Course of Study. 5. The Freewill Baptists for half a Century. 6. Peculiarities of English Law. 7. Posture in Prayer.

New Englander, April, 1862.—1. Review of Buckle's History of Civilization. 2. Congress and the Territories. 3. Conscience as Contrasted with the Discursive Reason. 4. The Test-Hour of Popular Liberty and Republican Government. 5. Is the Doctrine of Annihilation Taught in the Scriptures? 6. Review of "Spare Hours." 7. The Princeton Review and Rev. Dr. Squier. 8. Goldwin Smith and the Bampton Lectures for 1858. 9. Sketch of the Life of Professor William A. Larned. 10. Noah's Prophecy: "Cursed be Canaan."

Presbyterian Quarterly Review, April, 1862.—1. Jeremy Taylor. 2. Preaching. 3. Worship in Sanctuary Service. 4. Symbols of Thought. 5. The Lost Ten Tribes. 6. Some Thoughts about Pennsylvania.

Universalist Quarterly, April, 1862.—9. A Review of the Reasons Assigned for the Rebellion. 10. Hints of Immortality in the Moral Nature of Man. 11. Free-will and Necessity. 12. St. Paul.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1862.—1. Remarks on the Ethical Philosophy of the Chinese. 2. The Philosophy of the Absolute. 3. The History and Theory of Revolutions. 4. The Doctrine of Providence. 5. Bilderdijk. 6. The Nature and Effects of Money; and of Credit as its Substitute.

We are reminded, by its republication in the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, of our omission to notice an article in a former number of the Princeton Review upon the Methodist volume of Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit. No more liberal or Christianly courteous notice of the past and present of our Church do we remember to have perused in the periodical literature of any sister denomination. Of course it takes its theological exceptions; and that we like. We honor the spirit of free manly discussion in theology, and are hardly able to explain why differences of religious opinion are allowed by the great Head of the Church to exist, unless he means that in religious, as most other truth, men's higher faculties are to be developed by antitheses and collisions. And we honor still more the spirit of magnanimity (so finely exhibited in this article) that allows no speculation, or even practical differences, to prevent our genially recognizing and heartily loving the traits of excellence, the spirit of piety, or the zeal in good doing of an opponent.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, April, 1862.—1. Doctrines of Methodism. 2. English Etymology, as Adapted to Popular Use: its Leading Facts and Principles. 3. Permanent Preaching for a Permanent Pastorate. 4. Place and Value of Miracles in the Christian System. 5. Humaneness of the Mosaic Code. 6. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 7. The Divine Decrees.

The article on the Doctrines of Methodism, by the editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, will, we trust, serve to remove many misapprehensions in regard to our theology. It may reveal to many excellent men, whose reading does not extend in an Arminian direction, the fact that we have any theology at all. The subsequent article on Divine Decrees is self-evidently not written as a reply. But we rejoice that it was inserted in the same number in mercy to the terrors of those nervous gentlemen who (like the editors of the New York Evangelist) have so little confidence in the stability of their own Calvinism as to dread even a hearing of the other side; and who might fear the upsetting of the boat by so much heresy, without a counterweight upon the other side to preserve its equilibrium. We have not the least fear that the publication of a full statement of "New England Divinity," by a New England Calvinistic divine, in the Methodist Quarterly Review, would call out one syllable of disapprobation from a single minister or member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. So much for denominational liberality.

English Reviews.

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, April, 1862.—1. Thought in Italy: Giuseppe Giusti. 2. Kabbalism. 3. Textual Criticism, Its Results and Prospects. 4. Mount Sion and the Temple. 5. A Strange Story. 6. Scots on the Continent in the Early Middle Ages.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1862.—1. Anglican Church Rationalism—present and past. 2. The Positive Philosophy. 3. Annals of the American Pulpit. 4. Bengel and his School. 5. The Resurrection Body. 6. Suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia. 7. Schleiermacher. 8. The Criticism of the New Testament. 9. Professor Doedes on the so-called Modern Theology of Holland. 10. Welsh Nonconformity.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1862.—1. Jessie's Memoirs of Richard the Third. 2. Centralization. 3. Guessard's Edition of the Carlovingian Romances. 4. Recent Researches in Buddhism. 5. Modern Domestic Service. 6. Mommson's Roman History. 7. Cotton Culture in India. 8. Sir A. Alison's Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir C. Stewart. 9. Public Monuments. 10. David Gray. 11. Clerical Subscription.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1862.—1. Dorset. 2. Hymnology. 3. State and Prospects of Turkey. 4. Training of the Clergy. 5. Life of Turner. 6. The Eastern Archipelago. 7. Stanhope's Life of Pitt. 8. The Merrimac and the Monitor.

North British Review, May, 1862.—1. The Church of England—Respondent. 2. Geological Changes in Scotland in Historic Times. 3. Recent Homeric Critics and Translators. 4. The Commemoration of 1662. 5. Early Poetry of England and of Scotland. 6. Present Movements among the French Clergy. 7. Lunacy Legislation. 8. Sir G. C. Lewis on the Astronomy of the Ancients. 9. Last Poems and other Works of Mrs. Browning. 10. Our Colonies.

Westminster Review, April, 1862.—1. The Mythology of Polynesia. 2. Endowed Schools. 3. German Life during the last Two Centuries. 5. Cesar's Campaigns in Gaul. 6. The Life of J. M. W. Turner. 7. The Fathers of Greek Philosophy. 8. Portraits of My Acquaintances. 9. France and Napoleon III. 10. Lord Stanley.

National Review, April, 1862.—1. Gentz's Diary. 2. National Loans: Mr. Chase's First Budget. 3. Music and Lyric Drama. 4. Marsh's Lectures on the English Language. 5. The Grenvilles: a Chapter of Political History. 6. The Morality of Political Economy. 7. Why are Women Redundant? 8. The Court of Charles II. of Spain. 9. The American War. 10. The Ignorance of Man.

The liberalistic National Review, the exponent of the Theodore Parker and Martineau theology, has, in former days, taken eminent interest in the progress of antislaveryism in America. Its sympathies have been high and warm for the advance and triumph of freedom here. But when the rebellion broke out it took a sudden leap from its propriety, and became as genuine a brawler for war with the north as that Great Blunderer, (whilom "Great Thunderer,") the London Times itself. Our northern victories have lent it sanity. Its convalescence is exhibited in the article of the present number, making some approaches to common-sense under a realization of the fact that freedom and civilization are to triumph through the energy and wisdom of our national government and people. Yet it has some speculations, in the, as yet, unsubdued spirit of British impertinence, on English intervention in our affairs, showing not the slightest expectation of the very prompt rebuff to which their intermeddling would be treated.

The following extract shows the English feeling as regards the destruction of our nationality:

But however warmly Englishmen may be disposed to side with the South or with the North, or however opposed they may be to either or both, few of them

> in their dispassionate moments will deny that, on the whole, so far as the mere policy of self-interest is concerned, it is a general wish in Europe that the Union shall *not* be restored. Nor is the feeling prompted, in England at least, merely by the selfish desire to diminish the ascendency of an American democracy. It is owing to more speculative causes, and among others not least to the conviction, long prepared by the writings of thoughtful men, that, sooner or later, even independently of slavery, the American Union must dissolve itself from sheer overgrowth. . . . If Englishmen were polled, and questioned whether they thought it in the nature of things that a continent many times as large as Europe should be tenanted by one undivided nation, the large majority would probably answer in the negative.

On this we remark, that it behooves the American people to inquire whether that huge, ungainly mass called the British Empire will not and ought not to crumble into ruins. It was formed by violence and conquest; it has been consolidated by despotism; it embraces the most heterogeneous materials, and is spread without unity over the most distant parts of the globe. Americans, therefore, ought to speculate upon and vote for what will certainly happen—its dissolution. For, surely, if a republican people, geographically, ethnologically, linguistically, religiously, historically one, are to disunite, simply in compliment to the points of the compass, nations like India, Canada, Ireland, Jamaica, and Australia, hostile or more or less varying on all these points, cannot do otherwise than explode with tenfold violence. Let us, then, go for *the dissolution of the British Empire* the first time another great rebellion in Canada, India, or Ireland shall occur. Let us, then, pick a quarrel with her, though in it we reverse all our own past interpretations of law; let us hasten to acknowledge the belligerent rights of her rebels; let us set our press, daily, weekly, and quarterly, into a howl of hostility; let our Congress threaten intervention; let our diplomacy hold a guardianship over her uncivilized modes of warfare, and let us wait only the most favorable moment to strike a decisive blow. For all this we have good English precedent, if we are only unprincipled enough to follow it.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1862.—1. Lives of the Engineers. 2. The Act of Uniformity. 3. The Recent Revolution in the Papal States. 4. Phases of London Life. 5. Congregational Psalmody. 6. Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt. 7. The West Indies. 8. Social Life in Medieval England. 9. Aids to Faith.

The seventh article is a commendatory review of Underhill's recent work on *The West Indies.* The writer was deputed by the Baptist Missionary Society to visit those islands and inquire into the condition of the Churches. The most noticeable of his observations is the one on the effects of emancipation. He contradicts in toto the sweeping statements of Trollope and others, and gives the most positive evidence of the immense advance that has been made in social position since the days of slavery. The positions taken may be summed up briefly as follows: If the morality of the negroes be far from perfect, it is at least greatly improved. If concubinage and fornication still exist to a lamentable extent, they are remnants of the licentiousness which slavery fostered; and under the auspices of freedom, and by the influence of religion, they are being gradually diminished, and considering the former condition of the negro, and the disadvantages under which he labors, the progress which has been made is a pleasing earnest of what may be anticipated. Those who a short time ago were a herd of slaves, without rights of any kind, treated as the goods and the chattels of their masters, to whom marriage and family ties were unknown, have, under the most unfavorable circumstances, and without receiving a helping hand from any one except their religious teachers, taken the first step toward becoming a people. Their social condition is all that, under the circumstances, could have been anticipated. It is an ample reward for the twenty millions with which England purchased their freedom.

LONDON REVIEW, (WESLEYAN,) April, 1862.—1. Dr. Colenso on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. 2. Modern Sacred Art in England. 3. Spectrum Analysis. 4. Bushnell's Nature and the Supernatural. 5. High-Church Literature for the People. 6. Stephen Grellet, the Quaker Evangelist. 7. The Patriarch Nikon. 8. Dr. Jobson's Australia and the East. 9. The Re-revised Code.

Bishop Butler somewhere gravely remarks, that there is reason to believe that communities and nations have periods of insanity as truly as individuals. From the peculiar phenomena exhibited by the British mind since the commencement of the American rebellion, we are inclined to suspect that the great metaphysician drew this inference from personal observation of great national facts in his own country, perhaps before his eyes.

That the people of England really desire the dissolution of our nationality, under the influence of an unprincipled national rivalry, we should not readily believe on the credit of their political diurnals; but the almost unanimous concurrence of those organs of the soberer thought of that nation, the quarterly periodicals, leaves, alas! no doubt upon that question. The ignoble wish to see a competitor destroyed has been the leading motive of their conduct during our great struggle.

Amid the storm of madness which has swept over that nation, we are rejoiced to be able to say that the London Review has maintained a course of unswerving magnanimity. Honored is the name of WILLIAM ARTHUR in this country; but far more honored it would be were our people fully aware how noble has been his argument in this Quarterly in behalf of freedom and the North. His article in a former number of this Review was an eloquent and sagacious document, written in a spirit of lofty Christian statesmanship, which well would it have been had the Premier and Cabinet of England been able to display.

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German Reviews.

Dorpater Zeitschrift fur Theologie und Kirche. (Dorpat Journal for Theology and the Church. Edited by the Professors of the Theological Faculty of Dorpat. First Number, 1862.)—1. Overlach, (Director of St. Ann's School at St. Petersburg.) The Theology of Lactance. 2. Carlblom, Excommunication and the Holy Scriptures. 3. Engelhard, (Professor at Dorpat,) The Twenty-seventh Provincial Synod of Livonia, held at Wolmar from Aug. 16 to Aug. 22, 1861. 4. Hansen, The Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Geneva and of the Catholic Associations at Munich, in September, 1861.

Jahrbucher fur Deutsche Theologie. (Year-books of German Theology. First Number, 1862.)—1. The Pauline Doctrine of the Resurrection. by Klöpper, *Privatdocent* of Theology at the University of Greifswald. 2. On the Sinless Perfection of Jesus, by Professor Dorner, (now of Berlin.) 3. Contributions to a History and an Examination of the Idea of a Celestial Corporality, by Professor Hamberger, of Munich. 4. A Letter from Prof. Rudolph Wagner, of Göttingen, on "Natural Science and Theology." 5. Reviews of Recent Theological Literature.

In the second article the celebrated author of the history of the doctrine of Christ develops the doctrine of the sinless perfection of Christ, which, as he argues, in union with the modern evangelical theology of Germany generally, will lead men more surely to a firm belief in the divine character of Christ the Redeemer than the proof derived from miracles, from the prophets, from the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, etc. This latter point, the significance of the sinlessness of Christ for Christian apologetics, is fully discussed in the last part of the article. Dr. Dorner had originally prepared his essay for a French periodical, the Révue Chrétienne, which, he says, will publish it in the course of the present year.

The Year-books of German Theology, which are now edited by Dr. Liebner, formerly Professor of Theology of Leipzic, and now Vice-President of the Supreme Consistory of the Kingdom of Saxony, by Dr. Dorner of Berlin, Dr. Ehrenfeuchter of Göttingen, and Drs. Palmer, Weizsäcker, and Landerer of Tübingen, is the principal organ of the theological school which is now in the ascendency at most German universities. Until the beginning of the present year it contained only treatises on important theological subjects; henceforth it will also review works of scientific theology. In this number the literary department gives, on about seventy pages, extended notices of nineteen theological works. This new feature will recommend the Year-books of German Theology to theologians of foreign countries, who in no other volume will find so much of information on the character and the results of modern German theology.

THEOLOGISCHE QUARLALSCHRIFT. (Theological Quarterly. Second Number. 1862.) 1. Victor II. as Pope and Regent of the German Empire, by Dr. C. Will, Secretary of the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. 2. The Remarks of St. Augustine on the Itala, by Dr. Reusch, Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn. 3. Contributions to a History of the Method of Preaching in the second half of the Fifteenth Century, by Kerker.

The second article, by one of the ablest exegetical writers of the Roman Catholic Church, defends that view of the Itala, according to which it is not the name of a particular Latin translation of the New Testament, besides which there were *other independent translations*, but rather one edition of the one old ante-Jeromian Latin translation, besides which there were other editions *of the same translation*. It discusses the subject with great clearness and learning. The third article is an interesting contribution to the history of homiletics, from which we were surprised to learn how large a number of sermons have been published during the Middle Ages.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology. Third Number, 1862.)—1. Heinrich Niclaes and the House of Love, by Dr. Nippold. 2. An Appendix to the History of Heinrich Niclaes, or the Identity of Henry Jansen with Hiel, by Dr. Nippold. 3. Do we possess a complete text of Jerome's work, De Viris Illustribus? An Inquiry, by Dr. A. Ebrard. 4. Contributions to a History of the Ministry of Wöllner, by Dr. Sack. 5. The Publication and Sale of the Works of Luther, by Dr. Burkhardt.

The article on Niclaes is the first complete monograph ever published on this founder of one of the innumerable sects of the sixteenth century. It is based on a thorough study of the subject, for the author has made use of three manuscript works on Niclaes and his sects, written by members of the sects, of fifty-one writings of Niclaes, and of ten works written against him. In the common manuals of Church history Niclaes and his mystical Antinomian sect is not mentioned at all; though he seems to have attracted during lifetime sufficient attention to have a claim to a place in the list of the antitrinitarian and Antinomian writers of the sixteenth century.

The article on the Ministry of Wöllner sheds new light on one of the most important periods in the ecclesiastical history of Prussia. Wöllner induced King Frederick William II. to publish a religious edict, (July 9, 1778,) which, for the protection of the congregations, threatened every clergyman who should dare to teach anything contrary to the symbols of his Church with the severest punishments. To carry through this edict other royal decrees ordered the introduction of a new catechetical text-book, (1790,) and prescribed a plan for the examination of all the candidates for the ministry, (1791.) The Superior Consistory of Berlin led in the general opposition of the people to these attempts, and it is this opposition of which the article of Sack gives, for the first time, full and reliable information, by publishing the correspondence and transactions between Minister Wöllner and the Superior Consistory.

In the introduction to the last article we find some curious statements respecting the number of German publications from 1480 to 1523. From 1480 to 1517, the year when Luther made his first public appearance, the average number of annual publications was 40; but from that year it rapidly rose. In 1518 there were published 71 German works; 111 in 1519; 208 in 1520; and in 1523 the number rose to 498.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Third Number, 1862.)—*Essays.* 1. F. W. C. Umbreit, A Biographical Sketch, by Dr. Ullmann. 2. The Literary Labors of Umbreit, by Dr. Riehm. 3. Commentary on Gal. iii, 15–22, by Hauck. *Reviews.* 1. Auberlen's *Göttliche Offenbarung*, (Divine Revelation,) Reviewed by Dr. Sack. 2. Tümpel, *Liturgische Verhältnisse Thüringens*, (The Liturgies used by the Lutheran Churches in Thuringia,) reviewed by Dr. Bähr.

Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Umbreit, in 1828, founded the *Studien und Kritiken*, which became at once one of the ablest periodicals of Protestant Christianity, and remained under their joint editorship until the death of Umbreit in 1860. The biography of the latter by his surviving friend is highly interesting. We quote the passage relating to the establishment of the "Studien."

> As youth is enterprising, says Dr. Ullmann, we conceived, about this time, the plan of a theological journal; and although Umbreit had no particular liking for editorial occupations, we fondly cultivated it in frequent conversation. It was not our intention merely to add one more to the depositories of theological learning, but we wished to establish a special organ for the new theology, which was partly already in existence, and partly still in the course of formation. It was that theology which had just been inaugurated by Schleiermacher, and which had been cultivated, in the historical department, by Neander; in the doctrinal, by Nitzsch and Twesten; in the exegetical, by Lücke and others. The fundamental principle of this school consists in viewing Christianity, in opposition to both Rationalism and the old form of Supernaturalism, as the creation of a new life, and as a divine revelation in the fullest sense of the word; but at the same time as a germ which organically develops in the history of mankind. It therefore endeavors to mediate the content of the Christian faith, without abandoning its substance to the current of the times, with the sound and genuine elements of a progressive civilization, not only to place it before mankind as an authority, but at the same time to prove it internally. A theology of this kind, especially if still in the course of formation, cannot fix upon an absolute formula; we were, on the contrary, of opinion that in an organ of this school the German evangelical theology must become conscious both of its essential unity and of its manifold variety, and we were therefore sincerely desirous to obtain contributions from theologians like Tholuck as well as from theologians like De Wette. We communicated our plan at first to our young friends of the University of Bonn, Nitzsch, Lücke, and Gieseler; and when they cordially agreed with it, we had, in the spring of 1827, a meeting at Rudesheim, where all the details were agreed upon.

Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaftliche Theologie. (Journal for Scientific Theology, edited by A. Hilgenfeld, Professor at Jena. Second Number, 1862.)—1. Wilkins, (Minister of the Reformed Church at Vienna, Austria,) Teresa de Jesus. A contribution to the History of Spanish Mystics. 2. Hilgenfeld. The Books of Judith, Tobit, and Baruch, and the Views of Hitzig and Volkmar on the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. 3. A. Buttmann, (Professor at Pottsdam, and son of the Greek Grammarian.) A Reply to Dr. Steis, (respecting the signification of the word ἐκεῖνος in the Gospel of John.) 4. Hilgenfeld, The Book of Enoch. 5. Volkmar, (Professor at Zurich,) on Rom. iv, 1.

The first article is a biographical sketch of great interest, and a very valuable contribution to the history of the mystic literature of Spain. The nun Teresa de Jesus is, according to the opinion of all, the greatest of the Spanish mystic writers, whose number is very large. Among her enthusiastic admirers were Fenelon, the Jansenists of Port Royal, the celebrated Protestant theologian Arndt, Bishop Sailer, and other celebrated men. Her works are still being published in new editions. A new English translation appeared at London in 1851; an Italian, at Milan, in 1842; a German, by Clarus, in 1851; an edition of the original at Barcelona in 1848. (*Obras de S. T.*, 9 vols.) A new edition, which promises to be the best and completest of all, was commenced at Madrid in 1861, (*Ecritores de S. T. Añadidos y Illustrados por V. de la Fuente,*) forming part of the *Biblioteca de autores Españoles.*

French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes.*—*March* 1.—3. De Mazarde, Les Femmes dans La Société et dans la Literature. M'me de Sévigné, M'me de Stael, M'me Swetchine. 4. Geffroy, L'Agitation Réformiste en Allemagne. 8. De Lavergne, De Quelques Opinions extrêmes en économie politique.
March 15.—1. Dupont-White, L'Administration Locale en France et en Angleterre, (first article.) 3. Ruthery, Les Chants Populaire de l'Italie Moderne. 5. De Lavergne, Les Assemblées Provinciales en France avant 1789, (fifth article.) 6. Taillandier, La Suisse Chrétienne at la Philosophie du xviii Siècle. 7. Saint-Marc Girardin, De la Syrie au Commencement de 1862.
April 1.—1. Michel Chevalier, l'Expédition Européenne au Mexique. 3. Casimir Perier, La Jeunesse de Charlotte Corday. 5. Montegut, Des Fées et de leur Literature en France. 6. De Mazade, Histoire d'une année d'agitation en Pologne. 9. La Vie Européenne à Khartoum et la Traite.
April 15.—2 Saisset, Malebranche, ses luttes et son caractère. 4. Michel Chevalier, l'Expédition Européenne au Mexique. 5. Forguys, Le Roman Anglais Contemporain. 6. La Revolution et l'esprit de Liberté.
May 1.—2. Klaczko, La Deportation et la Vie d'exil en Sibérie. 4. Montegut, Les Misérables de M. Victor Hugo. 5. Casimir Perier, Le Budget de 1863.

The article of Saint René Taillandier publishes a number of hitherto unknown letters of Voltaire and Rousseau, bearing on the resistance made by Christian Switzerland to the inroad of the philosophical principles of Voltaire. The concluding remarks of Taillandier on this conflict are of great interest, and show a deep insight into the religious development of the eighteenth century.

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* We give from the list of the articles of this important Review those bearing on religious, historical, and geographical subjects.

"Christian Switzerland," he says, "attacked by Voltaire, could not seriously suffer, and in many instances it has remained victorious. Switzerland is Protestant and Germanic. Compare the relations of the great Germanic society to the spirit of Voltaire, and you will see that the dictator, at the very moment where he seems to be sure of victory, suffered decisive defeats. Under these northern kings, whom Voltaire rewarded with so brilliant epistles, there were peoples which developed silently and maintained their rights. It has been for a long time erroneously believed that Voltaire traversed Germany like a conquered land; that no protest made itself heard during his passage; that no poet, no philosopher, no representative of German genius raised his voice for the defense of the national traditions; yet Klopstock, in his Messiad, in his odes, in his works on the German language; Lessing in the "Dramaturgy of Hamburg;" Mendelsohn on several pages of his ethic works, openly attacked Voltaire at the moment when he controlled the mind of Frederic.

The serenity of their language and the dignity of their objections is no less remarkable than their attachment to their German traditions. No sign of anger, not the least bitterness. One perceives that they have a liberalism of their own, and that, while profiting by certain conquests of the French philosophy, they will keep their liberalism intact. If the word "Voltairean" denotes a destroyer of prejudices, the German Voltaireans are grave and religious. It might be even maintained that of all the enemies of Voltaire the German Voltaireans are the most formidable, not by their blind and fanatical hatred, but by their moral superiority and by their disdain of impiety.

This tradition has maintained itself until our days. The most liberal writers, and among them even the least religious minds, such as Gervinus, Schlosser, Varnhagen Van Ense, do not conceal their aversion to Voltaire. One must hear old Schlosser, in his History of the Eighteenth Century, take Voltaire to task for his constant raillery at everything that is an honor to the human race. Gervinus expresses the same sentiments. When Varnhagen Van Ense, in a recent publication, brings to light new documents on the adventures of Voltaire at Frankfort, the difference between a French Voltairean and a Voltairean of the German race is very apparent. Finally, another son of the same tradition, Venedey, devoting an entire book to the relation of Voltaire to Frederic, carries his severity toward the philosopher to injustice, so eager he is to break the fatal alliance between liberalism and impiety. They all seem to obey the counsel of M. Sainte-Beuve. "Voltaire," says this ingenious critic, "is like those trees the fruit of which one must know how to choose and to relish, but never go to sit down beneath its shade." The German race has not remained sitting beneath its shade. Philosophical Germany, like Christian Switzerland, has learned by instinct, long before the teaching of Tocqueville, "*that religion is necessary for liberty.*"

It is certainly a hopeful sign of the times, that the great word of Tocqueville—*religion is necessary for liberty*—is from year to year better understood by the friends of progress in Europe. The democratic tendencies of the European nations are no longer guided by the Voltariean principles of 1793, but a hearty desire to found a new society upon the two great principles—Religion and Liberty.

Revue Chretienne.—*Janvier*, 1862.—1. Fisch, La Vie Religieuse aux Etats-Unis, (first article.) 2. Bersier, Sur le Dix-Huitième Siècle, (first article.) 3. Lichtenberger, Un Apologète Chrétien au Siècle Dernier, Matthias Claudius.

Febrier.—1. De Pressense, La Crise Ecclésiasteque au Sein du Protestantism Français. 2. Germond, Le Vicissitudes de la Renommée de Chateaubriand. 3. Fisch, La Vie Religieuse aux Etats-Unis.

Mars.—1. Secretan, Du Progrés en Religion, à l'occasion du livre de M. Salvador (Paris, Rome et Jérusalem.) 2. Schæffer, Un Prédicateur Catholique au Quinzième Siècle. 3. De Guerle, Milton. Sa vie et ses œuvres. Le Paradis Perdu.

April.—1. Schaeffer, Un Predicateur Catholique au Quinzième Siècle. 2. Fisch, La Vie Religieuse aux Etats-Unis. 3. Guroy, Quelques Mots sur la Musique. 4. Vullienim, Corneille, Racine, et Molière.

The book of St. Salvador, a philosophic Jew, announces a religion for the future, which Secretan concisely characterizes as "an alliance between Moses and Voltaire." It is Mosaic in its assuming to shape the institutions of the state and of society; it is Voltairean in its monotheistic rationalism. Secretan shows that it is consequently no religion at all. The essence of a religion consists not in arranging the specific relations between men and men, but between man and God. An institute which organizes human relations is politic and socialistic; as such it may have value, but it is not a religion. The wants of the human soul as a spirit, its aspirations toward God, its relations to the divine law, are by it all ignored, and man is still left destitute of the greatest of desiderata.

The Bulletin Bibliographique of this number contains an extended notice, by Prof. Schmidt of Strasburg, of the great History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church, by M. Edmond de

Pressensé. This work is a defense of Christianity, by finding proofs of divinity in its first establishment and rapid diffusion. It traces its early triumphs through the three quarters of the globe, commemorates its early apologists, and details its moral struggles with learned skepticism, with the railleries of Lucian, the eclecticism of Celsus, and the Neoplatonism of Porphyry. In this last moral debate with Neoplatonism Pressensé finds a striking parallel with the contest at the present day between Christianity and a godless naturalism. "Pressensé," says Schmidt, "distinguishes apologists into three schools of opinion touching the natural relations between Christianity and the soul," which he considers the "essential problem of Christian apologetics," "having the first mission as mediatrix between truth and the soul." The first school recognizes "the profound affinity existing between the soul and Christianity, making appeal to the aspirations of the heart and the wants of the moral consciousness; it seeks the testimony of that affinity in the historical development of humanity, in the manifestations of the religions and philosophies of antiquity. The second school recognizes the natural instincts and aspirations of the human soul, but finds no proof of affinity for Christianity in the past, of which, on the contrary, it anathematizes alike the gods and the philosophies. The third school repudiates any germ divine in the human soul since the fall; it expends all its care in efforts to load down, to annihilate, to guide by disgust and despair to a recourse to the Redeemer. To the first school, which is largest, belong, in the East, Justin Martyr, Athanagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Origen; in the West, Hyppolytus et Minutius Felix. To the second belong Theophilus of Antioch, the author of the epistle to Diognetus, Cyprian, Tertullian. To the third Arnobius, whose apologetic method is as inconsequent as his polemic is destitute of dignity." (In this school might he not have classed Augustine and his admirers generally?) "We perfectly accord with the author when he rejects the necessity for modern apologetics to adopt the second or third school as a model, and condemn all ancient civilization as a work of the devil. We believe, with Justin Martyr and the Alexandrian fathers, that the soul, which is naturally Christian, has spoken in the religions and the philosophies; that if their testimony has often been disguised by impure myths and deplorable sophisms, it has not been destroyed; that it is possible to disengage the errors which have overloaded it, and to rediscover, even in the moral desert of paganism, the traces of the precursors of Christ which point the way."

This more ennobling view, as well as more endurable method of

Christian defense, Pressensé has illustrated at great length in his introductory volume to his history, (about to be issued by the Clarkes in an English dress,) in which he has traced, with a master hand, the ethnical preparations for Christ. There seems to us assuredly room in our theological libraries for a thorough discussion of this subject.

ART XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Discourses and Essays, by WILLIAM G. P. SHEDD. 12mo., pp. 324. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: John Wiley. 1862.

These Essays, by Prof. Shedd, (whose name now occurs for the first time, we believe, upon the pages of our Quarterly,) are, every one of them, a rich treat for the thinkers, the lovers of deep thought: of thought clothed in a strong, terse, stern, clear expression. They are addresses before literary societies, or articles in Reviews. Three of them are on æsthetic subjects; five of them are theological, or bear relation to theological science. The most attractive to the thorough theological thinker are the last two, namely, one on Original Sin, and the other on the Atonement. It must be taken as no token of hostile animus that we deal most fully with the one with which we least agree.

The Essay on Original Sin, (originally an article in the Christian Review,) is, with due credit given, very much a summary of the treatment of that subject in Müller's Doctrine of Sin. We wish Dr. Shedd had clothed that whole work in his powerful English. We may condense Dr. Shedd's condensation of Müller, so far as our purposes are concerned, to the following points:—1. Sin is not so much an *act* as a "*nature*," or "*state*," and as such is *guilty* and *damnable*. 2. This nature is "a product," namely, a product of the human will, and depravity lies properly "in the will," and consists in the state of free self-determining, permanent tendency, or tending of the will in an evil direction. But, 3. The will is not the mere volitional faculty, but is inclusive of the affections, emotions, intellections; the whole man himself viewed as determined in unity to a given direction. 4. The origin of this tendency, as well as its specific volitions, is too deep for the recognition of consciousness; and, 5. Hence it is to be considered as taking its origin in our unconscious sinning in Adam. In all this Dr. Shedd conceives that he is reconciling the antithetic points, that sin is a *nature* and is yet *responsible*; and congratulates himself that thus the intuitions of the soul are satisfied by our reinstatement on the old grounds of the creeds and theologies at and succeeding the Reformation. We believe, on the contrary, that it is an advance *backward*. Let us review the points.

No relief of the intuitional distress at a nature's being held as a *guilt* can be derived from holding that nature to be a fixed, necessitated, everflowing tendency of the will. To aid the relief by such prefixes as "free" and "self-determined," is to cure a fatal disease with medical talk. When WILL is so defined as to make it include the entire structure of the soul, the advances made by modern psychology are ignored. We are, by a retrograde movement, made to identify will not merely, like Edwards, with the necessitated emotions and sensibilities; but, like a still earlier and cruder mental analysis, to petrify it into the necessitated intellections, and even into the impressions of external objects upon the sensorium. All this brings us back upon the old and execrable dogma that a necessitated nature is responsible; that *a being, a race, a universe may be brought into existence in a condition of fixed evil, and damned for being so.* Upon that dogma all our moral intuitions rise up and pronounce a reprobation, a sacred curse. We treat it with no respect or ceremony. It is diabolical, dishonoring God and man, and has no fitting home this side of its infernal birth-place.

Of what use is it for Dr. Shedd at this point to say, "Were this nature created and put into man, as an intellectual nature or as a particular temperament is put into him by the Creator of all things, it would not be a responsible and guilty nature, nor would man be a child of wrath? But it does not thus originate. It has its origin in the free and responsible use of that voluntary power which God has created and placed in the human soul as its most central, most mysterious, and most hazardous endowment. It is a self-determined nature—that is, *a nature originated in a will, and by a will.*" The *man with his actions* is as truly *moulded;* he receives as truly a necessitated, *made* nature from God as if he were run by a forger's hand, like molten metal in a matrice, to a statuary's model. A necessitated motion is as irresponsible as a necessitated being. A *nature* consisting of a fixed mode of action, is just as guiltless as a *nature* consisting of a fixed shape of substance. What boots it me, whether a superior being damns me for a necessitated doing or a necessitated being? Justice can just as readily hold me condemned for a necessary essence as for a necessary quality; and for a necessary quality as for a necessary *operation:* for a necessary operation is a property, and a property is but the essence manifest.

God can as well necessitate me to *be* a certain thing, and then damn me for it, as necessitate me to *do* a certain thing and damn me for it. For herein *doing* is *being*; for *doing* is nothing but necessitated changing states of necessitated *being*. Yonder metallic shrub, shaped by the cunning hand of modern art, standing with its stately stalk, lifts aloft a little wilderness of foliage and vines, most light and airy to the eye; but those clustering festoons and the rigid stalk are, alas! alike—*cast-iron!* So the stalk of a necessitated nature, and the wildest wreathings of necessitated action, are alike *cast-iron*—irresponsibly fatalistic. The actions and the being are one inseparable piece, one being, one nature. And this doing-being is created by God; for it is necessitated by him into existence, and to necessitate into existence is to create.

Nor herein does generation differ from creation. For God to set into necessary succession a series of matrices, of fixed and by him necessitated forms, regulated by him with necessitated modes, and then to push a quantity of being through them, is as fixedly to mould the last shape of the series of the forms of being as if he had created it. No matter through how lengthened a series of wombs I derive my being from the Maker's hand; if no free, unnecessitated, alternative will has intervened, I am as truly (so far as responsibility is concerned) *created* as if I were first in the series. And if my substance, qualities, and operations are all equally necessitated, then they are all equally irresponsible.

This cast-iron necessitation is not softened by expressing its quality under those fine old Arminian epithets that were invented and appropriated to express non-necessity, and which still, to the popular heart, have the ring of liberty, such as *free*, *self-determining*, and *originating*. It is a poor verbal solace which our fatalistic brethren so artificially construct for themselves, this carefully predefining all the terms of libertarianism into a fatalistic meaning in order to express their dogma in formulæ that sound like freedom, and so *seem* to accord with our intuitions. Before they are done these gentlemen find that they have given our whole theological vocabulary a double meaning. Theology becomes a duplicate science. Its nomenclature is a system of double-entendres. It has a complete strabismus. Its leading phrases have an outside and an inside meaning—outside Arminian, inside Calvinistic. The same gentleman is giving, in the same terms, two hostile theologies. He can, in the same words, preach Arminianism ad populum, and lecture Augustinianism ad clerum.

Should the leading paleontologist of the age announce to the world this proposition—*The animal fossils of geology are nothing* *but plastic forms spontaneously produced by unconscious nature*—the world would wait in rapt attention to hear his proof. If, however, in his exposition, he should define *plastic* to mean "born in the process of natural generation," and "forms" to mean "once living animal bodies," and "unconscious nature" to mean "a formative scheme in the hands of the living God," we think his proposition would be pronounced a positive imposture. And now, when a theologian announces, "A nature is sinful and guilty because it is a product; a product of the free, self-determining, self-originating will," we should expect its amplification in a clear Arminian exposition. But when he comes to definition, and makes "will" signify the entire stereotype fixed nature of the agent; and "free" to signify a limitation to one sole course or state; and "self-determining" to exclude all power of alternative action, and to mean an energetic forthputting in a solely possible direction; and "self-origination," to mean necessitative causation, we think he rivals the imposture of his paleontological brother. To the paleontologist the hearers would say, if you mean that the fossils are petrifactions of once living animals, why not say so without a set of words defined out of their ordinary sense. And to the theologian we would say, if you mean that a nature is sinful and guilty because its whole fixed being, by necessity, projects a series of necessitated volitions, why not say so? Why must *nature* mean a series of volitions, *will* mean the entire necessitated *soul*, *free* mean circumscribed, *self-determining* mean limited to a solely possible terminus, and *self-origination* mean automatic projection? In short, why, unless there be a settled predisposition to self-deception, must a principle be clothed in language that seems to express its contradictory?

But Dr. Shedd (after Müller) maintains that this permanent current of our will, inclusive of our whole soul as agent, which constitutes our depraved "nature," resides and generally acts in a region below the reach of consciousness, and yet is none the less guilty and deserving the divine wrath. Men, as matter of fact, are perpetually sinning, without knowing what they are about, and a large share of moral effort is to be expended in bringing them to a consciousness of sin. "How often the Christian *finds* himself already in a train of thought or of feeling that is contrary to the divine law. Notice that he did not go into this train of thought or feeling deliberately, and with a distinct consciousness of what he was doing. The first he knows is, that he is already caught in the process. Thought and feeling in this instance have been *unconsciously* exercised in accordance with that central and abiding determination of the will toward self of which we have spoken;

in other words, the will has been *unconsciously* putting forth its action, in and through the powers of thought and feeling, as the self-reproach and sense of guilt consequent upon such exercises of the soul, are proof positive. The moment the Christian man comes to distinct consciousness in regard to this action that has been going on, 'without his thinking of it,' (as we say in common parlance,) he acknowledges it as criminal action, responsible action, action of the will. The fact that he was not thinking—that the will was acting unconsciously—subtracts nothing from his sense of guilt in the case." Dr. Shedd conceives this volitioning below the reach of consciousness to be a curious, a surprising fact; the dark problem of its blended unconsciousness and irresponsibility he feels, but does not attempt to solve. He unfolds its darkness without a ray of light; he deepens the snarl but gives no clue. The *solution*, we think, (overstretching the homeopathic maxim that "*like* cures like,") is contained in the very cause of the difficulty, "unconsciousness." For,

Not only are there unconscious volitions, but there is, in the same sense of the word, an unconscious consciousness. All consciousness is properly unconscious. If consciousness be, as Dr. Shedd uses the word, an inspection of our own thoughts, then while we are inspecting we are not inspecting our inspecting. Otherwise we are involved in an infinite series of inspections of inspections. If there be in that deep substratal region of the mind an unconscious, or rather sub-conscious, series of volitions, there is also a sub-conscious consciousness of those volitions. Surely if the mind be choosing, it is also perceiving the object of its choosing; it is cognizing, comparing, preferring motives, motives ethical and non-ethical, and the whole apparatus of free-agency is in motion. The moral perceptions are as able to work sub-consciously as any other faculties. The consciousness is truly enough also at work; only all the movements are so intense and absorbing that the exterior recollective consciousness cannot recall and re-present them.

This underlying region of thought needs more analysis than we have room to give it. Dr. Shedd, as well as Müller, has, we think, failed to explore or properly comprehend it. But we may add the thought, that *our moral nature is doubtless as truly in perpetual action as any other of our perceptive powers.* An ethical quality in an object or combination is as readily perceived as any other quality, and with the same sort of consciousness or unconsciousness; and that ethical quality may be accepted or rejected as a motive by the free will as any other quality, and so be as truly a matter of responsibility as if the recollective consciousness could subsequently call it up into the clearest light and most graphic form. Let the eye gaze upon a variegated carpet, and perception may take in (unconsciously, it may be called) every single hue; yet not one of them is singled out, isolated, noticed, though every one be felt, and be capable, each one, of being a motive of action. When the Christian specified by Dr. Shedd "finds" himself "caught" in putting forth wrong volitional action, did he first *learn*, after the conscious recognition, that the volitions were wicked? No. He knew it all the while. He *knew* the wrong, and *chose* the wrong; both with an equal consciousness, or unconsciousness, or sub-consciousness. In that same sphere of sub-consciousness a man may avoid sin as well as accept it; may apostatize from good or repent of evil; may indulge in crime, or walk the ways of righteousness. The thoughts within that region are not necessarily infinitesimal or dim; they may be the most intense and absorbing thoughts of our lives, and all the more unconscious because they leave no part of the mind at leisure to perform its introspections.* The problem of their responsibility, therefore, seems to us not so difficult of solution.

It is a nimble leap of logic that would infer that because we so sin "unconsciously," therefore we may have sinned dormantly in Adam's sin. Space excludes this discussion. Neither Müller nor Shedd have, we fear, elucidated the enigma. Both are masterly theologians, but they have not, perhaps, mastered that problem.

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Aids to Faith: a Series of Theological Essays. By Several Writers. Being a Reply to "Essays and Reviews." Edited by WILLIAM THOMSON, D. D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. 12mo, pp. 538. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862.

To the credit of the Protestant Christianity of England it may be said, that whenever a foeman has presented himself worthy of her steel she has ever furnished champions ready for the onset and competent for the victory. When the robust and hard-headed Hobbes commenced his onslaught, the whole Church militant was soon in arms, and countless were the combatants impatient to break a lance. In the great deistical controversy of the last century, infidelity was fairly conquered in the field of argument, and the remains of her defenders lie buried and undisturbed in the dust of the old libraries. The new movement made by the seven sages of the "Essays and Reviews" has aroused a tumult altogether disproportionate to the intrinsic power of their performances. Respectable as are their talents, and extensive as is their erudition, it is conceded by even their friends that they have contributed little or no new thought to the skeptical side of the controversy; but so had they collected the scattered elements of infidel objection floating in the literature of the day, so had they indorsed them with responsible names, and so brought them within the pale of Church authority, that they furnished full and fair occasion for a grand and decisive issue. From all this evil a good results. Defenses of Christian truth are called forth from the best Christian scholarship and talent; the evidences of our holy religion are by compulsion reduced to compact form and placed before the public eye. Truth stands forth in her own clear light, and the monuments of her triumph are again erected to stand forever.

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* De Quincey says, "Rightly it is said of utter, utter misery, that it 'cannot be remembered.' Itself as a rememberable thing is swallowed up in its own chaos." And he quotes from Coleridge's Remorse the lines,

"I stood in unimaginable trance
An agony which cannot be remembered."

The volume before us is a valuable contribution, and quite equal to the occasion that calls it forth. We do not mean by this that it refutes every formal argument of the "Essays and Reviews;" far less that it meets every innuendo, insinuation, and ominous hint of terrible arguments for skepticism that *could* be produced, with which the "Essays and Reviews" so plentifully abound; for single intimations of this kind would often require pages to neutralize. But sufficient is furnished to show that skepticism is incompetent to have all things her own way, and that Christianity need only ask full elbow-room and fair play to clear any part of the field selected for the contest. The clear and positive statement of our affirmative argument is amply sufficient to show that the foundations of our faith stand firm.

The nine essays of this valuable volume are not so much direct replies to the "Essays and Reviews" as counter statements. In some of them there are but subsidiary allusions to the writer opposed. Of the eight writers four are comparatively well known in this country, namely, Professor Mansel, Dr. M'Caul, Professor Rawlinson, and Professor Ellicott. The essays of these gentlemen are worthy their high reputation, and are perhaps the best of the series.

Professor Mansel discusses the subject of miracles in opposition to Baden Powell. The main point discussed is the *impossibility of miracles*, argued by Mr. Powell from the immutability of the laws of nature, as demonstrated with ever-increasing force by the developments of modern science. Mr. Mansel's reply is but an expansion and enforcement of Paley's remark, that, the personality of the Deity being granted, his power to change the laws that he has imposed must logically follow. This point the Professor illustrates by the analogy between the Divine and the human agent. If man can interrupt the operations of nature's laws, much more can God. This discussion is prefaced by an argument to show the essential connection of miracles with Christianity, and the confirmation derived by every individual miracle from its connection as a part of a whole miraculous system. The whole essay is wrought up to that high polish of style characteristic of Mr. Mansel as a finished academician. It is our individual experience that the very fluidity of Mr. Mansel's periods and paragraphs necessitates a strong effort of attention to grasp his current of thought.

Fitzgerald, Bishop of Cork, furnishes the review of the evidential phase of English theology of the seventeenth century. He well evinces the value of the historical argument for Christianity, and truly shows that, while the evidential writers too little appreciated the other departments of Christian evidence, they were amply successful upon the ground they selected. Early Methodism receives but left-handed compliments from Fitzgerald. He is less candid toward that great "movement" than usually is the infidel Westminster Review. Dr. M'Caul furnishes two essays, namely, upon Prophecy and upon the Mosaic Record of Creation. The former is a truly valuable production. The latter, like all other efforts at reconciliation between the Mosaic Record as a history and the conclusions of geology, furnishes abundant proof of the ingenuity of the authors, but no ease to the inmost mind of the earnest thinker.

Professor Rawlinson furnishes a valuable essay on the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch. It is wonderful what accumulations of evidence, increasing in fact with time, are gathered around a book so ancient. Nothing but its miraculous narratives induces a doubt that it is in truth all it claims to be, the most venerable of histories.

Professor Edward Harold Browne furnishes the essay upon Inspiration. With the exception of that upon the Mosaic Record of Creation, we are least favorably impressed with this essay.

Dr. Thomson, Bishop of Gloucester, and editor of the volume, furnishes an able argument, scriptural and patristical, upon the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement. It furnishes a reply to Dr. Garden's Essay on the Atonement in the "Tracts for Priests and People." The force of the argument is more fully felt when the two are read in connection.

Professor Ellicott furnishes an extended Essay upon Scripture Interpretation. It is written in his earnest style. It is like everything from his pen, scholarly and thoroughly analytical. It is in reply to Professor Jowett, who, on this occasion, has found his ample master.

Upon the whole this is a valuable volume, well worthy of wide circulation, and quite necessary to every theologian deeply interested in the subject of Christian evidences.

The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural. By the Rev. JAMES M'COSH, LL. D., author of "The Method of the Divine Government," "Intuitions of the Mind," etc. 12mo., pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1862.

This volume, though complete in itself, is a part of an intended whole. It is introductory to, or rather first installment of a work to be entitled "The Method of the Divine Government, Supernatural and Spiritual," a projected complement of Dr. M'Cosh's "Method of Divine Government, Physical and Moral."

The purpose of the present volume appears to be to show that the natural and supernatural are not only *two* systems, but, complementarily to each other, they are also *one* system. The author first analyzes the natural, showing how man arrives at its uniformity, what are its characteristics, the mental principles involved in the connection of its uniformity, the precise limitations of the natural, and arrives at the conclusion that the natural is a *manifestation* of the supernatural.

In his Second Part he describes the supernatural as so overlying and operating upon the natural as that, while the natural law is not destroyed, its immediate action is momentarily interrupted. A miracle does not accord with the immutable uniformity of nature; it is the work of an agent outside the train of nature's sequences. Here he meets the dogmatisms of Baden Powell, whose whole performance consists of a dogged reiteration of the statement that modern science is so completely demonstrating the uniformity of natural sequences as to render the conception of a supernatural interruption impossible. Dr. M'Cosh maintains that science cannot demonstrate the absolutely uninterrupted uniformity of nature as an experimental fact; he denies that there is any difficulty in ascertaining that a given interruption is from a supernatural cause, or that either intuition or induction affords any convincing disproof of the possibility or demonstrability of a miracle.

In the Third Part Dr. M'Cosh, taking the word supernatural to designate the system of revelation, shows that it is a system of systems; that those systems are too elaborate and artistic to be accidental, and spread too widely over human history to be fabricated. And, finally, he draws an extended analogy between the natural system of systems and the supernatural system of systems, tending to show that each requires the other, and that both bear indications of coming from the same Divine author.

An appendix contains two interesting articles, namely, on Oxford Philosophy, and on Bunsen and German Theology.

The volume takes its entire stand-point rather within the circle of Christian assumptions. The work is thereby calculated to confirm the believer in his religion by showing the elaborate harmonies of its truths. It presents a pleasing and convincing view of the unity of nature and revelation blending into a consistent whole.

Dr. M'Cosh is not a concise or nervous writer. His style is full, round, clear, and often exuberant. He abounds in illustrations. He is suggestive, often original, and leads the reader to many a pinnacle whence he may contemplate broad prospects over the fields of thought. We rejoice in the popularity of his works; and the present, without being his best, is excellent.

Sermons by Jabez Bunting, D.D. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 472. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

Dr. Bunting was perhaps the most eminent English Methodist of his age, and exerted a wider influence than any other divine of his time. He was rather the statesman, elaborating and executing the measures of the Church, than the theologian, elucidating and expounding her doctrines. In civil life he might have been prime minister. In the world of letters he might have been pre-eminent. But voluntarily consenting to forego most flattering prospects of secular renown for the sake of Christ's kingdom, he harnessed himself for the public, and especially the missionary enterprises of the Church. The eminence he enjoyed, the influence he wielded, the honor always accorded him, had made us almost impatient to see his published works. Our anticipations are not realized by this volume so far as what is commonly called pulpit eloquence is concerned; and yet upon consideration it is about what his character ought to lead one to expect. It is in very agreeable harmony with what we have already said of him.

The sermons are theologically of the conservative order, thoroughly Wesleyan of course, indulging in no bold, unsafe, or doubtful speculations. Great thoughts are ponderously massed together, apparently flowing slowly from his pen, not unfrequently laboriously expressed, each one nevertheless standing forth in clear light. As we read them we turn to the portrait fronting the title-page, and think of a mighty man, with his heavy tread upon the solid pavement, turning aside in no by-paths, indulging in no eccentric notions of a better private road through the jungle and morass than the old public and well-known highway. When he discusses the great themes of the Gospel he is as the rapt seer beholding glories unseen by mortal eye. These preached on special occasions were prepared in the ripe maturity of his manhood, and show, especially the four missionary sermons, the greatness of his powers. The odor of the closet is strong upon them. His full skill was employed in their composition. If we may suppose that the thoughts here expressed were, in their delivery, expanded or outrun in the untrammeled and loftier conceptions of the moment, we can perceive, the aid of the Divine Spirit being always understood, how the large congregations so attentively listening to his words should sometimes be thrilled and almost overpowered. Three of these discourses were stenographically reported, and thus only were preserved. They present the author in less of the grand and masterly, but more of the pastoral character, and are probably the best illustrations of his ordinary preaching.

We are well pleased with this reproduction of sermons which, in their frequent repetitions, have greatly blessed the Church of Christ, and hope the remainder of the series, when issued, will be equally valuable. W.

Replies to "Essays and Reviews." By the Rev. E. N. Goulburn, D. D., Rev. H. J. Rose, B. D., Rev. C. A. Heurtley, D. D., Rev. W. J. Irons, D. D., Rev. G. Rorison, M. A., Rev. A. W. Haddan, B. D., Rev. Chr. Wordsworth, D. D. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. And Letters from the Radcliffe Observer and the Reader in Geology in the University of Oxford. 12mo., pp. 438. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Replies present less imposing names than the "Aids to Faith," but are hardly less inferior in talent and force of argument. As the title indicates, the replies are more direct in their issue with their respective opponents, giving completer analysis and more specific refutation. The article on miracles treats the subject at greater extent than Professor Mansel's essay, deals with Professor Powell much more personally, and discusses the subject with a more trenchant thoroughness. Doctor Rose handles Dr. Williams somewhat severely, and performs the easy task with much skill of exposing the unreliableness of the biblical labors of Bunsen, predicting, with little chance of failure, that the works of that gentleman will, twenty years hence, seldom be thought worthy of mention. Professor Jowett undergoes, at the hand of Dr. Wordsworth, an abundance of sharp criticism, exposing his carelessness and skepticism, and warning him, from the example of the German rationalists, of possible dangerous results.

To us by far the most valuable essay in the series is Mr. Rorison's, on the "Creative Week." It may be from prepossessions in our own mind, arising from some inklings of the same theory, that we are disposed to favor his view; but we frankly confess a decided opinion that his essay presents, for the first time to the Christian world, the true exposition of the first chapter of Genesis.

The rhythmical character of that passage, its stately style, its parallelisms, its refrains, its unity within itself, all combine to show that it is a *poem*. Analysis of its interior structure exhibits a most artificial synthesis, founded upon well-known sacred numbers. It is therefore a grand Symbolic Hymn of the Creation, composed perhaps by Adam himself, and handed down to Moses through the line of the patriarchal Church, to commemorate the great fact that *this world is the work of a triune God.* We no more believe that it is a detail of the process of creation, as furnished by modern science, than that the description of the New Jerusalem is a true physical picture of the heavenly state. The Bible opens with a primordial apocalypse, and closes with a terminal apocalypse. And this parallel is curiously indicated by the fact that the same symbolic numbers, in different combinations, prevail in both passages. The seven (3+4) of the creative record is paralleled by the twelve (3×4) of the pictorial New Jerusalem.

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Faith Treated in a Series of Discourses. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D. 12mo., pp. 444. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Dr. Alexander gloried in the fact that his preaching was doctrinal. "There is," said he, "a species of religious teaching which affects to disregard all doctrinal statement and distinction; you know where to find it, but it belongs not to the children of the Reformation." Who was hit here his hearers doubtless knew if we do not. But few preachers, we think, have better succeeded in making doctrinal statements clear, or in so stating them as to hold them in perpetual pressure upon the conscience. His theory of faith, which makes it nothing more than belief, is, we think, plainly erroneous, and embarrassing to his whole system.

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Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Lectures on the Science of Language: Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June, 1861: By MAX MULLER, M. A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. From the second London edition, revised. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Comparative philology, glottology, the science of language, whatever the name by which it is called, is one of the scientific triumphs of the present century. The great philosophers of Greece knew no more of the true genesis of the Greek language, its comparative structure, or of its etymology, than they did of the geology of the Grecian soil. The etymologies left on record by Plato and Aristotle, like the great mass of the etymologies of later ages, were laughable whimsies, worthy the satire of Dean Swift, and unrespected by any scholar at the present time. When Leibnitz first inaugurated the business of bringing all the accessible languages of the earth into comparison, side by side, (commencing with as extended a polyglot of the Lord's Prayer as possible,) the right path to a true science of language was opened, and the results to etymology, ethnography, history, and mental science are beyond all previous expectations rich. Since the time of Leibnitz, the labors of the Schlegels, Grimm, Bopp, Humboldt, Pott, and others have brought the materials into the form of a beautiful but still unfinished science. The field of investigation is open for a whole host of enthusiastic investigators.

The volume before us, by a distinguished master of the science, is well calculated to initiate the beginner, to awaken his ambition by a display of the richness of the field, and to point his route to a successful prosecution. While its investigations and developments are profound and authoritative, its pages are so strewn with interesting illustration that few inquisitive minds will willingly close the volume before completing its perusal.

Max Müller's name indicates his German birth, but the idiomatic ease of his English style would never betray him. His "History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature" has received the highest approbation of scholars in that department. His other publications in linguistic and other branches indicate that his English professorship is adorned with a German erudition.

Mr. Müller, with professional emphasis, finds the distinguishing difference between man and brute to consist in the possession by the former of language. He speaks slightingly of any broad separation based upon moral or psychological differences. No doubt, the possession of language produces a chasm as broad between man and brute as physiologists find between the brain of the two genera. And yet if we will but analyse the nature of the moral faculty of man we shall truly find that it distances him further from brute nature than any external characteristic whatever. Infinitesimal gradations may as truly be traced from human language, made up of arbitrary combinations of voluntarily selected vocables, down, through the significant articulations of birds to the most instinctive impulsive grunts of the most stupid beasts, as between the sentiment of eternal right and wrong in man, and that mere dread of punishment which forms the highest apparent morale of the most intelligent brutes.

Instinct may be simply a receptive capacity; reason, a productive energy. As the piano receives the impulses from the player, and evolves the note, or succession of notes, in an order which it is itself incapable of directing, so may instinct receive from the external logos those sensational impulses which constitute all the phenomena of brute thought. The page receives the impressions of the printer's type, with letters in due order to form the word, which is spelled from without, namely, by the printer's intellect. What the page is to the order of letters and words, that brute sense is to the logical order of its sensations. It is receptive, not productive or completely formative. Reason is a generative process, instinct is a mechanical. In the reasoning mind the premise *produces* the conclusion; in the instinctive mind what is premise and conclusion are impressed in logical sequence from without. Hence reasoning requires personality, an energizing productive self; instinct requires but a susceptible sensorium, that can feel an impression, without consciousness of any central ego. The brute, therefore, may justly be viewed as but a temporary fragile framework, uninhabited by any distinct or permanent personality. While man is a being, a self, an author of logical thought, thought in harmony with the order of the universe, an image of the Logos that produced it.

Instinct and intuition may resemble each other in that both are impersonal; their thoughts are *given* from the universal Logos. But they differ in that the former are but given *sensations*, while the latter are given "*ideas*," or conceptions of the pure Reason. Inspiration differs from intuition, in that it is not normal but special; and is given not from the Logos but from the Holy Spirit; and belongs not to the purely rational, or even to the naturally ethical, but to the religious, the holy, the blessed.

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-book of Facts in Science and Art for 1862, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc.; together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1861; a List of Recent Scientific Publications; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A.M., author of "Principles of Natural Philosophy," "Principles of Chemistry," "Science of Common Things," etc. 12mo., pp. 415. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

We have repeatedly, we might say annually, expressed our high opinion of the value of Mr. Wells's Annual, not merely to the man of science, but for every reader or thinker who desires a notation of the advancement of discoveries in science in a condensed form.

The topics of special interest during the past year have been "Iron-plated Ships" and the "Antiquity of the Human Race." The former subject is discussed at some length, although the latest lessons administered to the world by the Monitor were too late for insertion in the present volume. This fact does not, however, diminish the interest of the recapitulation of a mass of antecedent facts.

In Anthropology it would seem, from the items given by Mr. Wells, that there is quite a leaning to some form of the development theory, if not to Darwinism. We quote a specimen:

> *The Lowest Race of Men.*—At the last meeting of the British Association (1861) Professor Owen stated that he regarded the natives of the Andaman Islands, in the Indian Ocean, as probably the most *primitive*, or lowest in the scale of civilization, of the human race. Of low stature, (probably less than five feet on an average,) they are described by most observers as *dwarf negroes*, but have none of the distinctive characteristics of the African race. They have no tradition, and apparently no notion of their origin; are reported to have no notions of a Deity, of spiritual beings, or of a future state. Both sexes go naked, without any sense of shame, and indulge their sensual appetites in the simplest animal fashion. Entirely destitute of clothing, utterly ignorant of agriculture, living in the most primitive and rudest form of habitations, their only care seems to be the supply of their daily food. They are not, however, cannibals. Their implements are bows and arrows, rude spears, and nets; and finding that these suffice for the acquirement of food, they have carried their inventive faculties no further.

Professor Owen here *assumes* the theory that barbarism is truly the "primitive" state of man. But he also seems to assume that there is a "lowest" limit to the human race, and that within that limit there exists a specially human educability.

There are some speculations, read to the British Association by Mr. Crawford, on the "Antiquity of Man from the Evidence of Language," which, to a reader of Max Müller, will appear scarce worthy of insertion in this volume. There is an extract from Mr. Page's recent work, "The Past and Present Life of the Globe," contesting the anatomical proof, furnished by Agassiz and others, that man is the obvious ultimate of the successive races of our globe, which seems to us as little worthy a place. An abstract is also given of a communication, recently read before the London Geological Society by M. E. Lartet, "On the Coexistence of Man with certain Extinct Quadrupeds, proved by Fossil Bones from various Pleistocene Deposits, bearing incisions made by sharp instruments."

> "The specimens referred to are: 1. Fragments of bones of *Aurochs* exhibiting very deep incisions, made apparently by an instrument having a waved edge; 2. A portion of a skull of *Megacerus Hibernicus*, bearing significant marks of the

mutilation and flaying of a recently slain animal. These were obtained from the lowest layer in the cutting of the Canal de l'Oureq, near Paris, and have been figured by Cuvier in his *Ossem. Foss.* Molars of *Elephas primigenius*, found in the same deposit, are figured by Cuvier, who states that they had not been rolled, but had been deposited in an original and not a *remanié* deposit. 3. Among bones, with incisions, from the sands of Abbeville, are a large antler of an extinct stag (*Cervus somenensis*) and several horns of the common red deer. 4. Bones of *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* from Menchecourt, near Abbeville, where flints worked by human hands have been found. 5. Portions of horns of *Megaceros* from the British Isles. In reference to the remains of the gigantic deer, M. Lartet alludes to the statement that stone implements have been found in the Isle of Man imbedded with remains of the *Megaceros*, and that hatchet-marks have been seen on an oak tree in a submerged forest of possibly still older date. 6. Fragments of bone, collected by M. Delesse from a deposit near Paris, and exhibiting evidence of having been sawn, not with a smooth metallic saw, but with such an instrument as the flint knives or splinters, with a sharp chisel-edge, found at Abbeville, would supply."

If, says the author, the presence of worked flints in the gravel and sands of the valley of the Somme have established with certainty the existence of man at the time when those very ancient deposits were formed, the traces of an intentional operation on the bones of *Rhinoceros*, *Aurochs*, *Megaceros*, *Cervus somenensis*, etc., supply equally the inductive demonstration of the cotemporaneity of those species with the human race. M. Lartet points out that the aurochs, though still existing, was cotemporaneous with the *Elephas primigenius*, and that its remains occur in preglacial deposits; and, indeed, that a great proportion of our living mammifers have been cotemporaneous with *E. primigenius* and *R. tichorhinus*, the first appearance of which in Western Europe must have been preceded by that of several of our still existing quadrupeds.

The author also remarks that there is good evidence of changes of level having occurred since man began to occupy Europe and the British Isles, yet they have not amounted to catastrophes so general as to affect the regular succession of organized beings.

Lastly, M. Lartet announced that a flint hatchet and some flint knives had lately been discovered, in company with remains of elephant, aurochs, horse, and a feline animal, in the sands of the Parisian suburbs of Grenelle, by M. Gosse, of Geneva.

It will be seen that the conclusiveness of the proof of the antiquity of man from the flints in the valley of the Somme is here assumed. Mr. Wells takes no notice of the thorough discussion of this subject by H. D. R., published in Blackwood's Magazine.

"One of the many missing *links between existing European races and the highest apes* has recently been discovered in Germany." So Mr. Wells tells us. It is a settled point then that, though the links are lost, the chain is real. Man is but a developed ape. Mr. Wells proceeds:

The account of this interesting relic was published by Prof. D. Schaaffhausen, of Brun, in *Müller's Archiv*, 1858, and has been translated and published, with remarks, by Mr. George Busk, F. R. S., in the *Natural History Review*, No. 2. It appears that in the early part of 1857 a human skeleton was discovered in a limestone cave in the Neanderthal, near Hochdal, between Düsseldorf and Eberfeld. "The uneven floor of the cave was covered to a thickness of four or five feet with a deposit of mud, sparingly intermixed with rounded fragments of chert. In the removing of this deposit the bones were discovered." The value of these remains was not, of course, appreciated by the workmen, and hence several parts of the skeleton were lost. Even the skull is not perfect. The peculiarity of the skull consists in a remarkable prominence or projection of the superciliary region of the forehead. The enlargement in this part is so great that it can hardly be described as limited to the superciliary ridges. These ridges, which coalesce completely in the middle, are so prominent that the frontal bone exhibits a considerable hollow or depression above, or rather behind them, while a deep depression is also found in the situation of the root of the nose. The forehead is narrow and low, though the middle and hinder portions of the cranial arch are well developed. The other bones which were procured along with the skull are characterized by their unusual thickness, and the great development of all of the elevations and depressions for the attachment of muscles. Professor Schaaff'hausen remarks:

"There is no reason whatever for regarding the unusual development of the frontal sinuses in the remarkable skull from the Neanderthal as a pathological deformity; it is, unquestionably, a typical race character, and is physiologically connected with the uncommon thickness of the other bones of the skeleton, which exceeds, by about one half, the usual proportions." Owing to the imperfection of the skull, it is difficult to determine the facial angle correctly. Professor Schaaff'hausen estimates it at 56°; whereas Mr. Busk, who estimated the angle on a cast of the skull, makes it from 64° to 67°. "The cranial capacity, compared with the uncommon strength of the corporeal frame, would seem to indicate a small cerebral development." Both Professor Schaaff'hausen and his translator are struck with the approach which the frontal bone of this skull presents to the cranial conformation of the chimpanzee and gorilla, in respect both to the enormous projection of the superciliary region and to the depressed forehead. Professor Schaaff'hausen sums up his conclusions as follows:

"First. That the extraordinary form of the skull was due to a natural conformation hitherto not known to exist, even in the most barbarous races.

"Secondly. That these remarkable human remains belonged to a period antecedent to the time of the Celts and Germans, and were, in all probability, derived from one of the wild races of northwestern Europe, spoken of by Latin writers, and which were encountered as autochthones by the German immigrants. And,

"Thirdly. That it was beyond doubt that these human relics were traceable to a period at which the latest animals of the diluvian still existed; but that no proof in support of this assumption, nor, consequently, of their so-termed fossil condition, was afforded by the circumstances under which the bones were discovered."

Mr. Busk observes that these remains "were discovered under circumstances which, though not altogether demonstrative of their real geological position, leave no doubt of their enormous antiquity, and of the probability of their having belonged to what has been termed the quaternary period. The conformation of the cranium, moreover, in this instance is so remarkable as justly to excite the utmost interest, approaching as it does in one respect that of some of the higher apes."

Although the skull above described exceeds all others yet known in approximation to that of apes, many skulls have been found which occupy a position between this one and existing forms.

"In a bone cavern in Brazil, Lieud discovered human crania mixed with the bones of extinct animals, in which the forehead receded on a level with the face; a formation which is also represented in ancient Mexican pictures. In the rocky caverns of the Peruvian Andes, Casteluan discovered, under the same conditions, human crania of a similar, strongly retrocedent, elongated form. . . .

"In the *Transactions of the Imperial Russian Mineralogical Society* of the year 1842, an account was given, by Dr. S. Kutorga, of two human skulls from the government of Minsk. . . . One of the skulls there figured presented a great similarity with that found in the Neanderthal. . . . A human skeleton, in a squatting or almost kneeling posture, together with implements made of bone, a battle-ax of stag's horn, two boar's tusks, which had been cut off, and three incisor teeth of a stag, perforated at the root, were found near Place, in silicious sand, six feet below the surface. A very high antiquity was assigned to this grave, as it was wholly unprotected by any masonry, and afforded no trace of cremation having been practiced, nor any implements of stone, clay, or metal. Dr. Lisch, who had been struck with the unusual prominence of the supra-orbital border, the wide root of the nose, and the strongly retrocedent frontal, accompanied the account of the finding with this remark: 'The formation of the skull indicates a very remotely distant period, at which men presented a much lower degree of development. Probably this grave belongs to the autochthonous population.'"

Accounts of many other primitive skulls are given in the very interesting paper of Professor Schaaffhausen, and, as he justly observes, afford "one of the most striking proofs of the influence of culture and civilization on the form of the human skull." The Abbé Frère, whose collection of crania, belonging to the different centuries of our epoch, is now placed in the Anthropological Museum of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, came to the conclusion that in the most ancient crania the occipital was the most, and the frontal region the least, developed; and that the increase in the elevation of the latter marked the transition from barbarous to civilized man.

If all this be so, then why are we not landed at just the solution of the problem of the flint hatchets of Abbeville and the incisions in pleistocene fossils, which was furnished by Dr. Dawson in his Archaia, noticed in a former number of our Quarterly; namely, the suggestion that they may have been the work of former "anthropoid races?"

History, Biography, and Topography.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. From the second London edition revised. 8vo., pp. 551. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Ecclesiastical history, esteemed by many thinkers an arid and most unfruitful study, becomes a fascinating and most fertile topic in the hands of such masters as Dean Milman and Canon Stanley. These lectures cannot indeed compete with the History of Latin Christianity in completeness and structural grandeur. They do not profess to give a symmetrical view of the entire history of the Eastern Church; but, after delineating many of the striking features of his subject, Dr. Stanley selects a few of the most prominent points and striking events, and presents them with an eloquence, a power of description, a vividness of narration, and a masterly skill in personal portraiture not inferior to the great historian of the Western Church.

There has been imputed to both these two eminent Christian scholars an undue latitudinarianism of religious belief. We pretend not to know what screw is loose in Dr. Stanley's theological system. The disciple and biographer of Dr. Arnold is not unlikely to have some points of doubtful orthodoxy. But it is a genial, cheery, loving, liberal Christianity, rather than a cold, sneering, skeptical liberalism, that overspreads his pages. He cheerfully recognizes excellencies in every section of the Christian Church, and feels an earnest Christian sympathy with all Christendom, as the exhibition of a religion more or less imperfectly pervading the whole body, and requiring a careful consideration of the various conditions and characters of the peoples of different nations and climes, in order to a true judgment. Even Mohammedanism he is inclined to view rather as a Christian heresy than as a false religion; he finds favorable parallelisms in its worship to the puritanism of the West, and fearlessly specifies those virtues, the emulation of which would improve our Christianity of the Occident. To many this may seem the very ultraism of liberality; and yet he must be held fundamentally a Christian in faith who unhesitatingly maintains the great central doctrine of the Incarnation, as proclaimed in the Nicene Creed.

As an introduction to the work, Dr. Stanley inserts four eloquent lectures, setting forth the value and great interest of ecclesiastical history. The perusal of these we earnestly commend to every liberal Christian scholar. The body of the work consists of twelve lectures; the first and most important of these gives a geographical survey of the territories of the Eastern Church, its historic epochs and general characteristics. Five lectures are devoted to a history of the greatest ecclesiastic event of the early Eastern Church, the Council of Nicæa. This history furnishes full scope for Dr. Stanley's powers of picturing natural scenery and historic events, of portraying great historical characters like Constantine, Athanasius, and Arius, and luminous statement of theological questions. One lecture is devoted to Mohammedanism. The remaining four lectures furnish a rapid history of the Russian Church, including a notice of the remarkable reformatory Patriarch Nicon, and closing with an account of Peter the Great.

There is, indeed, a manifold and striking interest as well as profit in contemplating the history, doctrines, institutions, and general spirit of the Oriental Church. Within its limits is the probable cradle of mankind, and, beyond doubt, the Ararat from which the renewed race took its start. Within its boundaries Abraham founded the chosen race, and Moses gave the law. There lies Palestine, whose "sacred acres" were trodden by His holy feet. Let not Rome boast the antiquity of her Christianity, or prefer her doubtful claim to the primacy, or even to the presence of Peter; for the East has in her Antioch a more ancient Christianity, a more primordial primacy, and a more undoubted Peter. To this oriental mother of us all the entire Western Church are but a great body of manifold dissenters, and the pope is but an earlier protestant, no better than Luther. Augustine has not taught her the doctrine of original sin, nor Calvin his *decretum horribile*, nor Edwards his volitional fatalism. And to most of our readers there will appear something striking in the following remark: "The revival of the national Church of Greece contains many germs of hope for the future. A continuous history of Greek theology, from its peculiarities in the

Eastern Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, through the schools of Constantinople, down to its last great effort in the revival of letters in the West, and its influence on the Cambridge Platonic divines of the Church of England, and, through them, on John Wesley, in the eighteenth century, is still, I believe, a desideratum." It is indeed a striking thought, that the youngest vigorous branch of the Christian Church has derived its most characteristic theology from the parent trunk.

As specimens of the work we note a few paragraphs.

Our obligations to the Eastern Church for the Greek Testament:

> It has been powerfully described [Prof. Goldwin Smith's Lecture on the Study of History] how, when the life of Europe would have been arrested under the Latin hierarchy but for the intervention of some foreign element, "Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." Most true. But Greece and the Greek Testament were preserved for that great crisis by the Empire and Church of Constantinople. It may have been a tomb; but in that stately tomb the sacred light was kept burning till the moment came for it to kindle a new fire elsewhere. To the Greek exiles from the fallen city of Constantine we owe the purest and the most enduring elements of the Reformation, namely, the New Testament in its original language, and the revival of Greek learning, which gave us critics and commentators to unfold its meaning. Long after the effects of Luther's work shall have been exhausted, the effects of Erasmus's work shall remain; and the work of Erasmus, humanly speaking, could not have been achieved without the scholars of Constantinople.

Freedom of the Eastern Church from persecution:

> Yet, if Eastern Christians have abdicated the glory of missionaries, they are exempt from the curse of proselytism; and they have (with some mournful examples to the contrary) been free from the still darker curse of persecution. A respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them from violent attacks on the rights of conscience, and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own. The gentle spirit of the Greek Fathers has granted to the heroes and sages of heathen antiquity a place in the Divine favor, which was long denied in the West. Along the porticoes of Eastern churches are to be seen portrayed on the walls the figures of Homer, Solon, Thucydides, Pythagoras, and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity. In the vast painting of the Last Judgment, which covers the west end of the chief cathedral of Moscow, paradise is represented as divided and subdivided into many departments and chambers, thus keeping before the minds, even of the humblest, the great doctrine of the Gospel—which has often been tacitly dropped out of Western religion—"In my Father's house are many mansions." No inquisition, no St. Bartholomew's massacre, no Titus Oates, has darkened the history of any of the nobler portions of Eastern Christendom. In Armenia, Henry Martyn's funeral at Tokat is said to have received all the honors of an Arminian archbishop. In Russia, where the power and the will to persecute exist more strongly, though proselytism is forbidden, yet the worship not only of their own dissenters, but of Latins and Protestants, is protected as sacred. In the fair of Nijni-Novgorod, on the confluence of the Volga and the Oka, the Mohammedan mosque and the Armenian church stand side by side with the orthodox cathedral.

Priority of the Greek to the Roman Church:

> The Greek Church reminds us of the time when the tongue, not of Rome, but of Greece, was the sacred language of Christendom. It was a striking remark of the Emperor Napoleon, that the introduction of Christianity itself was, in a certain sense, the triumph of Greece over Rome; the last and most signal instance of

the maxim of Horace, "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit." The early Roman Church was but a colony of Greek Christians, or Grecized Jews. The earliest Fathers of the Western Church, Clemens, Irenæus, Hermas, Hippolytus, wrote in Greek. The early popes were not Italians, but Greeks. The name of "Pope" is not Latin, but Greek—the common and now despised name of every pastor in the Eastern Church.

The humblest peasant, who reads his Septuagint or Greek Testament in his own mother tongue, on the hills of Bœotia, may proudly feel that he has an access to the original oracles of Divine truth, which pope and cardinal reach by a barbarous and imperfect translation; that he has a key of knowledge, which in the West is only to be found in the hands of the learned classes.

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Text-Book of Church History. By Dr. John Henry Kurtz, Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat, Author of a "Manual of Sacred History," "The Bible and Astronomy," etc. Volume II. From the Reformation to the Present Time. 12mo., pp. 454. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, Smith, English, & Co. 1862.

Dr. Kurtz is eminent among the leading theologians of the day for originality of thought and vigor of style. To the old story of the Reformation he gives a freshness which renders it readable anew. The "Germanic developments" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, brought down to the time of the formation of Mormondom, present some fields less trodden by the historian, and Dr. Kurtz's pages give a very clear and comprehensive view of the whole in a bold and living spirit. We like decisiveness of thought and character even where we cannot agree with the utterances it gives forth. Like Dr. Emmons, we "hate to be somethingish;" and so we like Dr. Kurtz without conceding his uniform accuracy in matters of fact or the uniform guardedness of his manner or spirit. In matters of fact we can hardly agree that James Arminius "wandered into Pelagian paths."—P. 210. Nor do we quite see the accuracy (same page) of the phrase "latitudinarianism, or, *still worse*, deism." It is new to us that Dr. Thomas Brown, author of the "Religio Medici," was a deist. (P. 226.) Nor does it seem to convey an accurate shade of truth (same page) to say simply that Dr. Samuel Clarke "was *charged* with Arian views," since he was their bold and able advocate for years. It is new to us that the Methodist Episcopal Church "are decided abolitionists, and excommunicate every slaveholder as an unbeliever." Whenever the noble doctor comes within the reach of "revivals," "new measures," and "Methodists," there is a free swing in his language which is quite taking. The German does not seem to us always elegantly Anglicised. Note these two successive sentences: "The German emigration to North America began *already* in Penn's time. In 1742 there were *already* one hundred thousand Germans in Pennsylvania."—P. 349. It is in a perfectly friendly spirit that we say that these and other minute fly-specks should have disappeared under the revision of the able translator. With such revision we doubt whether a more readable compression of "Ecclesiastical History" could elsewhere be found.

A Text-Book of Church History. By Dr. JOHN C. L. GIESELER. Translated and edited by HENRY B. SMITH, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. IV. A. D. 1517–1648. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

This final volume of Gieseler makes its appearance, for good and sufficient causes, after a lengthy interval. So far as the translator's work is concerned it bears the stamp of the most careful study and criticism. It is indeed refreshing, after reading some of the hastily prepared translations from the German in Clark's library, to peruse such a masterpiece of rendering as is here presented to us. The two great excellencies of Gieseler's history are, first, his exposition of the doctrinal development in the period of the Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia; and, secondly, his accurate and unstinted citations from the original authorities. The American editor has given the notes, not in German, or in translations from the German, but in condensed statements of the main points in English.

From the Reformation to the present time constitutes the fourth period of Church history. Its first division is from the Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia. Part first treats of the history of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, England, and other lands; part second discusses the internal history of the evangelical churches, embracing the formation of the doctrinal system in the evangelical churches, history of the external order and worship of the evangelical churches, and the theological and religious culture in the evangelical churches.

The English Reformation is sketched briefly, but so truthfully that we have not the slightest ground of complaint. Gieseler has evidently aimed at narrating the most facts with the fewest words.

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Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The Present Attempt to Dissolve the American Union—a British Aristocratic Plot. By B. 12mo., pp. 42. New York: printed for the Author. J. F. Trow, printer. 1862.

That the English aristocracy and nation have desired the dissolution of the American Union and the humbling of American power we suppose is notorious, having been proclaimed by the leading organs of British opinion. That the southern oligarchy looked to foreign intervention in the contest, and that both France and England, since its commencement, have proceeded as far as they dared in encouraging the rebellion, and are thereby to a great degree responsible for its protracted existence, with the sufferings it has entailed upon their own population, is equally notorious. That the foreign agents of the rebel government have freely offered to emancipate their slaves to obtain that intervention is a further and very important piece of notoriety. The rebel leaders, the representatives of the southern oligarchy, thereby proclaim themselves "emancipationists" and "radical abolitionists." With these notorieties before the public mind, we are unable to see the need of the labors of B. in peering into private conversations, and turning up old histories to show that there is a collusion between the treason of the south and some of the European interests. As to the proposition of his title, however, that the attempt at dissolution is a British aristocratic plot, we suppose all the world, save B., knows that nobody was more taken by surprise, or in a completer state of unpreparedness, (unless we except the vaults of our Western banks,) by that event than the English nation, whether government, aristocracy, or manufacturing interests.

To purchase foreign intervention the leaders of the southern rebellion offered to emancipate their slaves. This is a most telling fact, upon which the public attention has not fully rested? What wonder that foreign antislavery men have looked with favor upon the severance of slavery from the protection of the American Constitution! Cut the slave power from its connection with the mighty north, say they, and we can easily give it a dispatching blow. Nothing but the mighty armaments of the free states prevents that consummation. The Union leaders in the Border States are seen advocating the perpetuity of the Union as the best security for their institution. At this point, then, we behold the free north in the attitude of the great conservator of slavery. Europe is against it; the slaveholding rebels give it up; but the national power, influenced by the adhering but not loyal slaveholders, maintains its existence with a mighty arm. Our free-born sons, marching to the battle-field, are pouring forth their filial blood to maintain that system whose treason is the cause of all our troubles. They are fighting the battles of the essential enemy. Surely nothing but a bold emancipation policy can relieve this anomaly.

The true object of this rebellion is the establishment of a great tropical slave empire. While there was a hope indeed of transforming the Union from a Republic to a slave oligarchy, its bonds would have been unbroken. While there was a hope, by fillibuster, by Cuban purchase, by forcible obtrusion of slavery into the territories, by Dred Scott decisions, to render the slave power supreme over the whole, there was no inducement to strike the severing blow. When these hopes went down, then rose the visions of separation, independence, Mexican and South American conquest. A great despotic oligarchy was to be based on slavery, warlike and conquering in its temper, chivalrous and aspiring to a higher civilization than the world has yet seen, purposing by means of cotton to be masters of the situation, lords of the continent, and dictators of the globe. These are the Arabesque entrancements which the rude, realistic hand of Abraham Lincoln has demolished. An aristocratic plot that rebellion is; but its aristocracy lies this side the ocean.

Periodicals.

The Continental Monthly—Devoted to Literature and National Policy. Boston: J. R. Gilmore. New York: H. Dexter & Co., and Ross & Tousey.

We are gratified to learn, by announcement on its cover, that this vigorous young periodical has passed its period of experiment, and may be reckoned among our permanent "institutions." Its editor, Mr. Leland, wields an able pen; and among its contributors are enumerated Bayard Taylor, Horace Greeley, Oakey Hall, and G. P. Disosway. Its literary articles are excellent. Its views of public affairs are bold and are expressed in language suited to the times, and calculated to tell upon the public mind.

Miscellaneous.

The Master. By MARY A. DENISON. 12mo., pp. 270. Boston: Walker Wise & Co. 1862.

Margaret Howth. A Story of To-day. 12mo., pp. 266. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862.

The Bay-Path. A Tale of New England Colonial Life. 12mo., pp. 418. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

The Last of the Mortimers. A Story in Two Voices. 12mo., pp. 373. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Appleton's American Cyclopedia. Vol. XIV. Reed–Spire. 8vo., pp. 850. Appleton & Co. 1862.

Agnes of Sorrento. By Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "The Minister's Wooing," etc. 12mo., pp. 412. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862.

The Pearl of Orr's Island. A Story of the Coast of Maine. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "The Minister's Wooing," etc. 12mo., pp. 437. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862.

Several books received have been postponed for want of room.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1862.

ART. I.—THE TENDENCY OF SCIENTIFIC MEN TO SKEPTICISM.

THE fact that there is a growing tendency among scientific men to skepticism with reference to the divine origin of the Christian religion, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and even the immortality of the soul and the existence of God, needs little proof. It is equally the lamentation of the believer and the boast of the infidel. Not that Christianity lacks among its defenders some of the proudest names on the roll of science, in each of its departments; not that the majority of scientific men have avowed themselves to be skeptics; not that the well-settled and generally-accepted conclusions of natural historians and philosophers are such as to convict the Bible of falsehood; not that the Bible has failed to derive abundant corroboration of many of its truths from the discoveries of science. We are not called upon to make any such concessions to the vaunting skeptic. But a few eminent devotees of science are avowed infidels; a multitude of youthful scholars are adopting their opinions; in learned volumes and able essays and reviews in the quarterlies, as well as in popular books, magazines, and newspapers, the idea is industriously circulated, and with a specious show of support, that science is necessarily hostile to the claims of the Bible as an inspired volume; and the doctrines of modern science show an increasing proclivity toward positions seemingly antagonistic to those of the Bible on topics common to both. Not a branch of science can be named which is not brought into service by modern skepticism, and by writers of marked ability. Geology is relied upon to contradict revelation as to the age of the earth and the order in which its vegetable and animal races were introduced. Astronomy is called to testify against the statements of Scripture as to the solar system and stellar universe, and to change into absurdity the relative importance ascribed in the sacred writings to this insignificant globe. Phrenology (but a pseudo-science at best) assumes to limit or deny that free-agency of man implied in the biblical doctrine of sin, probation, judgment, and retribution. Ethnology gathers its physical and linguistic evidence of such fundamental differences among the nations of the earth as will confute the frequent assertion and universal implication of the Bible as to the specific unity of the human race. Zoology labors hard in devising ingenious theories, and selecting and arranging confirmatory facts, to discard the scriptural idea of successive creations of animals, and to substitute the development of higher species out of lower by a natural law. And finally, as comprehending all, Comte produces his "Positive Philosophy," and proves, to his own satisfaction, and unfortunately to the satisfaction of a large number of cultivated minds, that the human race, like an individual, has its childhood, youth, and maturity, which, in the progress of thought and civilization, are represented by theology, metaphysics, and science, each of which sets aside its predecessor; thus superseding all spiritual religion, and all natural and revealed theology, by the positive demonstrations of physical law.

Nor must it be supposed that these attacks upon Christianity from the side of science are made in the low and ribald style of Paine, or for the obviously immoral purposes of many of the French and English deists of a former age. There is a phase of infidelity current that is apparently devout and reverent toward God, and that maintains a high standard of morality among men. Those who read the *Westminster Review*, or are familiar with the writings of Francis Newman and Theodore Parker, will understand our meaning, and will bear witness that there are indications in the productions of such minds of the highest ability, of extensive information, of unusual culture, of a serious purpose, and of sincere conviction. And these traits are of all others dangerous, being powerful to influence young, inquiring, enthusiastic, and venturesome minds. These facts are worthy of careful thought, yea, of patient study. There is a double work to be done with respect to such skeptics, namely, to *refute* their errors and to *account* for them. The former belongs properly to Christian men of science, who can meet them on their own ground and vanquish them with their own weapons. The latter may be performed by any honest observer and thinker who is in a position to notice the influences which operate to produce the tendency in question. Indeed every intelligent Christian, and especially every minister of the Gospel, has the problem forced upon him for solution. Assuming the truth of Christianity and the sufficiency of the evidence in its support, the inquiry arises, How is it that scientific men of undoubted intelligence and pure life discredit its divine origin and deny the inspiration of holy writ? And, in particular, how shall we explain the evident drift of scientific theorizing toward positions antagonistic to the word of God? We will make such contribution as we can toward an answer.

In doing this we must repudiate, at the outset, two assumptions, one on each side, by which the skeptic and the believer easily and too cheaply satisfy their minds as to the all-sufficient solution.

The skeptic, with a self-satisfied air, insists that the *necessary* tendency of science is to religious skepticism. Comte's "Positive Philosophy" reaffirms this in every sentence. Science is a matter of certainty, of demonstration; religion is either the product of mere superstition, as in the early ages, and among nations yet in an infantile condition, or of unreliable metaphysical speculation, as in modern theology. It must therefore be, that, as the world advances in knowledge and experience, science will supersede religion, and the great facts and laws of the physical universe, which alone admit of demonstration, will constitute the creed of the intelligent. And others, who never heard of Comte, seeing that with the advance of science comes, at each step, an assault of infidelity upon the Bible, conclude that there is a mysterious something in science which breeds unbelief, and that a thorough natural philosopher must needs be an open or secret skeptic. It is for the advantage of skepticism to spread this idea as widely as possible.

But we cannot, and we need not make such a concession.

We may as well surrender the whole controversy. It cannot be denied that nature is before a written revelation, in order of time and in extent of contact with the human mind. The vast majority of the human race are shut up to its teachings in correlation with the inward voice of conscience and the remnants of early tradition. The Bible itself appeals to nature as an instructive religious teacher, and Paul does not hesitate to base human responsibility in the heathen world upon the sufficiency of its doctrine concerning the being and attributes of God. (Romans i, 18–32.) The rudiments of science, therefore, as to observation and induction, precede a written revelation. Holding this, and claiming that the author of the volume of nature is also the inspiring author of the volume of sacred Scripture, we cannot consistently admit that the study of the one necessarily conflicts with the study of the other; that reverence for the former involves disrespect for the latter; or that faith in scientific truth creates doubt in revealed truth. We claim that the two are in necessary harmony, as coming from the same Infinite Mind; and that the study of either should prepare us the better to appreciate the other. Christians should not betray sensitiveness on this point, (by which is meant that they should not feel any,) as though they feared the result of purely scientific investigation pushed to its utmost limit by an independent use of its legitimate processes.

Nor do we see the slightest evidence that such inquiries necessitate skepticism in well-balanced and intelligent students. Certainly we can claim, alike in the present and the past, names second to none in scientific rank; men who, understanding the appropriate and distinct evidence upon which science and religion rest, have embraced both with equal reverence and faith; men who were not to be deceived by bold assertion as to the "demonstrations of science," as compared with the "uncertainties" of theology, but knew that outside of pure mathematics (which cannot well be pressed into skeptical service) science has as yet been able to boast of few things more worthy of the name of "demonstration" than Christianity can produce by her processes of history and miracle, of heart-experiment and genuine mental and moral philosophy.*

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* Sir William Hamilton, in his thirty-second lecture on Logic, concluding his remarks on Induction, says: "Almost all induction is, however, necessarily imper-

Nor has Comte, in his elaborate argument, proved any *necessary* incompatibility of science and theology, but only that, as a matter of fact, in the childhood of the race, men uninstructed in science attributed the production of the phenomena of nature directly to the action of some deity, and reasoned therefrom as to the favor or wrath of the god. But if this was poor science, it was equally poor theology; and why might not an improved theology be found perfectly harmonious with true science? Yet, in the lecture introductory to his course, Comte remarks: "The present intellectual anarchy depends, at bottom, on the simultaneous employment of three philosophies *radically incompatible:* the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive." And the difficulty he declares to lie in the fact, that theology seeks for *causes* and metaphysics for *entities*, or substances with necessary qualities; while positivism scientifically contents itself with observing and classifying phenomena, and setting forth their successions and laws. But even accepting the statement as to the object of the three, where is the "radical incompatibility?" After studying phenomena in their successions and laws, what *necessarily* prevents a wise man from .inquiring, first, Whether these phenomena stand connected with material and spiritual essences? and secondly, Whether they are not all finally referable to God as the great first cause? If we examine a building, is it unreasonable, after we have considered the materials and the tools used in its construction, to inquire further into the methods of the builder and the designs of the architect?

The second assumption to be repudiated is sometimes made on the side of faith, namely, that scientific skepticism is the simple product of human depravity; that to account for it we need only remember that the natural heart is so averse to holiness, and therefore to the holy doctrines and pure precepts of the Bible, that it is ever seeking occasion to renounce its authority, and consequently presses science into ignoble and

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fect, and Logic can inculcate nothing more important on the investigators of nature, than that sobriety of mind which regards all its past observations only as hypothetically true, only as relatively complete, and which consequently holds the mind open to every new observation which may correct and limit its former judgments." Let the reader also consult, for an instructive statement bearing on the same point, Mansel's "Prolegomena Logica," Appendix A.

compulsory service. This unqualified explanation is the resource only of the sluggard and bigot. It saves the necessity of further inquiry; it gratifies the malign passion which hates an opposite and disturbing opinion; and it ministers pleasantly to the self-righteous gratification of feeling that *we* alone are the lovers of truth, the candid, honest, ingenuous thinkers and reasoners, from whom only the totally ignorant or the cunningly wicked dissent. We frankly declare, that we view the introduction into controversy with skeptics, of the fact of human depravity, in so unguarded a manner, and with so stern and unsympathetic a spirit, with a constantly increasing dislike. It has been so common as to be branded with the scurrilous, but possibly too deserved epithet, of "the clergyman's argument." It is a short hand, sanctimonious method of dealing with an opponent, sure not to be satisfactory to him, and that ought not to be so to ourselves. We object to it because, in the extent and absoluteness of its application, it is untrue, insufficient, and odious.

It is untrue if made to include *all cases* of skepticism. It has an undoubted bearing in many instances, which however were better left to God to judge. But it does not always apply; for there is such a thing, we fully and even gladly believe, as skepticism in which a man does not, and *for the time being* cannot, see his way clear to a well-grounded Christian faith. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the matter, and we only mention it to indicate our view of the injustice of representing skepticism as *always* a cover for opposition to truth and right. In saying this, however, we do not mean to call in question either the doctrine of human depravity, or the allegation of its influence upon the religious opinions of men. In a vast number of cases skepticism is little more than the result of a desire to rid the mind of the obligations imposed by evangelical religion; which desire leads to an eager reception of skeptical objections, and an unwilling and uncandid attention to the arguments in behalf of Christianity. Dr. Nelson is doubtless correct in his admirably practical work, the "Cause and Cure of Infidelity," in attributing it largely to the fact declared by our Saviour, that "men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil," (compare also John v, 44, and viii, 43–47,) and the illustrations which he adduces are quite to the point. The common, coarse, scoffing infidelity is of this stamp, as is also much that is more decent and refined. But this does not hinder many exceptions; at least many cases where the man is not conscious of such an influence, but falls into doubt, much to his own perplexity and grief, from a variety of causes, such as a peculiar cast of mind, an unfortunate education, companionship with unbelievers, observation of very imperfect representatives of religion, argument with weak and disingenuous advocates of the Gospel, and other causes, some of which we shall soon be called to notice. The source of responsibility and the ground of hope for such is indicated in the declaration or promise of the Saviour: "If any man will do His (the Father's) will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." Let any man, whatever his doubts at the first, seek for light in an obedient state of mind, honestly studying the life and discourses of Christ, and he will be divinely led to the knowledge of the truth.

But even if the allegation objected to were correct, it helps us forward little or nothing; for it still remains to be shown how an unregenerate heart can find the material of assault, and can so skillfully and powerfully employ it as to carry the convictions of men in the name of scientific truth, and thus virtually in the name of God himself. Mere depravity will explain why men should wish and aim to accomplish a certain result; but it does not enlighten us as to the method or the opportunity. How comes it that science is so universal a weapon in the hands of skeptics, and can be made so easily to serve their purpose? If there be mere pretense and hatred of the truth under their unbelief, they yet profess to base their skepticism on the reliable inductions of science, and the public, who are to adjudicate between them and us, will not admit an explanation from mere depravity till we have proved the insufficiency of any other. And then its odiousness in an argument is beyond description; for on that arena the antagonists are on an equal footing, and must conquer by logic and not by personal imputation. We know not which is the more coolly insulting of the two assumptions, when advanced: that of the skeptic, who insists that science is *of course* at war with religious faith; or that of the theologian, who insists that skepticism is *of course* the product of depravity. The former assures his antagonist, at the outset, that he is a fool; and the latter knows the other to be a knave! The prospect of good from such a discussion must be faint indeed.

Coming now to the merits of the case, and endeavoring to ascertain the specific causes which beget a skeptical tendency in scientific men, we would include them in two.

I. *The too exclusive study of the phenomena of matter.* It is an unhealthy process to confine the mind to a single subject; for while the concentration of attention generates mental power in that direction, by enlightening and sharpening the intellect, moving the sensibility, and confirming the will, it often narrows the range of mental vision and feeling, throws objects into disproportion, and leads to erroneous judgments. It is thus that "men of one idea," as they are popularly termed, though accomplishing much for their respective objects, and though necessary agencies in this imperfect world, are yet largely good only as by their variety they balance one another, and fill out the circle of thought and effort. Much is to be learned from each of them in succession, and society, in its sloth and sin, would scarcely move without their efforts. Yet we instinctively withhold our judgment from unconditional committal to their theories, plans, and methods. Now we know not why physical science, when made the chief study, may not operate in this manner to limit thought, and narrow even philosophic conclusions. It has often been observed that minds devoted to a certain course of studies are in a measure disqualified for doing justice to other branches of scholarship. It is seldom, for instance, that a purely mathematical mind makes a good reasoner on disputed points in morals and metaphysics, or manifests a correct and appreciative taste with reference to works of imagination. When Milton's Paradise Lost was handed to an eminent natural philosopher, he read and returned it with what was meant to be the disparaging, but was in reality the irrelevant question, "What does it prove?" Those whose idea of reasoning is derived from the necessary, inflexible demonstrations of geometry, carry a demand for the same kind and degree of proof into religious questions; and, not finding it, are easily and weakly thrown into doubt. And so those whose work is patient observation of the uniform operation of natural laws, watching material phenomena and classifying them in a rigid system, seem to be out of their element when they discuss subjects which require a different order of mind and other processes of thought. We had an illustration of this truth when President Day, then the distinguished head of Yale College, whose treatises on Mathematics were once in universal use in this country, published two works on the human will. He could not throw off the influence of necessitated causes when he came to treat of the free spirit; but, at the critical points of the argument, invariably fell back on the analogy of material forces, and reasoned from cannon-balls, ocean-waves, and whirlwinds, to show that the will might be free and yet *be caused* to act! It is true that a few men of universal genius, such as Pascal, Descartes, Leibnitz, Berkeley, and Dugald Stewart, have excelled in both mathematical and metaphysical studies; yet it is from these very men, so competent to judge, we have the strongest testimony as to the limiting tendency of the former, and several of them confined their mathematical pursuits to their early years.*

Thus those whose lives are spent in examining the phenom-

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* For an extended discussion of a portion of this subject, overwhelmingly proving the enfeebling influence on the mind of devotion to mere mathematical science, see Sir William Hamilton's Essay (in review of Whewell) on the "Study of Mathematics," in which that learned and acute author has not only set forth convincingly the reason of the case, but has aggregated an immense array of concurrent authorities of all countries, ages, and departments of knowledge.

His opinion of the similarly limiting influence of the exclusive pursuit of natural science may be gathered from the following extract from Lecture XXX of his Course on Logic, in which, pointing out the sources of error, he observes: "Favorite studies, inasmuch as these determine the mind to a one-sided cultivation, that is, to the neglect of some, and to the disproportionate development of others, of its faculties, are among the most remarkable causes of error. This partial or one-sided cultivation is exemplified in three different phases. The first of these is shown in the exclusive cultivation of the powers of observation to the neglect of the higher faculties of the understanding. Of this type are your men of physical science. In this department of knowledge there is chiefly demanded a patient habit of attention to details, in order to detect phenomena; and, these discovered, their generalization is usually so easy that there is little exercise afforded to the higher energies of judgment and reasoning. It was Bacon's boast that induction as applied to nature would equalize all talents, level the aristocracy of genius, accomplish marvels by co-operation and method, and leave little to be done by the force of individual intellects. This boast has been fulfilled. Science has, by the inductive process, been brought down to minds who previously would have been incompetent for its cultivation; and physical knowledge now usefully occupies many who would have otherwise been without any rational pursuit. But the exclusive ena of God's material kingdom, and tracing the settled laws of matter through its varied properties and changing forms, come under the usual temptation of magnifying their office till it scarcely leaves occupation for others. Matter enlarges its sphere till the suspicion arises with some of these philosophers that it occupies the whole realm of being; that what we call spirit is but highly attenuated matter, so combined, or so developed, as to produce mental phenomena; that life differs not essentially from electricity, nor thought from force; that the brain generates ideas and forms volitions as directly as a duly constructed battery gives off a succession of sparks, or a sudden shock. The philosophy of these men thus tends to a low sensualism and materialism. And nearly all physicists, in fact, become so accustomed to fixed physical sequences, to the uniform action of necessary causes inhering in matter, to the constancy of nature in all her operations, mechanical, chemical, and vital, that they are prepared to ignore the spiritual, the free, the uncaused, the supernatural. They know no higher or other realm than that in which they delve, and ridicule theories and facts that do not come under scientific experience. Speak to them of miracles, and they reply that science knows nothing of miracles; which is true enough, but which only proves that natural science does not embrace all existence and action, or even all law, seeing it lies wholly below the region of the *super*-natural, where motives supersede forces, and the mechanical is replaced by the spiritual, and whence come both the power and the reason of miracles. Given, for instance, the person, character, and mission of Christ, and miracles are as natural an accompaniment as are the officers of state on the king at court. But in the mere realm of nature no miracle is needed, nor would even be in place, since nature is the kingdom of necessary and uniform law. Hence natural science takes no cognizance of miracles, and consequently scientific men hastily doubt their reality in the past. But this is the weakness of doubting all that is not included in their department, or of confounding that

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devotion to such studies, if not combined with higher and graver speculations, tends to wean the student from the more vigorous efforts of mind, which, though unamusing and even irksome at the commencement, tend, however, to invigorate his nobler powers, and to prepare him for the final fruition of the highest happiness of his intellectual nature."

department with the universe of God. Thus if Comte, following in the steps of Bacon, had professedly confined himself to natural science as a single department of thought, and declared that we must not bring theological or metaphysical theories to explain purely scientific facts, we should raise no controversy with him. But when he denies others a right to go beyond physical science his "positive philosophy" is partial, and by claiming to be the whole ascertainable truth, is false. In leaving this topic, we must be indulged in one more extract from Sir William Hamilton, who in Lecture XXIII, on Logic, remarks:

> I may notice that the sophism of unreal generality, or unreal reason, is hardly more dangerous in its positive than in its negative relation. For we are not more disposed lightly to assume as absolutely universal what is universal in relation to our experience, than lightly to deny as real what comes as an exception to our factitious general law. Thus it is that men, having once generalized their knowledge into a compact system of laws, are found uniformly to deny the reality of all phenomena which cannot be comprehended under these. They not only pronounce the laws they have generalized as veritable laws of nature, which, haply, they may be, but they pronounce that there are no higher laws; so that all which does not at once find its place within their systems they scout, without examination, as visionary and fictitious.

As unfortunately aiding, through reaction, this tendency of scientific men, we must advert to the disposition of some theologians to ignore physical causation, or to deny the existence of second causes in matter. It is not singular that theologians should be found who embrace this error. They are drawn to it in a threefold way: religious, controversial, and philosophical. Religiously and controversially, it would be natural to incline to the opposite doctrine from infidelity. Hence, when scientific unbelievers rule out spirit-cause, they are tempted to exclude material cause; in which view they are the more confirmed by the seeming honor put upon God, by attributing all efficient causation to him, and representing physical laws as only the modes in which he chooses, in given circumstances, uniformly to exert his personal power. And, in favor of this theory, they cite the abundant language of Scripture, ascribing natural phenomena to divine agency. And then, philosophically, they claim that power surely resides in spirit, if anywhere, and that this theory has the advantage of simplicity, and therefore the *prima facie* evidence of truth; since all science tends toward a simplification and unity of causes.

But we must as candidly dissent from these theologians as we did before from the physicists, and claim that they have but rushed to the other extreme, and are aiding, by a necessary reaction, in keeping up that of their opponents. Their supersession of material causes by those purely spiritual and divine, or, in other words, their virtual supersession of science by theology, is not attended by the advantages which they imagine, while it carries in its train sad logical consequences.

Controversially, it is of no advantage to support an exactly antagonistic theory to an opponent, unless it be demonstrably true, and therefore preferable to some intermediate view; for it may only involve one in new difficulties, and by its evidently extreme ground strengthen the antagonist.

Religiously also we see no gain, but rather loss, as regards an exhibition of divine power and wisdom, in attributing natural phenomena to the direct rather than the mediate agency of God. Human activity is not wholly analogous, as man uses materials and laws previously existing; yet it is well to remark that we count it a higher triumph when he accomplishes an end by ingenious mechanism, than when he gains it by direct personal effort. That an almighty being could do these things by his immediate will is evident enough, and the idea falls into the mere alphabet of thought. It is an advance upon that conception, to introduce so magnificent an idea of creation as to suppose that material forces are brought into being as permanent agencies, by whose wondrous interworking all the phenomena of nature are produced in perfect subjection to the divine plan; especially if we jealously and intelligently hold to the existence of a supernatural realm interpenetrating nature, and keeping God by his moral and providential government close to the race and the individual. And as this latter view, equally with the other, refers all things ultimately to divine agency, it is consistent with the scriptural language to which reference has been made, and which is found principally in the bold figures of sacred poetry.

And then, philosophically, the theory in question breaks down at all points, and becomes theologically suicidal by running into pantheism. Undertaking to account for material phenomena, it virtually denies (or in logical consistency should deny) the real existence of matter, and remands us to pure idealism; a scheme subtle indeed, and very plausible in the abstract, but rejected everywhere by healthy common-sense as well as by robust reason. For matter, if real, has permanent and immanent qualities, reduce them to as few as you please. It cannot be at all without being something; without having essential characteristics; and when these are admitted, the reality of physical causation, or the power of mutual impression by the qualities of matter, cannot well be rejected. Hence those who begin by denying material forces are in danger of proceeding to deny physical qualities and essence, and of ending by resolving the outward world, on Berkeley's theory, into mental impressions.

Nor is that the resting place; for the same difficulty of conceiving of essential forces apart from direct divine exertion (which is only the old infidel difficulty of conceiving and allowing the fact of creation) applies with even greater power to spirit-action. For surely it is easier to conceive that God should create a material universe, with its necessitated results, springing from fixed second causes, than to conceive of his creating a spiritual universe of free agents, capable of either of opposite choices and characters, and acting in some sense independently. Yet theologians often contend for the latter, while they vehemently oppose the former as transcending their ideas of the dependence of the universe on God! They should follow out their logic boldly, and having first denied efficient physical causes, and then ruled out the existence of matter, proceed to deny all secondary spirit-cause, and thus, in turn, all separate spirit-existence, and land on the shores of pantheism, making God the sole and comprehensive existence and cause. And to make it biblical and pious, they can quote the declaration that "God is all and in all!"

As to the apparent simplicity of the philosophy, it will be seen to lie, not so much in explaining many phenomena by one multiform cause, as in denying the phenomena and reducing everything to the barrenness of a single substantial existence. But if we stop short of that result, and preserve the existence of finite mind and matter, the simplicity of referring material phenomena to the direct agency of God is more verbal than real; for the practical effect is confusing, and even painful, as we strive to think of all these natural forces (in their workings each moment as numberless as the atoms of the universe, and as variant as the attractions, antagonisms, and changes of these atoms) as so many actings and counteractings of personal divine will and energy; and as we imagine that in every change *we* work by volition in nature around us, we have come into direct collision with divine power. Surely it is simpler in conception, and truer to heart as well as intellect, to base the unity of all causes on their original creative source, rather than on the identity of their nature and operation.

Yet natural philosophers in every department of science have occasion to notice, that this unreasonable doctrine is frequently presented from the pulpit and the religious press, and oftentimes for the avowed purpose of counteracting the alleged atheistic tendencies of modern science.* They perceive the unsoundness of the theory, as regards its opposition to plain common-sense, its conflict with every appearance assumed by matter chemically or mechanically, and its frightful logical consequences. They judge it to be the last and only resort of theology in its resistance to progress, and the whole effect is to confirm them in any skeptical tendency previously existing, and to throw them back upon materialistic reasonings.

II. As the second cause or occasion of such a tendency, we would specify the apparent discrepancies between the statements of Scripture and the conclusions of science. These are numerous; for the Bible refers frequently to the works of God in nature, yet does not speak of them in the terms that science would use, nor according to the ideas that science propounds. Whether this necessarily involves any conflict with science remains to be seen: that many scientific men suppose it does, is unquestionable. They think there are affirmations in the Bible, as to natural facts in the past and present, which are utterly disproved by modern researches, though unknown when the Bible was composed. They find it difficult to resist the conviction that its writers were mistaken; and if on one point, why not on another? If a witness is impeached as to any of his statements, can we rely upon him further? "*Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.*"

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* This theory is not often propounded in its bold form. as by Malebranche, Horseley, Berkeley, Emmons, and others, though many of our theological writers approach even that; but it is constantly implied in the loose manner in which reference is made to the laws of nature, as though they were simply a convenient scientific term to express the uniform methods of direct divine action. Our religious literature is saturated with this idea.

It is conceded, that if the Bible undertakes to set forth scientific truth with inspired accuracy, yet is found to contradict the plainest revelations of science, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to credit its divine origin. We reason thus with respect to the sacred books of the Hindoos, which (lacking, however, all proper internal or external evidence of a divine origin) propose a system of cosmogony, and elaborate the details of the universe, but are in opposition to all that is revealed of the stellar universe by the telescope, and to all geographical and geological knowledge of our own world. If the case of the Bible can be proved to be parallel, a similar conclusion will be drawn as to its fallibility.

But it is well known that, until a comparatively modern date, the Bible has been supposed to affirm the literal correctness of its language respecting natural phenomena. The conflict between Galileo and the Romish theologians, and their use of ecclesiastical force to compel him, under threat of the penalty for heresy, to recant and disown the facts and truths of science revealed by the telescope, is familiar to the civilized world, and moves the scorn even of schoolboys. But Protestantism can show equal absurdities among its prominent defenders. There, for instance, was Turretin, whose writings are at this day a text-book in certain theological seminaries, and who argued as earnestly against what he deemed the error of the revolution of the earth upon its axis as against any religious heresy. We had intended to quote his veritable words from the original Latin, that none might doubt the facts in the case, supposing we could turn to the passage in a few moments; but after searching his four bulky volumes in vain for some hours we content ourselves with the citation in English, as given by Hugh Miller in his "Testimony of the Rocks." His arguments in proof of the revolution of the sun around the earth and of the immovable position of the latter were these:

First. The sun is said in Scripture to move in the heavens, and to rise and set. "The sun is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race." "The sun knoweth his going down." "The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down." *Secondly*. The sun by a miracle stood still in the time of Joshua; and by a miracle it went back, in the time of Hezekiah. *Thirdly*. The earth is said to be fixed immovably. "The earth is also established, that it cannot be moved." "Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth." "They continue this day according to their ordinance." *Fourthly*. Neither could birds, which often fly off through an hour's circuit, be able to return to their nests. *Fifthly*. Whatever flies, or is suspended in the air, ought (by this theory) to move from east to west; but this is proved not to be true, from birds, arrows shot forth, atoms made manifest in the sun, and down floating in the atmosphere.

Meeting the reply, that the Scriptures in such cases adopt the common language of men, he answers:

First. The Spirit of God best understands natural things. *Secondly*. That in giving instruction in religion he meant these things should be used, not abused. *Thirdly*. That he is not the author of any error. *Fourthly*. Neither is he to be corrected on the pretense of our blind reason.

As to the idea that the atmosphere moves with the earth, he replies:

First, that this is a mere fiction, since air is a fluid body; and, *secondly*, if so, by what force would birds be able to go from east to west?

And this was two thirds of a century later than when the priests dealt with Galileo! Here we see the method by which an inconsistency is forced, by the theologians themselves, between the Bible and science. If Paul were to write another epistle, he would to his warning against "science falsely so called," add another against spurious exegesis and an inappropriate wooden-headed quotation of Scripture. More mistaken pains were never used than to undertake to refute science, as a matter of heresy, with arguments drawn from scriptural language, and wholly impertinent to the discussion. The spirit of such interpretation could scarcely do otherwise than generate infidelity; it left men of science little choice but to deny either their reason or the opposing Christian faith. Christians have now partial relief from such a dilemma. We find no difficulty in acknowledging astronomic and geographic facts and truths: first, because we understand the sacred writers, in their passing allusions to nature, to use the language of appearance and not of science, as popular speech does even now, when it speaks of the rising and setting of the sun, and as it will continue to do to the end of the world; and secondly, because in such instances it was necessary that revelation, leaving secular education to human progress, and intent upon spiritual and not scientific instruction, should assume the garb of current ideas to be intelligible to those to whom it was first addressed. Still the relief is but partial; for all the references of the Bible to such matters cannot be placed in the category of passing incidental popular allusion. Some portion of its contents, such as the first chapter of Genesis, is to a certain extent didactic and historic, and intended to teach actual occurrences. Yet when so understood, and when interpreted in the manner natural to an ordinary reader, the Bible appears to contradict the well-established conclusions of astronomy, geology, and zoology, as to the age of the earth, the order of creation, and the occurrence of various natural phenomena. Hence results wide-spread skepticism, and that from two relations of the matter: the inconsistency itself, and the manner in which it is often met by theologians.

The inconsistency itself shakes the faith of many minds; for how, they reason, can this book be of God when it contradicts the works of God? Can we hesitate which to believe—the volume of nature, which all but atheists concede to be from God, or the volume of Scripture penned by man, and claiming, amid frequent denials, to be inspired by God? But allowing now the force of the objection, we insist that faith in the Bible unnecessarily breaks down from such a difficulty, by reason of a fallacy which deceives also on other subjects, and which logicians term "The fallacy of objections." We cannot better set this forth than in the words of Whately, in his work on Logic, where he remarks that this fallacy consists in

> Showing that *there are* objections against some plan, theory, or system, and thence inferring that it should be rejected; when that which ought to have been proved is, that there are *more* or *stronger* objections against the receiving than the rejecting of it. This is the main and almost universal fallacy of infidels, and is that of which men should be first and principally warned.

And in a note the author adds more explicitly:

> They find numerous objections against various parts of Scripture, to some of which no satisfactory answer can be given; and the incautious hearer is apt, while his attention is fixed on these, to forget that there are infinitely more and stronger objections against

the supposition that the Christian religion is of *human* origin, and that, where we cannot answer all objections, we are bound in reason and in candor to adopt the hypothesis which labors under the least. That the case is as I have stated, I am authorized to assume from this circumstance: *that no complete and consistent account has ever been given of the manner in which the Christian religion, supposing it a human contrivance, could have arisen and prevailed*, as it did. And yet this may obviously be demanded, with the utmost fairness, of those who deny its divine origin. The religion exists; that is the phenomenon; those who will not allow it to have come from God are bound to solve the phenomenon on some other hypothesis less open to objections. They are not, indeed, called on to prove that it actually did arise in this or that way, but to suggest (consistently with acknowledged facts) some probable way in which it *may* have arisen, reconcilable with all the circumstances of the case. That infidels have not done this, though they have had near two thousand years to try, amounts to a confession that no such hypotheses can be devised which will not be open to greater objections than lie against Christianity.

It is a curious fact, showing the imperfection of human faculties and knowledge, that on many of the most important subjects, take which side of an alternative we may, objections will arise that cannot be obviated, while yet one of the two views must be true. Indeed, all intelligent men know that even a child may propound difficulties on points considered to be well settled, that do not admit of a direct and satisfactory answer. And on topics of doubtful disputation, admitting of positive evidence and also of many serious objections, the old philosophical puzzle is reproduced, What will be the effect if an irresistible force meets an immovable object?

It is in entire forgetfulness of this fallacy that men of science conclude hastily, and often reluctantly, we believe, against the inspiration of the Bible. It is an instance of intellectual weakness, and arises, in part, from their ignorance of the number and strength of the independent and positive evidences in favor of the Scriptures. They should rather reason that here is a conflict between two witnesses who are both entitled to credit. May it not be that one or the other is misinterpreted, and that we need accuse neither of falsehood? When we understand both science and Scripture better, may they not prove to be in perfect harmony? Indeed, have not many such difficulties been happily solved in time past as a lesson for the future? Meanwhile may we not accept both, in their distinct spheres, on their independent evidence, and wait, in acknowledged mystery, till we can bridge the chasm now impassable?

But if skeptical men of science ought to reason thus, *so ought theologians also.* And they do more often than formerly. Yet it is common for them to yield to a supposed necessity, and attempt to demonstrate the perfect harmony of Scripture and science. In a gratuitous and unmanly timidity they forget, as really as the skeptic, the bearing of the fallacy of objections, and imagine that they are under a necessity of reconciling Genesis and geology, or else abandoning the whole Christian scheme. Acting under this delusion, we see them making wild and often disingenuous attempts to close the breach. They ludicrously assail science in departments of which they are mostly ignorant; or they attempt, by wholesale denunciation, to discredit scientific results; or they resort to forced interpretations of Scripture to change the impression which it naturally, if not necessarily, makes on an intelligent mind. In dealing with the geologist, a Trinitarian expositor will have recourse to glosses, and proposed emendations of the text or translation, which he would brand as dishonest if used by a Unitarian in other passages to escape the proof of the divinity of Christ. The result is, that he has an uncomfortable suspicion of failure in his own mind, and leaves the skeptic a confirmed unbeliever. Far better were it to canvass the subject candidly and generously, accepting such useful hints as might be furnished from any quarter, recognizing partial success and, as carefully, partial failure, and then remanding the unsolved problem to the future study of the man of science and the biblical interpreter, each in his own independent method and department. We are verily persuaded that such a course would ultimately remove the difficulty, and meanwhile preserve many thoughtful minds from skepticism who are now led into it not more by the objections which science offers to the language of Scripture, than by the dishonorable manner in which such objections are often met by the defenders of the faith.

Nor is the truth at all aided, but rather much injured, when enthusiastic Christian men of science undertake to turn the tables upon their skeptical brethren, by a virtual transfer of the war to Africa, as they seek to show that the Bible long since indicated some of the most marvelous discoveries of modern science, especially in the department of astronomy. Crowded audiences of good, pious men, whose wishes are fathers to their thoughts, led on, it may be, by admiring ministers in the front seats or on the platform, may applaud the wild imaginings and wretched exegesis of such a lecturer, supposing that he is turning the weapon of infidelity against itself; but neither intelligent skeptics nor sound theologians will be convinced. The astronomer who propounds such a view may be a man of matchless scientific attainments, but he is only a tyro in the interpretation of Scripture. Newton's "Principia" may be his primer, but he is nevertheless a blundering commentator on Job and the Psalms. The maxim applies to him as truly as to theologians who, ignorant of science, insist on discussing its problems: "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*"

Let science and religion stand on independent bases, then, establishing their respective conclusions by their peculiar processes, and each recognizing in the other a friend and coadjutor. Neither can take the place of the other, nor should be judged by the laws of the other, but must work out its own results by its own methods. They have their mutual relations and their bearing upon points of common interest; but that should serve only as a caution against precipitancy in reaching important conclusions, and not as a restraint upon the widest range of observation, the most logical induction, and the greatest freedom of honest and intelligent judgment. Thus will differences gradually disappear before increasing knowledge of God's works and word. Science will ascertain new facts, announce new laws, and modify some of her previous conclusions. Theologians will study the Bible more thoroughly, as regards both the spirit and the letter, and will interpret it more accurately. There will consequently be a growing approximation of all the lines of thought till they converge in one grand center, where will be found the harmony of all truth. For the time shall be, when all forces shall tend to a single result, and the religion of Jesus shall sanctify and use all forms of knowledge and achievement, all philosophy and science, all literature and fine art, all discoveries and inventions, and when it will be as discreditable to a man of science to be a skeptic, as it will be to a theologian to be ignorant of science.

ART. II.—HAS FREEDOM IN HAYTI PROVED A FAILURE?

HAYTI is the original Indian name of the most beautiful of the West India Islands. Its twenty-eight thousand square miles are charmingly variegated with lofty mountains and extensive plains, and the fertile soil clothes their surface with all the richness of tropical verdure. It has immense natural resources of every kind, and with its adjacent islands is capable of supporting a population of eight millions. We are informed by a Haytien historian* that at the time of its discovery by Columbus in 1492 its native Indian population amounted to three millions.

The Spaniards, who claimed it as one of their colonies, finding gold in the country soon after their arrival, speedily reduced the native tribes to such labor as ultimately exhausted them. At the present day it is doubtful whether there is a solitary descendant of its numerous aboriginal inhabitants left upon the whole island. We are informed by the author already quoted, who has written very interestingly on the primitive races of Hayti, that they were divided into tribes and had a certain type of civilization, being by no means savages. But white men bearing the name of Christ have long since driven them into oblivion by mere lust of wealth and power. History assures us, however, that among the Spanish Roman Catholic priests who came over to Hayti soon after its discovery there were some who sincerely deplored a state of things which they had not the power to control.

During the seventeenth century the French appeared in these regions, first settling as adventurers and buccaneers in the small island of La Tortue, which is about a league from the northern coast of the main island.

The rapacity of the white man having exterminated the Indian races of this large island, all eyes were turned upon Africa. The slave-trade with all its horrors was soon in operation, and in 1737 there was an African slave population in St. Domingo, the French part of the island, of nearly six hundred thousand.

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* E. Nau.

After a great many sanguinary struggles in a border warfare between the Spanish possessors of the island and the newly-arrived French, the two European governments of these nations finally came to an understanding with each other, and decided on a frontier line between them, which placed the French in possession of about one third of the island, the Spanish government still retaining the remainder.

The African slave-trade and slavery prospered in St. Domingo for upward of a hundred years, and there were fearful deeds of savage brutality practiced with impunity under the shelter of slavery. It has generally been admitted that French slavery in St. Domingo was of no ordinary cruelty. Wealth was so rapidly wrung out of the labor of the masses by the land and slave-owners that it became at last a proverb among the French, "St. Dominique, c'est le paradis des Français." Even at the present day some idea may be formed of the great wealth of this French colony by the remains of ancient mansions still to be seen in the northern part of the island, and though they are in ruins, they fully indicate the pomp and grandeur of the days of bondage. In no age of the world, however, has injustice been persevered in with impunity. A day of reckoning in some shape has invariably formed the climax of every continuous violation of truth and right. In St. Domingo this retribution was brought on by the white planters themselves. Notwithstanding their own fancied superiority over the victims of their oppression, a numerous population of mixed blood appearing in the community proclaimed the vices of the whites. Certainly, if these masters really did believe their slaves to be anything less than human, they themselves upon their own principles must have been guilty of something much worse than ordinary immorality in the choice of such mothers for their children. These unhappy offspring were frequently not only cruelly treated, but also disowned by their own fathers and sold. In the French colony of St. Domingo, however, there were cases in which white fathers sent their children, born of their black slaves, to France for education; still the grand anomaly of prejudice against their own children on the subject of color would prevail on their return home, when education had made them in many cases superior to their own slave-owning fathers. Such was the power of this strange and unchristian hate of color that if any of these mulattoes should at any time presume to speak of equal rights with the white man the extreme penalty of the law might be the result. This was fearfully illustrated in the case of Ogé, of whom we have the following brief account from a Haytien historian.* He was the son of a white planter, and had received a good European education, and having on his return home demanded an equality with men who, many of them, were doubtless his inferiors, was for this tried and condemned at the bar of his country, in the name of justice, to suffer the penalty of death.

> On the day of execution, which was the 25th of February, 1791, this man, with another, was led before the Church, barefoot, bareheaded, and in their shirts, with cords round their necks, and bearing each one a lighted torch. In the center of the "Place d'Armes" was erected a scaffold sustaining two wheels, to which they were bound with their faces upward; and in this position their thighs, legs, arms, and loins were broken by blows from iron bars, nor did a murmur escape their lips.

This was solemnly done in the name of law and right. The flames of discord were lighted in the name of peace, and who can wonder that so flagrant a deed should have stirred up the fiercer passions of our nature.

It is, and ever will be, a humiliating fact, that what are called the "horrors of St. Domingo" originated not with the savage African, as has been frequently represented, but with the civilized white man, whose madness and folly, excused by the plea of rights and property, led him on to crime and cruelty rarely known in the annals of history. During the French Republic of the latter end of the last century slavery was abolished in all the French colonies. This at least was consistent, and may be regarded as a declaration of the French Republicans of that day to those on the opposite side of the Atlantic of the present, that true liberty and slavery cannot exist together, the very word liberty among slaves being an exceedingly dangerous thing. But the living property in human beings, although condemned by the French Republic, was not to be given up without a struggle. When the first Napoleon reached the throne he was soon surrounded by West Indian influence. The former slave-owners and their friends induced him to send out an army of upward of twenty thousand men under his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, to fight for the re-establishment of slavery, which had then been abolished for several years in the French West Indies. A more treacherous and degrading enterprise could scarcely be conceived. A noble army fighting for freedom one might understand; but a well-equipped, well-trained, brave and intelligent army leaving their homes for the sole purpose of reducing the free communities of the French West India Islands to slavery is surely one of the most flagrant crimes that was ever committed by any human government. The crime indeed succeeded at Martinique and Guadaloupe; and in these small communities the chains were refastened, and remained so until within the last few years under the present Napoleon. But by the perpetration of this deed in these smaller islands, the slave population of St. Domingo learned the fate preparing for them and determined to live or die free. The troops of Le Clerc landed, and the great and terrible struggle came on. The brave black general, Toussaint L'Ouverture, at the head of the black army of freedom, was treacherously taken by his enemies and thrown into a dungeon in France, where he ungenerously, and to the perpetual shame of a brave people, was left to perish of hunger and cold. Yet the righteous cause of liberty was in the end triumphant. It will be seen, therefore, that the great revolt of St. Domingo was not undertaken in order to abolish slavery; that had been done by the French Republican government. It was done to maintain a lawful and honorably acquired freedom. This is a fact which deserves special attention, the more particularly as the friends of slavery in the present day have by much misrepresentation induced the belief that the insurrection of St. Domingo was a mere wanton outbreak on the part of the slaves, and unprovoked on the part of the whites. But history has faithfully recorded the truth; and the guilt of the massacres of St. Domingo will rest upon the heads of the whites, who had basely stooped to the lowest order of treachery, and whose bones were left upon the field on which their crimes had been perpetrated. It is a striking fact that but few of Le Clerc's army ever returned to France.

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* T. Madion.

It is not at all intended to enter here into any of the details of those struggles which took place at St. Domingo. Suffice it to say for the present that the white inhabitants of that afflicted island having by their crimes involved their own and other interests in ruin, and drawn forth rivers of blood, thus filling up the measure of their iniquities, the black general, Dessalines, on the 1st of January, 1804, boldly, in defiance of France, declared the liberty and independence of Hayti. He had already led on its once enslaved people to victory in the maintenance of their lawful freedom, contending at different times with some thirty thousand Frenchmen. At the time of the declaration of independence the name of St. Domingo was abolished forever, as a name associated with the treachery and crime of white men, and the original name of Hayti was re-established.

It has often been asserted that the liberation of thousands of slaves would be dangerous both to themselves and to others; and a pretended humanity has inquired, What would become of them if, in their entire unfitness for freedom, they should be immediately emancipated? From this query the inference is drawn that it is for their own benefit to keep them as they are. Yet it is an incontrovertible fact that the half million of slaves in Hayti knew well how to provide for themselves in their newly acquired liberty. They did it much better than their former masters had done it for them, and that too under circumstances of the greatest embarrassment. The colored Haytiens knew well, not only how to provide for their wants, but how, at the same time, like the Jews of old under Nehemiah, to defend their liberties against a powerful foe, of whom for a time they had the utmost to fear. The instinctive ability of the newly liberated slave to take care of himself was also strikingly illustrated in the British West Indies, where so many thousands of slaves were suddenly set free. The ancient Britons when given up by the Romans implored their former masters in mercy to come back again to their help; but such strange prayers were never uttered by these long enchained beings, who had been thought so utterly helpless. Nor did there seem to be even the slightest danger of revenge for the innumerable wrongs of the past from the newly liberated slaves. On the contrary, universal gratitude and thanks rose to heaven from all hearts, and the former slave-masters were perfectly shielded by the religious element which was thus developed around them. Experience has therefore abundantly proved all these humane fears to be utterly groundless.

Our business will now be to show whether freedom in Hayti has been, as some have affirmed it to be, a failure.

To understand this question clearly and correctly the premises upon which our reasoning is based should be well defined. The question, then, is not whether Hayti is now equal to either England, France, or America; but whether her present position, compared with her starting-point as an independent nation, does really demonstrate a manifest progress? These it is presumed are the only fair grounds upon which this question can be honestly examined. We are first to ascertain the position of Hayti with regard to civilization when she commenced her national career. To say that it was in slavery will perhaps at once suffice. Not that it was the intelligent slave-owners that abolished slavery and then generously grappled with an immense mass of ignorance and vice, nobly aiming to bring good out of evil; but the slaves themselves, who, bred under the withering influence of oppression, cruelty, injustice, and immorality, were suddenly left free to shape their own course as a nation. Such were the unhappy elements from which the Haytien people sprang into national existence.

We would be obliged to go back to a very remote period in the history of the English nation to find a degree of civilization like that which constituted the starting-point of the Haytien Republic in 1804. Besides all the rest, we must not forget that for a long time after her declaration of independence Hayti had reason to fear the purposes of France. The Haytiens had driven a powerful nation from their shores; and not knowing what efforts she might make to wipe off the dishonor of defeat, they naturally considered their liberties safe only under the protection of their own arms, which they bore day and night with the firmest patience and the most determined resolution. For this reason the whole nation for some years literally lived under arms, presenting the appearance of a military camp, until martial glow and pomp moulded the habits and tastes of the people.

Under these circumstances what progress could so weak a nation be expected to make in the arts of peace? But the moral and intellectual chaos from which Hayti started as a nation is beyond all possibility of description. The Haytiens were sunk in ignorance and sin, which their condition for more than a hundred years had necessitated. Let us pause, then, and ask ourselves, What are we to expect from a mass of human beings in such circumstances and with such precedents? It is also specially worthy of attention that the Haytiens were not assisted in their great struggles against this superior power by any foreign aid whatever. It is true that there were at one period a few English troops in the island, who came from Jamaica originally at the call of the French colonists of St. Domingo in reference to slavery. They at last sought their own interests by making to Toussaint L'Ouverture the offer of becoming king under British protection, which offer he is said to have declined. Their position at last becoming anomalous they withdrew.

It will be readily seen that when the Haytiens found themselves free they had everything to do in the way of national organization, and our business will soon be to follow them step by step in their general progress. But before we do this, it may be well for us to notice the three principal accusations which are brought against the Haytiens by those who affect to despise them.

First, they are reproached for their numerous revolutions. Why such a reproach should be specially fastened on Hayti is somewhat difficult to understand. It will doubtless be admitted that Europe is for the present the center and the source of the arts and sciences and of general literature, and yet perhaps it would be difficult to fix upon a period of time when that great continent was really free from the danger of some great political or military convulsion. But such is the perversity of prejudice in this matter, that while the great struggles for liberty in Europe are attributed to a nobility of character thought to be peculiar to the European race, the same struggles for the same object among the descendants of Africa in Hayti are interpreted as proof of decided inferiority and incapacity for government. Yet it is a remarkable fact, well known by those who have been residents in Hayti, that every attempt at revolution there, whether it may have failed or succeeded, has had for its object the breaking up of some narrow policy which was believed to obstruct the general progress of improvement;

and if they have at any time miscalculated or misjudged, as has often been the case in human history, the aim at least has been to exchange what was thought to be a bad state of things for a good one. The Haytien revolutions, therefore, are only censurable in the same degree as are those of Europe.

A second accusation against the Haytiens is indolence. Let us examine the case. We must at first observe that the greater part of the male population are soldiers, whose time and energies have been as much taken up by military service as by ordinary industry. We must also take into account the influence of a relaxing climate, in which the same degree of industry and energy cannot be expected as in the more bracing latitudes of the north. Yet there are many marks of personal activity and of national industry. The country people on their great market days walk ten, and even twenty miles, laden with the fruits of their industry. The circumstances of many of the inhabitants also prove the truth of this assertion. They are not only surrounded by all the comforts of life, but sustain an immense expenditure in the education of their sons and daughters either at home or in Europe. Wealth is also accumulating in the country, and they make large exports of coffee, mahogany, logwood, and wine. All this does not produce the imputation of national indolence. Their fault may be rather a want of judgment to direct their energies, by which much time is taken to do but little; a fault which must exist in the absence of education and the right training of youth. It is, however, only intended by these remarks to show that, all things considered, there is an amount of activity and industry in Hayti which if well directed might accomplish much more than the present results.

Thirdly, it is said that the Haytiens are immoral as a people. That this is the case, to an extent which is deplorable, none perhaps would be more ready to admit than the Haytiens themselves; but if this is a defect which really incapacitates men to govern, then woe to well-nigh the whole world. It is, however, remarkable that this reproach is mostly made by that class of men who in some form or other favor that system of things in which men crown their immoralities by selling the very offsprings of their own degrading vices; and therefore, however correct or deserved, is in danger of losing much of its weight.

All, however, is explained when we remember that the moral character of the Haytien nation was cast in the mould of circumstances framed by that prolific source of every vice called slavery. It may indeed be inquired, Why in fifty years has not all this been corrected? The Christian replies, that in all ages men have loved darkness rather than light; a slave may break his outward chains, while he leaves untouched and even loves those that hang upon his soul.

So far, then, we have seen nothing in the Haytien nation or character unworthy of that freedom to which all men are heirs. We will now, as far as the limits of this article admit, follow the Haytiens in their slow but general improvement. As might be expected, the first rulers and legislators of Hayti were the generals who had led the nation on in their efforts for freedom. These brave men at first organized a provisional government, by which a constitution was drawn up. It may be truly affirmed that an admirable amount of talent was developed by the debates which took place in framing this great national document. The degree of power to be conferred upon the executive was ably debated; and the privileges and sovereignty of a republican people were broadly set forth. As a proof that these principles were well understood, the constitution was rejected by a powerful party, while it was accepted by the rest. An unhappy division was the result, one side, with General Christophe at their head, forming ultimately a kingdom in the northern part of the island, having the city of Cape Haytien as their capital; and the other, with General A. Petion at their head, forming a republic in the west, having as their seat of government the city of Port au Prince. This division was doubtless unhappy, leading as it did to fratricidal wars. A spirit of emulation, it is true, sprang up between the parties, each side being anxious to show the superiority of their system. Christophe, although a man of blood and a tyrant, drove on all the branches of industry with a high hand; and had his government been tempered by reason and religion he would probably have astonished Europe by an extraordinary amount of energy. Native talent was being rapidly developed under his iron rule; Englishmen of literature were sent for by him with a view to help on the general improvement of his people. The Haytiens, however, in the case of King Christophe, as in many others, demonstrated their resolution to overturn all despotism whenever it should appear among them. Hence, in 1822, this monarch, finding that his people were decided on his overthrow, put an end to his existence, and his kingdom was absorbed in the Western Republic.

The Haytien republican institutions consisted at first of an executive power, a senate, an extensive magistracy, various courts of law, civil and criminal, a high court of cassation, an armed police, public schools, a regular army and "garde nationale." To these was early added a house of representatives. The Roman Catholic was considered the state Church, and the language of the people was French. The educated mulatto children of the former white French planters now had an opportunity to use their education and display their talents, and through them the people were furnished with leading and even master minds for the management and direction of a young and newly liberated nation. Thus does Eternal Wisdom frequently from seeming evil bring forth good.

One of the most beneficent measures carried into effect by President Petion was the distribution of lands. Each officer and private soldier of acknowledged bravery in the great contest for liberty was rewarded by a portion of land, made over to him by title-deeds as his own personal property. This great measure was a striking development of enlarged and liberal views on the part of the leading mind as the executive. There are also an honesty and disinterestedness in this measure which prove that there was a sincere desire on the part of President Petion to raise his long degraded, but now liberated countrymen to their real dignity as free citizens of the republic, and to interest them in the defense and general prosperity of the country. As a great stroke of state policy it had the desired effect.

Soon after the independence of Hayti a national lyceum was established, and placed upon such a respectable and efficient footing of general literature as ultimately to send forth men of thoroughly good education, some of whom are to this day among the brightest ornaments of the Haytien nation, and would not be unworthy of the most advanced nation of the age. It is also worthy of remark, that those who have received the advantages of education are anxious that their children should be brought under the same culture. Hence educated parents in Hayti make any and every sacrifice for the education of their children; some sending them to Europe at an immense expense, and keeping them there in some cases for many years; and others contenting themselves with what can be done for them in their native land. Although these feelings are confined, as we have intimated, to the educated classes principally, yet the effect upon the nation is excellent. There is one fact connected with education in Hayti which must not be lost sight of, especially as it will help us the better to understand the character of the Haytien people. The education generally given and sought in that country has been chiefly intellectual. This fact, when it becomes a national one, has much to do with the formation of the character of a people. That high and divine truth, that man is the image of his Maker in the immortality and moral elements of his nature, can never be lost sight of without serious injury to the dignity and happiness of man even on earth. In Haytien education the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and man's general responsibility to his Maker, have doubtless been more or less recognized; but that really moral culture which constitutes one of the distinguished peculiarities of English and American education, and which is seriously, constantly, and religiously aimed at in those countries by means of Sabbath-schools, young men's Christian associations, the diffusion of the Scriptures, and the daily and devotional reading of them, domestically, privately, and publicly, are things and practices which never entered the Haytien idea of education. Nor is this said in any reproachful sense, for the bias of the Haytien mind has resulted from circumstances over which the people had no control; circumstances which brought in upon them Voltaireism, Fetichism, and the lowest order of Romish superstitions. Yet in spite of the incompleteness of their education, the intelligence of the African descended Haytien has been so fully developed as to demonstrate the entire equality of the human mind wherever and whenever it is brought out by suitable means. In Hayti there are men of all shades of color well versed in law, mathematics, the principles of language, as well as many of the useful branches of science. Public journals are as numerous as might be expected, and are also conducted with ability. There are authors also whose pens as historians and otherwise do honor to the literature and learning of Hayti. In fact, the press has for many years been very active, and its productions, in the form of laws, histories, and state documents, are worthy of attention. Nor are able reasoners wanting in their courts of law, or the two houses of the legislature; and if in all this the moral element is wanting, it must be remembered that the Christian Churches of both England and America have by far too much neglected a people who were as well worthy of their attention as many others upon whom immense sums have been expended.

The domestic features of Haytien civilization, although by no means such as could have been desired, are nevertheless worthy of attention, especially as compared with slavery; if it be not altogether a burlesque to compare slavery with anything in the shape of civilization, or to speak at all of domestic institutions, or of the family circle where wives are liable to be torn from their husbands, and children to be sold away from their parents; or where human beings are placed together simply to multiply, as mere brutes, for the benefit of their owners. But as freedom in Hayti has so long been said to be a failure, it seems to be necessary as a refutation to draw a comparison between man reduced to the level of a brute in slavery, and man rising to the level of himself in freedom.

Marriage, however neglected, is honored and respected; the legitimate offspring is preferred in law to the illegitimate; while concubinage and libertinage, however prevalent, are classed among the vices. Hence the domestic circle is a true home to which the Haytien is entirely attached; and whenever but a moderate share of education has been enjoyed, all the wants of ordinary civilization are felt and sought; a fact which of course must tell greatly upon the commerce and industry of a people. There are peculiarities in the position of woman in Haytien society that are worthy of note. The military character and duties of this nation having for a long time called away the male population from more domestic employment, has left the women in many cases to conduct the business or industry of the family, and hence there are many women in Hayti who, although perhaps not favored with much education, are yet remarkable for their tact and skill in the management of business, which frequently is on a scale productive even of wealth.

The poorer classes have indeed been neglected; but it must be remembered that this country, on account of its language, has ever regarded France as its model of civilization, and it need not be said that at the declaration of Haytien independence the idea of educating the masses scarcely existed on the continent of Europe, and in fact by many there even to this day the propriety of so doing is doubted. Hence the policy of Hayti on this subject, and her long negligence in reference to the momentous subject of universal education, which she now sees and deplores, and will doubtless under the present enlightened government labor to correct. Although the masses in Hayti are comparatively ignorant, still they are free, and there are many among them honorable and industrious; and it can easily be understood that even in such a state of society there must be a vast variety of wants of which a mere slave population would not even dream. Hence, with even the humbler classes, furniture and clothing must be needed on a higher and a wider scale than with a mass of slaves, whose masters, with the unnatural system under which they live, are only safe in proportion to the ignorance and degradation of their human goods and chattels. But the Haytien nation is now made up of various gradations of society, and those who are raised above positive poverty form a numerous class, and have the same general range of wants as in any other nation. Luxuries, therefore, in furniture and dress are sought. European fashions and extravagances are imitated, and the pride of dress, whatever be its folly, tells powerfully upon the national commerce.

The dwellings and general architecture of Hayti are adapted to the climate, wants, and tastes of the people; and they create no small part of those necessities which must greatly promote the national importations, especially when the industry of the people is generally agricultural. Their principal product, coffee, becomes the purchase price of all their imports. We do not mean to depreciate the internal resources or productions of Hayti, but we wish merely to say that the wants of such a people, however plain as to architecture or other matters, would be incomparably superior to those of the same number of slaves, the furniture of whose humble huts would not tell very much upon the commerce of the world. The Haytien home, though modest, is genteel, and in many cases amply and even richly furnished, with music, literature, and domestic convenience. The Haytien commerce is therefore widely extended: from England and Germany dry goods of great variety and value are annually imported; from France all kinds of fancy goods, cutlery, iron, and crockery ware. But it is a fact not generally known, although worthy of special attention, that with no one country has Hayti so great a traffic as with the United States of North America; and it is also a remarkable and interesting fact, that these United States have derived more advantage commercially from the abolition of slavery, both in Hayti and the British West Indies, than perhaps any other single country in the world. Hayti has from America flour, salt provisions of meat and fish, butter, cheese, soap, rice, and many other things. The exports of Hayti are large. Nearly sixty million pounds of coffee, besides great quantities of mahogany, logwood, rum, rice, hides, etc., are annually exported to various countries. Reflection on this fair extent of commerce for so small a population will bring before us a great amount of activity, the fruits of which it must now be specially remembered, in the present free state of Hayti, are enjoyed by and diffused through the entire population; whereas under the former system of slavery, there as elsewhere, the fruit of national industry was confined to but a few, who lived in lordly splendor and luxurious indolence upon the sweat of the enslaved masses. Hayti also in itself, as a free country, has many branches of industry in which as mere slaves its people never could have been engaged.

From all that has now been advanced, it will be evident to those who are willing to see, that all the elements of the highest order of progress are found upon the shores of Hayti. There is material of every kind for all that education, science, and Christianity can do for our common humanity; there is also an intense desire in most of the intelligent minds of Hayti for elevation and prosperity, and an improving element among the Haytien people. It is true, this has often unfortunately broken forth in revolutionary struggles; but this is largely due to the

French element, which has always found it difficult to carry out great national changes and reforms without bloodshed.

It may be demanded why Hayti, with such great desires for progress, has not advanced more rapidly? To those who best know her and her origin, the surprise is rather that she should have reached the point in national progress to which she has attained, for the elements in which she took birth have never yet been fully purified. Still, if we look at the progress she has made we can find no room for complaint. Hayti, as a free country, is but little more than half a century old, yet it is probable that the masses of some nations on the continent of Europe, with a thousand years' existence, are but little in advance of them. We can with no justice compare them with the United States. The great rapidity of the progress of the latter is one of the most splendid facts of either ancient or modern times. But the cases of Hayti and America are widely different. America at her independence not only possessed some of the boldest and wisest minds of the age, but the British colonies, thus liberated and organized into United States, being able to throw open their doors to all Europe, so strengthened themselves thereby as speedily to rise above every difficulty. But Hayti, having declared her independence, was compelled, for the security of her liberties, to close every door against the white man, and thus shut herself up with elements the most unfavorable to prosperity. This course was the result of an honest and praiseworthy resolution on the part of Hayti to maintain her liberties, and to perish rather than again be enslaved. This is very significant of the manner in which she was regarded by the surrounding West India Islands. They seemed to consider her a nation of unheard-of monsters, for the simple reason that, having tasted the sweets of liberty, which had been honorably given her, she would not again submit to the lash and degradation of slavery.

Hayti, therefore, has not only won her liberties against fearful odds, but she has bravely kept them, unaided and unprotected by any other power, and a general improvement has been going on ever since her independence. Whether that progress has been entirely satisfactory, either to Hayti itself or to others, is not so much the question at present, as whether it has been sufficiently so to prove that freedom there has been and still is unquestionably superior to slavery, both in its bearing upon Hayti itself and upon the general commerce of the world.

But with some the almost astounding exports of the slave colony of St. Domingo, as compared with those of free Hayti, afford ample evidence of the utter failure of freedom in that island. It is indeed true that in 1801 nearly nineteen million pounds of sugar, and nearly forty-four million pounds of coffee, besides cotton, indigo, and mahogany, were exported from St. Domingo under the then reigning system; and it is equally true that sugar has entirely ceased to be an article of export. But whether Hayti is really ruined on that account, or whether the general interests of commerce have suffered by freedom in Hayti, is altogether a different question. That there was high prosperity in St. Domingo under slavery is beyond all doubt; hence the splendid mansions, the glaring equipages, the luxury, ease, and wealth, with thousands of slaves to pamper, feed, and fan; and in fact all this was the bliss which constituted St. Domingo the "Paradise of Frenchmen!" So also in France, but a few years before the last named date, greater wealth, grandeur, or more intense refinement was scarcely ever heard of than was enjoyed by those who then rode on the high horses of nobility in the palmy days of the far-famed French aristocracy; but as this pompous prosperity was confined to a few in a nation of nearly thirty millions, and although now long swept away as with the besom of destruction, yet it cannot be said that France is on that account ruined. The hundreds whose prosperity related principally to themselves have with their system disappeared; but the millions whose prosperity relates both to themselves and the world at large remain, and are developing their energies with a continually increasing power. The case of Hayti, however, is yet far more striking. Let it then be granted that immense wealth and prosperity did exist in St. Domingo as a slave colony; but let the question be answered, Whose was it? Was it not all the wealth of the white man, the noble, the aristocrat of St. Domingo? Not only was the gold and silver his, but the very bodies and souls of his fellow-men were his; their energies, capacities, and their sinews were solely and exclusively his; they were neither for themselves, nor were they used for the general interests of the world. Well indeed might this handful of aristocrats boast of their wealth, and make the whole earth ring with their prosperity; and well too might they whine, and sob, and fill the world with their lamentations when every man in Hayti became his own master. Truly, in the estimation of those who thus ignominiously wept, freedom in Hayti is one of the grandest failures the world ever saw. But all this relates to the white man, who, as we have clearly shown, brought his ruin upon himself. Supposing the whole of France to be ruined, will it really and necessarily follow that Hayti, who is independent of her, is involved in the same misfortune? The question is not whether certain white French colonists, who once ruled in St. Domingo, are now ruined, but whether the mass of the black citizens of independent Hayti are in all respects better, and whether they possess a better trade and commerce with the world, now that they are free, than when they were slaves? One great part of the wealth of St. Domingo as a slave colony was the black man himself; and it has yet to be proved that, having become free, he has consequently become inferior. To answer this question affirmatively would go far to show that freedom anywhere is simply a misfortune, and that the true progress of humanity can only be judged of in proportion as men are wise enough to become slaves. This, however, has not been the reigning idea of Hayti, and most assuredly is not that of Italy at the present time. The ruin, then, of the few white lords who once ruled Hayti, and whose power and glory derived their luster simply from the degradation, darkness, and wretchedness then around them, does not involve that of the tens of thousands who are now free in the same land. The Haytien people, now as free citizens, are living under governors of their own color and choosing, and honoring, by an honest loyalty and sound sense, laws of their own making, while at the same time the whole frame-work of well-planned and well-organized institutions is daily gaining strength by the diffusion of education and Christian principle. To reason that slavery, which unmans both the master and his victim, is in any conceivable sense desirable, would not only be an outrage on every Haytien conviction, but would be utterly at variance with the facts in the case. In fact there is something noble in the thought that Hayti, with her free homes, her present onward movement, and her future prospects, is now possessed, worked, and ruled by men whose souls and character are such as to prefer infipitely to perish than to be slaves! Truly, freedom in Hayti has been no failure to the black man, nor has it been otherwise than a decided gain to the general interests of the world.

But if Hayti with her present scanty population, and the innumerable difficulties which still operate within herself, as the baneful effects of former unhappy times and circumstances of which she was the victim, has already benefited herself and others by her commerce and general improvement, what might not have been expected from her had the numerical strength of her population reached the seven or eight millions which that splendid island could easily support? These she may one day possess, when by her further advance in civilization and prosperity, morally as well as intellectually and commercially, she shall become the center of attraction to the still suffering descendants of Africa in the United States and other parts of the world. Hope looks forward to the event with joy, for it must be supposed that ultimately thousands of the colored race of America, who, though free, are in many ways oppressed, will feel their souls swell beyond their present limits, and, like their Haytien brethren, find it impossible to live but in a free element, where man of whatsoever hue is fully man.

Freedom in Hayti, therefore, cannot be shown to be a failure. On the contrary, the proofs that liberty is the only true element of human beings of every color are very apparent in this "Queen of the Antilles," not only from what has been there realized in the past, but from the promises of the future under its present well-meaning government. This will be still more evident when pure and genuine Christianity, with its life and power, shall be brought to bear upon the nation at large, and shall have diffused its elevating principles through all the ramifications of society. Much, indeed, remains yet to be done in Hayti, as might naturally be expected in a people of such an origin, and for whom the Christian Church anywhere has cared so little. The poison of Voltaire and his school has spread its ruinous influence through the better classes of society, and has thus in many cases thrown the reins upon the neck of vice, while the degrading vices of African superstitions have long been at work among the uneducated masses of the people. Image worship, too, in the name of Christianity, has had its lowering effect upon the nation, and the more elevating principles of uncorrupted truth have been buried under the rubbish and smoke of incense, beads, and relics; but the way to better things and better days, it may be hoped, is now thrown open. Religious freedom reigns, at least for the present; and it cannot for a moment be doubted that the whole soul of the noble-minded Geffrard, now at the head of the nation as president, is full bent on doing his utmost to prove more fully than ever to the world that freedom in Hayti is not a failure!

ART. III.—THE CHRIST OF HISTORY.

The Christ of History. An Argument grounded in the Facts of his Life on Earth. By JOHN YOUNG, M.A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857.

AMONG the multitudes of books that, plenteous as autumn leaves, have fallen from the teeming press during the last decade, we have met with but few which we have perused with more of unmixed pleasure and profit than the one named above; and yet it seems practically to have fallen stillborn from the American press. And it is with the hope of attracting to it some portion at least of the attention which it so richly merits, that we have at this late day taken up our pen. Its title, though aptly chosen, fails to develop to the casual reader the depth and richness of the vein of thought contained within its pages. In it we have, in fact, a new phase of the Battle of the Evidences—an argument accommodated afresh to the ever-shifting quicksands of infidelity. Human progress is never continuous nor in right lines, and can only be fitly symbolized by the movements of a ship when compelled to shape her course in the face of adverse winds, tacking alternately to the right hand and to the left, thus approximating slowly but surely to the desired haven. This law of progress has been strikingly manifest in the changing aspects of the contest which Christianity has been waging with unbelief and sin for nearly nineteen hundred years. In the outset of Christ's personal ministry on earth he addressed audiences who were fully prepared to accept, nay more, in fact, did accept, not only the grand central truths of the divine existence and providence, but who were accustomed also to credit the reality of divine revelations and supernatural interpositions in human affairs—who required, therefore, neither a demonstration of the existence of God, nor proof of his power or willingness to intervene in the affairs of men. On the contrary, they asked only at the hand of him who claimed to be the ambassador of Jehovah that he should present authentic credentials, fully attesting the divinity of his mission. Accordingly we find in the New Testament that the Jews persistently demanded of Christ that he should give them a sign from heaven. The battle of the evidences, therefore, in that age was limited to the single issue: Was the mission of Christ attested by such supernatural signs as demonstrated, in fact, that he possessed superhuman power? The unbelieving scribes and Pharisees did not discredit the possibility of such a divine messenger as Christ claimed to be; they only doubted, or professed to doubt, whether in fact he had sufficiently vindicated his title to such honors. The same, or at least a similar state of facts existed with reference to the ministry of the apostles. Their hearers in general did not question the existence of God, (or of gods,) nor yet the power of God to intervene in the affairs of men; these they were fully prepared to concede; they only demanded, in fact, supernatural evidence that Christ and his apostles were what they claimed to be. And this proof accordingly was furnished to them to the fullest extent. Thus, when John the Baptist sent messengers to Christ saying, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" the answer was, "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Hence also it was that the apostles were commanded to tarry at Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high; that is, with not only the gift of the Holy Ghost as a source of personal illumination, but also of preternatural power. Under such a dispensation Christianity spread rapidly throughout the various provinces of the Roman empire, and soon, with the necessity for them, miracles themselves passed away, and thenceforth it was left to human instrumentalities, backed and energized by the silent yet resistless influences of the Holy Spirit, to sustain and propagate the Gospel. From the era of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, through the long night of the dark ages, until the days of Luther, when mind awoke to a sense of conscious freedom and individual responsibility, men paid but little attention to either the real or the formal evidences of Christianity. But the same spirit of inquiry which led Luther to first scrutinize and then reject the claims of the Romish Church, led other more daring spirits to question the divine authority, not only of Rome, but of Christianity itself. In other words, the spirit of the age culminated in a revolt against the principle of a blind, unreasoning submission to authority, albeit that authority claimed to be of divine origin. This reaction, though excessive, was inevitable, and in its final results healthful, since it led to an intelligent re-examination of the foundations of Christian faith, and thus subserved the cause it was blindly seeking to destroy. The individual conscience, stimulated by contact with the philosophies of Descartes and Bacon to an assertion of its native dignity and authority, propounded to the dominant Christianity of that day the same question which the chief priests and elders of the people had propounded to Christ, namely: "By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?" But to humanity this inquiry has a deeper and a higher significance than that given to it by the captious Jews; it sprung from the conscious awakening of mind to some just sense of its own transcendent dignity and importance. On the one hand, Descartes had propounded the fundamental postulate of all modern philosophy, namely, that all speculative thought must begin with an examination of the facts of human consciousness; or, in other words, he had affirmed that psychology is at once the alphabet and touchstone of all valid thought; while Bacon, on the other, had proclaimed with equal clearness and directness that all valid knowledge must rest upon a basis of observed facts—that facts are, in truth, the integers of thought, without which its processes are invalid and fruitless. The one pointed man practically to the inward and the spiritual, as to the true source of illumination; the other directed him to the outward, the material, the physical. Hence originated two diverse movements essentially complementary to each other. The one, traversing the path of a profound but one-sided spiritualism, culminated in the hands of Malebranche, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel; in an idealistic pantheism whose legitimate corollary is the modern rationalism of Germany, whose fundamental postulate affirms man to be at once the absolute unit, and absolute measure of all existence, real and possible; thus necessitating a skepticism which denies to revelation all verity or credibility whensoever it transcends the limits of human consciousness or human power. Strauss's "Life of Jesus," therefore, was but an inevitable logical result of the philosophical principles which its author had embraced. The other movement, in the hands of Locke, Condillac, and their followers, resulted, in England, in the skepticism of Hume, which denied the credibility of miracles, and consequently of all revelation, either as predicated upon, or as necessarily involving the conception of supernatural interference with the ordinary course of nature. In France it issued in a skepticism yet more radical, which not only denied the credibility and reality of revelation, but ignored at the same time the immateriality and immortality of the soul, and the existence of God; in a word, it ultimated in an absolute atheism, whose highest word of hope to its mad votaries is, "Death is an eternal sleep."

Each new movement of skepticism necessitated a corresponding change of front on the part of the champions of the faith. The question at this period was not, as in the days of Christ, whether the divine mission of its author was sufficiently attested by supernatural manifestations of divine power, but whether such manifestations were either possible or credible? One school of unbelievers boldly denied the possibility of miracles abstractly considered; the other asserted, with equal assurance, the dictum that the value of miracles as an attestation of the truth of a divine revelation (were their possibility for the time being conceded) must be reduced to zero, since no amount of human testimony can be deemed sufficient to justify the belief that the laws of nature have ever been, for a single instant, either suspended or reversed. Upon these issues the battle was fought and won, and for a time it seemed that infidelity had finally abandoned the field; but with new modifications in the domain of metaphysical thought new issues have arisen. The influx of the high idealistic philosophy of Germany has developed in the Anglo-Saxon mind, at once, *a new want* and *a new theory*. Heretofore, in accordance with the more obvious tendencies of the Baconian philosophy as interpreted by Locke, men have chiefly insisted upon the necessity of outward material proofs of the authenticity and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; but now, under the influence of a more spiritual philosophy, they regard the outward less, and insist more earnestly and persistently upon the necessity of internal evidence; "that holy men of old (indeed) spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," affirming, and we must think not without reason, that if God has indeed spoken to man in the pages of revelation, that his words should not only be attested by satisfactory external proofs of their genuineness and authenticity, but that they should carry with them also such internal evidences of their divine origin as would appeal with no doubtful or uncertain voice to the consciousness of the honest and earnest seeker after truth. And it is a remarkable fact, which should not be overlooked in this connection, that more unbelievers are converted to the faith of Christianity by direct appeals to the inner consciousness, based upon the simple but sublime truths of the Scriptures, than by all the labored treatises of all the learned apologists of Christianity from the days of Justin Martyr until now. Nor should we deem this to be a strange fact; the same God that created man originated this revelation, and adapted it at all points to the structure of human thought. When, therefore, under the influence of God's all-pervading spirit, this divine Word is brought in contact with the heart and conscience of fallen man, they cannot choose but vibrate at its touch, albeit the smitten chords may return only discordant notes where harmony alone should be heard.

In the work before us we have a singularly able and original attempt to meet this want of the age by pointing out and developing to the consciousness of the earnest inquirer certain pregnant facts in the life of Christ Jesus which indicate, not obscurely, that in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. In the structure of his argument he assumes only the general historic accuracy of the biographical books of the New Testament; according to them only the same measure and kind of credence that we accord to other ancient records, excluding for the time, rigorously, all that is miraculous, as lying without the proposed range of thought. It is obvious that skeptics must, as in fact the majority of them do, concede thus much to the believer in Christ. No issue can be taken at this point save at the cost of encountering more insuperable difficulties than any which could result from such admissions. The antiquity of the records themselves cannot be denied, other than by an absolute denial of the authenticity of all cotemporaneous history whatever. One of two alternatives therefore is inevitable: either Jesus Christ was a real personage, and lived and acted at or near the era indicated by his biographers, or otherwise they have conspired together to give form and life to an idea which never had an outward realization. No third supposition is possible, and there is no room for rational hesitation between the two. The difficulties involved in the latter hypothesis are absolutely insurmountable. If such a character never existed, it is simply incredible that such an ideal could have originated in that country, in that age, and in the minds of such men as the evangelists confessedly were in respect to natural endowments, culture, and social rank. So little, indeed, were they capable of originating such a conception, that no fact is more apparent on the face of the several narratives than that they were utterly incapable of comprehending the life which they have so circumstantially described. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable, that the Gospels contain a real history, or at least the history of a real life, however imperfectly its facts may have been apprehended by those who observed them. Assuming therefore only the substantial accuracy of the Gospel history, that in a broad, general sense, the life of Christ is faithfully represented, our author proposes to forego, not only the rich inheritance of evidences and arguments in favor of the genuineness, authenticity, and truth of the Christian records, bequeathed us by the past, but with them also to waive for the time all arguments that might be drawn from the inspiration of the Scriptures, and to seek for the proof of Christ's *Godhead* in his unique *manhood*, as it appealed to the senses and the reason of the men of his own times. In a word, addressing himself to the skeptic and the unbeliever, he says: "Behold the man, he shall indicate and demonstrate union with absolute Godhead. *Such humanity as His* is utterly inexplicable, except on the ground of true divinity."

This is a bold, nay more, a startling proposition, and suggests at once the inquiry: May we indeed as Christians safely abandon the bulwarks and strongholds of Zion, come forth from the shelter of her impregnable walls and golden gates, forsake the vantage ground of the lofty heights of the mountains which are round about Jerusalem, and meet the armies of the alien on the open plain, only inscribing on our banners the name of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, trusting that "*in hoc signo*" we shall conquer? This is indeed a chivalric proposal; if Christianity may triumph here, it surely has naught to fear elsewhere. But startling as is the proposition, right nobly, as the sequel will show, does our author defend and maintain the gage of battle which he has thus fearlessly cast at the feet of the unbeliever and the atheist.

His argument comprehends three general topics, namely:

I. A consideration of the outer conditions of the life of Christ.

II. An examination of the work of Christ among men. And,

III. An inquiry into the spiritual individuality of Christ.

Or in other words, he proposes to consider Christ in the light of his human origin, his early education and temporal position, his labors, including his own conception of their character and significance, the commencement and marked character of his public ministry, his teachings, his unity with God, his personal consciousness, the perfection of his nature and character, the motive of his life, his faith in God, in truth, and in the ultimate success of his missions, etc. We need not say that in this brief outline we are introduced to a broad and fruitful field for earnest thought and profitable investigation. Yet comprehensive as it is in outline, our author has condensed his lucid argument into the moderate compass of 260 pages 12mo. Be it ours on the present occasion to follow him in this new and hitherto untried pathway, that haply we may find in this novel view of the life of the Man of Sorrows a new avenue through which the heavenly light and love that ever radiate from his spotless life may fall upon our minds and hearts.

If, then, we ignore for the time the miracles of Christ, and scrutinize his life and character in their relations to the age in which he lived and to the circumstances by which he was surrounded, we shall meet with much that is in the highest degree strange and mysterious, which must be rationally accounted for by any system of faith or unbelief which undertakes to explain the philosophy of his life and wonderful influence upon the world. Nor is it of the slightest use for the skeptic to deny the historic facts of this life, for he must still, in order to vindicate his skepticism, account for the influences flowing from it that yet vibrate through all the pulses of humanity, and reproduce themselves in a myriad varied forms, moulding and controlling the manners, customs, and destinies of nations eighteen hundred years after their author had perished as a malefactor on a Roman cross. Nay more, we must add, in order to be true to facts, that this movement, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, is not only acting with undiminished power, but that it is in fact moving if possible with accelerated velocity, and challenges for itself nothing less than universal empire. Nor can its triumphs be justly ascribed to the ignorance, the cupidity, the passions, or the prejudices of the multitudes it has arrayed under its all-conquering banners. Its trophies of ransomed souls have been won alike in the palace of the king and on the dunghill of the beggar; in the halls of science and in the cottage of the unlettered peasant; among the learned and skeptical Grecians, the proud and haughty Romans, the rude Goths, the fierce Vandals, and the savage Huns. And now it claims its myriad votaries alike from the energetic, practical, all-conquering Anglo-Saxons, the acute and polished Frenchmen, the profound and plodding Germans, the quick-witted Italians, and the grave and dignified Spaniards. Wherever mind has achieved its loftiest efforts and won its proudest laurels, there this all-conquering faith has waved in triumph its strange banner of the cross, emblem *once* of all that was degrading, vile, and criminal; emblem *now* of all the purest and loftiest feelings and aspirations that thrill the mighty heart of humanity. Whence then, we ask, came this wondrous system? What is the secret of its power? Is it a priceless legacy that has come down to us from the darkness of a period anterior to all authentic history? Or is it a result of the combined wisdom, intelligence, and piety of some chosen band of earth's most gifted sons, who have consecrated their lives to the development of this unique system? Or yet again is it the crystallized result of the accretion of ages to some splendid, prophetic conception of some transcendent genius, whose giant mind has grasped, in the unity of its thought, all the elements of spiritual light, which else had remained scattered and powerless in the bosom of humanity? Will any one, or all of these hypotheses combined, unfold to us the secret of the triumphs of the cross? No! Its origin dates not back to the oblivion of ages without a history. It is no slow stalagmitic formation accumulating, drop by drop, mass, energy, and power. It came not from the combined wisdom of a chosen circle of earth's most gifted sons; but, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, it sprang forth, perfect and full armed, from the head, the heart, the life of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. From what lineage then did he spring? At the feet of what Gamaliel did he sit? From what fountain of learning and science drank he in the inspiration of that wisdom whence went forth this wondrous stream of life and power, blessing and to bless, "until the wilderness and the solitary place is glad for them, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose?" Hark! the answer. It tells us of a lowly lineage, of a carpenter's son, of a cradle in a manger, of an unlettered boyhood, of a laborious youth, of a brief manhood of labor, of an untimely and dishonored death, in whose sad hours even his own chosen people cried out against him, saying, "Away with him; crucify him!" And yet we are told that to this carpenter's son, this unlettered Galilean, this condemned felon, we must look for not merely the inception, but also for the perfection of a system at whose approach empires have faded away as the dew-drop fades before the glance of the rising sun. Surely, surely, never was there miracle like to this miracle, if Jesus of Nazareth were, as unbelievers and skeptics affirm, nothing more than man.

It is too obvious almost for argument that there was nought in the outer circumstances of the life of Christ which will in the slightest degree aid us in an attempt to solve this enigma. There is in the record, if we exclude the miraculous element, absolutely nothing to cast one single gleam of light upon the mystery. His life stands out on the page of history as a unique exception to the laws governing the development of human greatness. It not only does not harmonize with any one, or all of its antecedents and outward circumstances, but it actually contradicts them all. It is true that his virgin mother entertained from the beginning exalted conceptions of the character and future life of her son, which doubtless exerted some influence upon his mental and moral development; but this influence, however deep and permanent it may have been, must be deemed totally inadequate to account for the phenomena in question. Aside from this, in the scanty records of his boyhood, youth, and early manhood, up to the age of thirty years, but one single incident is recorded that even dimly foreshadows his future life as one likely in any way to deviate from the ordinary course, and this, the conversation with the doctors of the law in the temple, was not peculiar to himself, since a similar circumstance seems to have occurred in the life of Josephus, the Jewish historian, whose subsequent career was wholly unlike to that of Jesus of Nazareth. In any aspect, then, in which it is possible to view the outer circumstances of the life of Christ, whether we consider his poverty, his nameless lineage, his want of scholastic training, the almost utter obscurity of his early life, buried as it was in the shop of the humble carpenter in the despised city of Nazareth, there is an utter absence of all the circumstances which would, humanly speaking, seem to be indispensable to the development of such a character as he manifested to the world during his brief public ministry. It is not strange, therefore, that the wondering Jews, who were familiar with these untoward facts, should have asked: "Whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works? Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence, then, hath this man all these things?"

Nor was the duration of his public ministry—three years—at all commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the results that have flowed from it. For thirty years he had lived and toiled in almost unbroken obscurity, unknown and unnoted by the busy world; for the brief space of three years he presented himself before the world in fulfillment of his strange mission, and then he died the death of a malefactor on the cross. On this point our author well says:

> He whom Christians recognize as the Redeemer of the world was only a youth. Whether his religion be regarded as a system

> of doctrines, or as a body of laws, or as a source of extraordinary influence, it is passing strange that he should have died in early life. His brief period of existence afforded no opportunity of maturing anything. In point of fact while he lived he *did* very little, in the common sense of *doing*. He originated no series of well-concerted plans, he neither contrived nor put in motion any extended machinery, he entered into no correspondence with parties in his own country and in other regions of the world, in order to spread his influence and obtain co-operation. Even the few who were his constant companions, and were warmly attached to his person, were not, in his lifetime, imbued with his sentiments, and were not prepared to take up his work in his spirit after he was gone. . . . He left behind him a few spoken truths, not a line or a word of writing, a certain spirit incarnated in his principles and breathed out from his life, and then he died.

Nor can the local circumstances by which he was surrounded, and the tendencies of the age in which he lived, be deemed less adverse than the elements of his early life already noted. His spirit, it need not be said, was truly cosmopolitan; overleaping in the outgushings of its philanthropic love the narrow confines of local or even national sympathies, it grasped in its all comprehending embrace the whole circle of sin-cursed humanity. Yet he sprung from the lineage of the Jews, from a race proverbial then, as now, for pride, intolerance, and haughty contempt of the nations by whom they were surrounded, and whom they were wont to dignify with the epithet of dogs. From a race that was in turn despised by all nations, insomuch that the very name "Jew" was, and is, a synonym of shame and reproach. But even in these depths there was a lower deep; disreputable as was Judea among nations, Galilee was sunken yet lower; and in Galilee, Nazareth, the city of his abode, enjoyed an infamous pre-eminence in ignorance and sin, until the question, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" seemed to have passed into a proverb. Yet in the bosom of this ignorant and degraded community Jesus spent the first thirty years of his life, and thence, unheralded and unknown, he went forth to proclaim the necessity of a life of purity and inward holiness such as it had never before entered into the mind of man to conceive. It were unpardonable for us at this point to fail to note the relation, or rather, we should say, the utter want of relation of these facts to the celebrated theory which would resolve the history of the life of Christ into a series of mythical fables, embodying the preconceived opinions of the age and the nation in which he lived. How absolutely futile such a theory is in the face of such facts our author has well shown in the following paragraph:

> With the utmost confidence we can defy contradiction when we assert that these principles are incapable of being applied to the facts named. . . . The outer conditions of the life of Christ were not only not in harmony with the Messianic ideas of the Jews at that time, or indeed at any time, but they were diametrically opposed to them. We make bold to maintain that they were the very last things which a Jew would ever have dreamed of connecting with the life of his Messiah. They are not Messianic; the most unscrupulous ingenuity cannot construe them into myths, or make them harmonize with national and traditional fancies. . . . Whatever be fable, these are certainly facts, and would have been eagerly concealed if they had not been received and undeniable facts; and these facts are all that are now demanded as the basis on which to found an argument for the true divinity of Christ.

Incongruous as were all the outer conditions of the life of Christ with either the hypothesis of his simple humanity, or of the mythical character of the records in question, the difficulties attending those theories are, if possible, increased in a hundred-fold ratio as we pass onward to a consideration of his work among men. The first striking fact here presented is that the unrivaled position which he gained among men was not the result of either *favorable* or *fortuitous* circumstances, but of the calm, premeditated determination of his own mind. Neither the feelings, the hopes, nor the wants of the age pressed upon or compelled him to assume such a position. His transition from the obscurity of private life to the station he occupied before the world was his own spontaneous, uninvited act. He came forth of his own accord, and boldly challenged for himself the highest place in the Jewish Theocracy, distinctly asserting his claim to the Messiahship with an earnestness and intensity of self-conviction that obviously moulded and controlled his whole life, and which found utterance in declarations like this: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world." Nor can this conviction be attributed to a wild freak of enthusiasm generated by the spirit of the age in the ardent but ill-balanced mind of a youthful devotee, and kindled to a sudden flame by the remarkable appearance and ministry of John the Baptist in the wilderness. Had Christ been, as such an hypothesis must necessarily assume, only an impersonation of the popular faith, which at that time was eagerly looking and longing for the long-expected advent of the promised Prince of the House of David, his conceptions of his own Messianic mission could have been nothing more than a reflection of the popular opinions of his day more or less modified by his own individual idiosyncrasies. But in fact the very reverse is true; in every essential particular his ideas of the character and office of the Messiah were diametrically opposed to those which prevailed among the Jewish people at that time, or in fact at any time. They looked for an earthly monarch and an earthly conqueror who should subdue all nations, and make them but as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the theocratic people. Jesus of Nazareth on the contrary distinctly proclaimed that his kingdom was not of this world, but that on the contrary it was purely internal and spiritual. On this point our author well says:

> The Messiah, in the belief of the Jewish nation, was not only to be a monarch, but emphatically a *Jewish* monarch; and the very suggestion that the Gentiles in the kingdom of the Messiah should enjoy equal privileges with themselves filled them with rage and madness. Whence then originated this pure and lofty faith, which overleaped alike the prejudices and the passions of family pride and national influence, and looking upon the downcast, the degraded Pariahs of all lands, said, "Behold my neighbor;" upon all who in sincerity worshiped the one true and living God, said, "Behold my mother and my brethren?" Whence then, we ask again, originated such a conception of the Messiah in the breast of a man born, educated, and developed under such circumstances as those that surrounded the humble carpenter of Nazareth?

This question the skeptic and the unbeliever must answer. But how shall it be answered? We seek in vain for even a possible suggestion, which, like the steel from the smitten flint, might have struck fire from his lofty native intellect. In vain do we search through the streets, the synagogues, the schools, and the social circles of the ignorant and wicked city of Nazareth. In vain do we turn to the home of his childhood, and to his virgin mother; for however gifted she may have been by nature, she was after all a Jewess, and shared in all the prejudices and prepassions of her people, as the unbelief of his brethren James and Joses, Simon and Judas, but too clearly indicates. Not less fruitless will be our quest if we turn to the dogmas of the learned schools of Grecian or Oriental philosophy, were the hypothesis even admissible, which it clearly is not, that in some perfectly inscrutable way he had acquainted himself with their doctrines. Fitly, therefore, does our author press the question at this point:

> Was Jesus then, essentially, nothing more than he seemed to be? Was all this possible in the circumstances to a mere man? Above all, was it possible to such a man as we have found Jesus outwardly was?

But the argument gathers new energy and power when it is conjoined to a consideration of his public ministry. This was remarkable on account of the boldness, the directness, and the power with which he exposed and rebuked the corruptions, the crimes, and the hypocrisy of the age and of the people to whom he ministered. In his denunciations of sin he spared no class or condition of men; but it was chiefly when he came in contact with the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, of the rulers and elders of the people, that he dealt most sternly with sin, laying bare to the world its hideous deformity and damning pollution. His warning, alike to the hypocritical scribe, the self-righteous Pharisee, the avaricious publican, and the hardened sinner, was, "Except *ye* repent ye shall all likewise perish."

But not content with tearing the mask from the face of formality and hypocrisy, nor with exposing the hollowness and corruptions of the prevailing modes of worship, he sought to inculcate the principles of a purer and a higher culture, of a morality based not upon outward forms, but upon the inner life; declaring that love, and love alone, is the fulfilling of the law. Witness the strong antithesis he draws between the *old* and the *new*, saying: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." But it may be asked, and the question is pertinent, Had he no share in those sins which he so sternly rebuked? Did his reproving voice find no echo in the silence of his own inner nature, saying to him, as Nathan said to David, "Thou art the man?" Had he no part in that universal corruption which was permeating and destroying all the sources of spiritual life both in the individual and the nation? Was there none, priest or Levite, scribe or Pharisee, Sadducee or Herodian, to bear back to his own lips the bitter chalice of severe rebuke which he forced upon them? Was there none to take up the bold challenge so defiantly uttered in the presence of his bitterest enemies: "Which of you convinceth *me* of sin?" And the answer is, None! The men of that age by their silence, and of all succeeding ages by their words, have echoed back, None! To-day, as in the days of his incarnation, he stands unimpeached and unimpeachable.

The first fact that must attract the attention of even the casual observer is the striking originality, nay, even novelty, of the views which he entertained and announced to the world. Especially is this true of the one great central idea which underlies the whole of his teachings, namely, that of the establishment of a new spiritual kingdom among men, called indifferently, kingdom of God, kingdom of heaven, my kingdom, etc.; destined to subject to its sway all other kingdoms, and to embrace within itself the whole human family, whether Jew or Gentile, bond or free, Grecian, barbarian, or Scythian; uniting them together in the bonds of a pure and elevated spiritual life; whose controlling principle should be supreme love to God and universal love toward mankind. In this unrivaled conception, it must be remembered, Jesus of Nazareth has neither rival nor partner; prior to him no mind had ever risen to the conception, of such lofty views of human destiny; nor in following ages can it anywhere be found, save in those lands where the Gospels have shed their hallowing light. Nor was this idea a dim and shadowy phantasm, vaguely apprehended; on the contrary, it was a clear and luminous conception, which irradiates the gloom and darkness of human history and human destiny. It includes within itself three grand leading doctrines which Christ first clearly announced to the sons of men, namely: 1. That of the existence, spirituality, accountability, and immortality of the human soul; 2. The unity, spirituality, and moral perfection of God; and, 3. The possibility of a reconciliation between the fallen, sin-debased soul and God. This reconciliation he deemed to be his own peculiar work, and the final cause of his mission upon earth. Upon these doctrines it is unnecessary for us to dilate here; they are so well known to us, so familiar, and so clear, that we can scarcely realize the fact that the world could ever have been ignorant of them, or that they should all have come, in the first instance, from the mind and heart of a single individual. Let them then be compared, in order that we may appreciate their originality and value, with any of the rival systems which have contested with them the supremacy of the world of mind, and their infinite superiority at once becomes manifest. Mohammedanism, as a system, is unquestionably immensely superior to any and all forms of Polytheism; yet aside from the patent facts—first, that all its better aspects are borrowed from Judaism and Christianity; and second, that it is cumbered with almost numberless follies and absurdities—it is found to be at variance in many parts with well-established facts of science, and in many others with just moral sentiments; and will not, in any aspect, bear comparison with Christianity. Brahminism and Buddhism, with their idolatry, Pantheism, and moral abominations cannot enter into the comparison at all; nor can the claim set up by the Jews, that all that is really valuable in the Gospels was borrowed from the Talmud, be, for a single instant, admitted. For themselves being judges, the Talmud is far inferior to the Old Testament; and if Christ's doctrines be not, as they clearly are not, borrowed from the law and the prophets, the whole charge must fall to the ground. But on this point let us hear our author:

> In vain (says he) do we look in the Old Testament for the radiant and overflowing benignity of the New; in vain for the universality, simplicity, and freedom that distinguishes the New. The doctrine of the reign of God in the minds and hearts of *all* men is not found there; nor the uniform assertion of the pure spirituality of worship, and of the purely spiritual nature of the great object of worship; nor the human revelation of the soul in its reality, greatness, accountability, and endless life; or of that attribute of the divine nature, paternity, which most of all endears God to man. These belong peculiarly to the teachings of Jesus; and they exalt it immeasurably above not only Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, but even the divine oracles of an earlier age.

Nor is this superiority of the untaught Galilean carpenter less manifest when his teachings are compared with the loftiest efforts of the Grecian philosophy. Passing by all inferior systems as unworthy of notice, how cold, tame, and lifeless are the highest conceptions of Zeno, Socrates, and Plato, when compared with the simple but sublime words of Jesus of Nazareth. Nor is the difference in manner between him and other distinguished teachers less remarkable than the difference in the results reached. Christ is the only teacher known to man who never hesitated, never doubted, never erred. Those conflicts between doubt and faith, which so constantly agitate other minds, he never knew; truths which others reached as the result of long and difficult trains of thought, were to him as facile as the most obvious axioms of every-day life. His knowledge seemed to be intuitive rather than deductive, as if truth was native to his soul, the normal resultant of his intelligence. And if we analyze the sum total of spiritual truth now possessed by the human race, we shall find, on the one hand, that no single element is wanting in the words of Christ; and on the other, that the most important of them can be found nowhere else; fully justifying the prophetic declaration of John the Baptist: "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Who then, we ask, was Jesus of Nazareth? His work among men, and the outer conditions of his life, must be capable of being harmonized with each other, for they were combined in fact. Skepticism is baseless and useless here. There stands the record; its antiquity and general authenticity *are not*, and *cannot now* be denied. There stand its teachings; if they came not from the mind of Jesus, whence did they originate? It is incredible that the evangelists could have originated them. There must have been some profound mystery connected with this unique personality contradistinguishing him from all other men, and offering an adequate basis for the explanation of these enigmas. It is not for us to attempt to fix limits to God's power or prerogative of selecting or inspiring seers or prophets whom he may commission to proclaim his will to man. But whatever else Jesus of Nazareth was, or was not, he was no prophet after the order of Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel. For when we contrast his words with theirs, even in their loftiest flights of prophetic inspiration, when the spirit of God had overwhelmed their personality, and they had become but the unconscious mouthpieces of Jehovah, we are still constrained to cry out with the men of old: "Surely never man spake like this man." Who and what then, again we ask, was He? Let our author answer:

> Jesus cannot have been merely human, and in all respects constituted as other human minds are. *In sober reason there is no choice left us but to believe in an organic, an essential, a constitutional difference between him and all men; in other words, in an incarnation in this unparalleled instance of divinity in humanity.* . . . The idea of incarnation in all its meaning is, indeed, incomprehensible; but we can very distinctly comprehend that it must be true nevertheless, because otherwise facts, of which we have the fullest evidence, are absolutely unbelievable.

Here it would seem that the argument might be safely rested; but there remains one other point of access to this remarkable and mysterious personage, to a consideration of which our author still beckons us onward; namely, to an examination of the personal consciousness of Jesus so far forth as it is possible to bring it within the scope of our observation. And for this purpose it will be found that the Gospels furnish unexpected facilities. In the outset we can but remark, his entire *unity* or *oneness* with God—*perfect*, *entire*, and *unbroken*—times, places, and circumstances, were powerless to sever this bond. Alike in public and in private, in the temple and in the market-place, in the domestic circle and on the lonely mountain-top, the words oftenest on his lips were, "The Father," "My Father," "God," "My God." And to the depth and reality of this conscious unity we have his own direct and positive testimony in words like these: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." "I and my Father are one." "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; how sayest thou then, show us the Father?" Once only, and that in the dark hour of his terrible agony upon the cross, does this unity with God seem to have been broken, and then it wrung from him a wail of sorrow such as all his previous sufferings had failed to call forth.

Closely connected with this peculiar sense of conscious unity with God, which no inspired prophet or seer ever possessed, was an ever-present conviction of the unique individuality, and the solitary grandeur of his mission, finding expression in declarations like these: "I am the light of the world;" "I am the resurrection and the life;" "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." Nor does he rest even with words like these, but in a still more mysterious strain, if indeed he be but man, he continues: "The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sin." And again: "The hour is coming in the which the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they which hear shall live." Nor was this lofty consciousness of personal dignity and superhuman power shaken, even for a single moment, by the pressure of the most adverse circumstances. Thus, in view of his approaching passion, he could cry: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me;" and in Pilate's judgment-hall he could still say, with calm confidence in the final triumph of his mission: "For this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world." Even when hanging upon the cross, with death staring him in the face, in that hour when, if ever, consciousness is true to itself, he could still say, with the lofty calmness of an unshaken faith, to the penitent thief at his side: "This night shalt thou be with me in Paradise." If Christ were but a man, whence originated this superhuman consciousness? Was it self-delusion or wild enthusiasm? No! It came from neither the one nor the other; Jesus of Nazareth was no self-deluded fanatic or crazed madman. Was it, then, the result of hypocrisy, or of the wily schemes of an ungovernable ambition? Yet again the answer must be, No! He ever persistently refused earthly honors, wealth, and power; deliberately eluding the multitudes when they would have seized him by force to make him king. Will it then be said that it originated in mistake—that he misconceived the voice of his own consciousness? Was he, then, also mistaken when he gave utterance to the most momentous truths known to man; truths, as we have seen, that can be found nowhere else? This is incredible. However else we may account for this mysterious consciousness of divine power, we may not ascribe it to mistake. But why dwell upon suppositions like these; they are at war with the whole tenor of his life. No deluded fanatic, wild enthusiast, or mistaken dreamer could have passed thirty years of toilsome life in unbroken obscurity at Nazareth, and then have come forth, suddenly, unheralded, and uninvited, for three years to endure the contradictions of sinners, in a public ministry like to that of Christ, and yet never have yielded, in a single instance, to the infirmities, not to say the sins, incident to human nature. Nor could an ambitious hierophant or schem-ing hypocrite have so vailed his true character, that neither friend nor enemy, his own nor succeeding ages, should have been able to tear off the mask and unvail the hidden deformity. Yet to-day the challenge, "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" which he so fearlessly threw at the feet of his bitterest enemies, remains unanswered.

Nor was the motive of his life less pure and unselfish than we have seen his life itself to be. It was not merely negatively good; on the contrary, he devoted himself to the work of blessing mankind with a degree of self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice unparalleled in the history of mankind. He loved man, as man, with a love surpassing that which the tenderest father feels for an only son. Nor was this love an evanescent passion; it obviously moulded and controlled his whole life. Moved by it, he toiled, he suffered, nay, he died, for his mission was dearer far to him than life itself; *that* he could cheerfully surrender; but the redemption of man he would not forego. Nor should it be forgotten in this connection, that he distinctly foresaw and foretold the calamities that should befall him. From the very outset of his ministry, the shadows of Calvary's rugged cross fell upon his pathway. "From that time forth," says the evangelist, "begun Jesus to show his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and raised again the third day." Yet his faith faltered not. His friends might turn away from him; his chosen disciples might betray, forsake, and deny him, even with oaths and curses; but with all these things pressing upon him, no shadow of doubt as to the ultimate success of his mission ever intruded itself upon his mind for a single instant. Under the very shadow of the cross itself he could say: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." Such was his assurance of a final triumph; and it is only now, after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, that *we* are beginning to be able to appreciate that which he so clearly foretold, namely, the certain and final triumph of his kingdom. What, then, is the conclusion that must be drawn from these circulated facts? It can be none other than this: *he was*, as he claimed to be, *divine*.

ART. IV.—CLASS-MEETINGS.

Treatise on Class-Meetings. By Rev. JOHN MILEY, D.D. With an Introduction by BISHOP MORRIS. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe.

The Class-Leaders' Manual; or, an Essay on the Duties, Qualifications, Motives, and Encouragements of Class-Leaders. To which is prefixed an Introductory Chapter on the History and Scriptural Basis of Class-Meetings. By Rev. CHARLES C. KEYS. New York: Carlton & Porter.

Publications of the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Class-Meetings, and attendance thereupon.

MANY are the peculiarities of Methodism. Its ecclesiastical system has no parallel among sister Churches. Its itinerancy is a unique institution. Its financial arrangements are probably more efficient than those of any other denomination. Its terms of membership, both as regards entrance and continuance, differ in some important particulars from those of any other religious body. The condition of entrance is simple, and its simplicity is its glory. The only qualification demanded, as a *prerequisite* of admission, is that the applicant shall feel "a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from his sins." Following admission to membership on this eminently scriptural condition, is the obligation to "bring forth fruits" corresponding with this desire. These fruits are enumerated by Mr. Wesley in his "General Rules," which have been adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The catalogue is comprehensive and startling—almost appalling; yet the founder of Methodism insisted upon the bearing of these fruits as the condition of continuance in the fellowship of the Methodist societies, emphatically declaring of the General Rules: "If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be known to those who watch over that soul as they who must give account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways. We will bear with him for a season. But if then he repent not, *he hath no more place among us.* We have delivered our own souls." If from that time to this the Methodist Church had strictly enforced that declaration, it would have exhibited another and yet more glorious peculiarity. It would now have been a purer Church than the world has seen since the time of Christ and his apostles.

Probably no institution of Methodism has provoked more criticism than the CLASS-MEETING. It has had its assailants even within the pale of the Church; while from other denominations, and from the world, the attacks upon it have been numerous, vigorous, and persistent. But it has been defended with ability and success by writers of our own denomination, and by great and good men in other Churches. Dr. Miley's "Treatise on Class-Meetings" appeared some ten years ago, and placed the whole question of the essentially scriptural nature of the institution, and the duty of Methodists to use it as a means of grace, upon an impregnable basis. Indeed, we are not aware that any respectable attempt has been made to answer its arguments. We do not see how any pious man or woman, earnestly and honestly inquiring after the truth, can resist the force of the reasoning on "the obligations of class-meetings," contained in the third and fourth chapters of the "Treatise." We should be glad to excite a new interest in this valuable dissertation. The "Introduction," by Bishop Morris, could the author's permission be obtained, might be published separately, in tract or other cheap form, with much benefit to the Church.

Dr. Miley's seasonable appeal to the members of the Church on behalf of the class-meeting was preceded by Mr. Keys's "Class-*Leaders'* Manual." The essay is able and exhaustive, and the title of the book is no misnomer. The work *is* "The Class-Leaders' *Manual;*" concise, yet comprehensive; instructive, yet exhortatory and animating. A very valuable book of itself is contained in Appendix B, (pp. 206–222,) on "the duty of preachers with reference to classes." The publications of the Methodist Tract Society, with the "Treatise" and the "Manual," would seem to fill up the measure of *teaching* necessary on the subject. They are Tract No. 78: "Class-meetings: Ways and Means of rendering them more animating and instructive," full of excellent counsels for both leaders and members; No. 349, "Advices to the Members of the M. E. Church," being an adaptation of Rev. R. Newstead's tract with a similar title, a series of thoroughly scriptural and affectionately pastoral counsels; No. 356, "Do you attend your Class?" a searching, interrogatory essay; and No. 369, "Absence from Class," a plain, earnest, familiar dialogue, calculated to awaken to new zeal any who are growing weary in well-doing. The members of the Methodist Episcopal Church have herein "line upon line and precept upon precept," and at first glance it would seem to be a work of supererogation to employ the *pen* further in the matter. But years have passed since even the latest of these publications issued from the press, and perhaps even the reader will acknowledge, ere this article is concluded, that a recurrence to the subject is not unseasonable or unnecessary.

There is no ambiguity in Mr. Wesley's account of the origin and design of class-meetings, or in his statement of his belief in their utility and obligation. The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church is also as explicit as language can be on the last named point. Respecting the nature of the institution Mr. Wesley says: "Each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in each class, one of whom is styled the leader. It is *his* duty to *see each person in his class* once a week at least, in order," etc. The early practice, as proved by Mr. Wesley's own narrative,* was in accordance with the natural interpretation of this language. The leader was expected to *visit* his class-mates once a week, who, for *his* convenience, were classified "according to their respective places of abode." This plan, however, was abandoned at an early day, for reasons which Mr. Wesley has stated with characteristic conciseness and force, and the members were required to meet their leader weekly at a stated time and place.

The obligation of the "members of society" to meet in class sprang from the nature of the institution. The class was only a subdivision of the society, and the society was a subdivision of the "United Societies," which extended over the whole kingdom. No person could be a member of the United Societies who was not a member of a local society; nor could any one be a member of a local society who was not a member of one of the classes of which it was composed. This is so obvious that it does not need demonstration. A member who habitually and voluntarily neglected attendance at class was regarded as having withdrawn from fellowship with the society. So held the founder of Methodism, and so hold the English Methodists to this day.* With them, meeting in class and church membership are synonymous terms, the same in practice as they are in essence. The preachers are required to make "quarterly visitations of the classes," in order to "renew the tickets of members." These tickets, distributed in the class, and as a token of regular attendance thereat, are the evidence, and the only evidence, of membership, entitling the holder to all church privileges in his own local society and in each of the United Societies. The last quarterly ticket opens the doors of all love-feasts, and is the member's "certificate," giving him unquestioned admission and *status* in the society of any place to which he may remove, or in which he may be temporarily visiting. This quarterly ticket the preacher can, at the visitation of the classes, withhold from any person whose attendance at class has been irregular, until a sufficient explanation of such irregular attendance is given; and it is imperative upon him to withhold it where the non-attendance has been voluntary and habitual.

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* Wesley's Works, vol v, pp. 179, 180.

The class-meeting, notwithstanding the importance subsequently attached to it as a means of keeping alive the spirituality of the members, was originally a purely financial arrangement. The meeting-house or chapel at Bristol was encumbered with a heavy debt, which could not be liquidated by ordinary means. A weekly subscription of one penny from each member was proposed, and some excellent and zealous laymen volunteered each to collect the pence from twelve persons. In their visits to the houses of the members they found that some were not walking according to the Gospel, and were bringing discredit upon the cause of Christ. These were reported to Mr.

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* Among other "memorials" presented to the British Conference in 1861, was one from the quarterly meeting of the Inverness (Scotland) Circuit, asking for certain changes of administration. One of these requests was that the preacher in charge be permitted to "return as members of the Methodist Church in Scotland those who are regular communicants, but who do not meet in class." The answer of the conference was brief, but explicit: "The proposed recognition of communicants is not in harmony with the connectional system."

Wesley. His practical mind immediately comprehended the immense value of this new agency as a means of spiritual oversight of the members. "This is the very thing we wanted," he exclaimed. "The leaders are the persons who may not only receive the subscriptions, but also watch over the souls of the brethren." Soon afterward he held a conference in London with "several earnest and sensible men," to whom he explained the impossibility of his overseeing all the members. After a full discussion of the subject, they came unanimously to the conclusion that "there could be no better way to come to a sure and thorough knowledge of each person than to divide the society into classes, like those at Bristol," under the inspection and guidance of men whom Mr. Wesley could trust. "This," says our founder, "was the origin of our classes in London, for which *I can never sufficiently praise God, the unspeakable usefulness of the institution having become daily more and more apparent.*"

From the foregoing some important conclusions may be drawn: Class-meetings were not a part of the original system of Methodism. They sprang up incidentally, and providentially as we honestly believe, as an adjunct. They had not at first even a spiritual purpose; but their evident utility, as a means for preserving the purity of the societies, led Mr. Wesley to incorporate them with his other agencies to that end. He always regarded them, however, as a prudential measure only, and not as among the "ordinances of God." Classes were originally, and in the parent Church are still so considered, only subdivisions of the society. Meeting in class was, therefore, from the nature of the case, obligatory upon the members. It was, in fact, the only true membership. The Methodist Episcopal Church has indorsed this interpretation of the General Rules by incorporating it into its book of discipline. By no legislative or official action has it released its members from the obligation to meet in class "at least once a week," however it may have neglected to enforce obedience to its rule on the subject.

Could Mr. Wesley rightfully impose this obligation upon the members of his societies? The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from whose decision the American Methodist knows no appeal, by approving and copying his example, have emphatically declared that he could. But another question has been mooted. Granted that Mr. Wesley had such right or authority over his *societies*, has any *Church* the right to make a purely prudential arrangement a condition of membership? The Rev. Dr. Miley makes the distinction we have indicated by italics. He says: "Mr. Wesley held class-meetings as obligatory, and required of the members of his societies an attendance upon them. But the matter was different then from what it is now. He did not consider his societies as constituting a Church, but merely as religious societies, the members being thus associated for mutual assistance and edification. Thus they continued until after his death. He did not, therefore, regard membership in them as Church membership; so that while he required attendance upon class as a term of membership, he did not require it as a term of Church membership." (Treatise, p. 71.) With all respect, we submit that this line of argument would carry Dr. Miley further than he would be willing to go. It is quite true that during Mr. Wesley's life "the people called Methodists" by the community generally were by Mr. Wesley styled the "United Societies," and are to this day so styled in all official documents. Some years ago the Rev. Dr. Dixon, in a sermon (published by the Book Concern) preached before the conference, spoke of them as "the Wesleyan Church;" and we believe that more recently attempts have been made to induce the conference to recognize the title. But that body, which is the only legislature of English Methodism, has uniformly refused. The Methodist Society is still the common and legal title of the Wesleyan denomination. Even while Mr. Wesley yet lived, the United Societies embraced thousands who held no other membership, nor did Mr. Wesley require that they should. Either, therefore, he practically regarded his societies as a Church, or he fellowshiped with and admitted to Church privileges thousands who were not members of any Church. At the present day there probably are not ten members of the Methodist Society in Great Britain, the British Colonies, and the various mission stations who are members of any Church, unless the Methodist Society is itself a Church. These are some of the consequences which would follow from the distinction made by Dr. Miley. The term "*a Church*," in the prosecution of this argument, means, in reality, only a *denomination* or *branch* of the universal Church, and each of these has the right to make any prudential arrangement (looking to its own purity and prosperity) a condition of membership within ITS own communion. Of course such arrangement, to be binding, must clearly harmonize with the spirit of the Word of God. Dr. Miley, however, has fully established that class-meetings do thus harmonize, and we turn to a more practical branch of the subject. Possibly what may be said will be distasteful to some; but we shall not go beyond the letter of the Discipline, an authority that we presume no reader of the Methodist Quarterly will dispute.

In looking at this whole subject fairly and honestly, we confess that we have been perplexed and grieved—perplexed by the strange discordance between the law and the practice of the Church, and grieved at the little heed paid to the most solemn obligations voluntarily assumed by both preachers and people. We are indeed forced to the conclusion that, for the sake of decent consistency, *either the practice of the Church must be reversed, or all that makes meeting in class obligatory must be stricken from the Discipline.* Let us look at the facts of the case. In addition to what is said on the subject in the General Rules, adopted from Mr. Wesley, we have in the Discipline the following question and answers, chap. ii, § 3:

> *Question* 3. What shall be done with those members of our Church who willfully and repeatedly neglect to meet their class?
>
> *Answer* 1. Let the elder, deacon, or one of the preachers visit them, whenever it is practicable, and explain to them the consequence if they continue to neglect; namely, *exclusion.*
>
> 2. If they do not amend, let him who has the charge of the circuit or station bring their case before the Society, or a select number, before whom they shall have been cited to appear; and if they be found guilty of willful neglect by a majority of the members before whom their case is brought, *let them be laid aside*, and let the preacher show *that they are excluded for a breach of our rules*, and not for immoral conduct.

Prior to 1836 the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church was in conformity with the practice of the English Church, and gave no hearing or trial to the neglectful member. The language of the second answer was, "If they do not amend, let the assistant exclude them in the [presence of the] society, informing it that they are laid aside for a breach of our rules of Discipline, and not for immoral conduct." The amended answer makes no difference in the character or penalty of the offense. It does not in the slightest degree weaken the obligation of members to attend the class-meeting regularly, or of the preacher to discipline them for non-attendance. Yet with this law upon the statute-book, it is estimated that not more than one fourth of the members of the Church are regular attendants upon class-meeting. This is really an appalling state of things. Let us try to comprehend the full extent of the evil it indicates. The Church has a membership, exclusive of probationers, of, in round numbers, eight hundred and sixty thousand. If the Discipline has been obeyed, not one of these members has been received into the Church without a voucher from a leader that he or she has "met in class for at least six months on trial." Nor has one of them been admitted to membership without solemnly, and in the presence of the Church, declaring that he or she has "read our rules," and will "observe and keep" them. The unavoidable inference is, either that out of eight hundred and sixty thousand members, six hundred and forty-five thousand have so far backslidden, since they entered the Church, as to discontinue meeting in class, and habitually violate a promise made under the most solemn and affecting circumstances; or that in six hundred and forty-five thousand instances the preachers have been, and are, unfaithful to their ordination vows. Either inference is, beyond all power of language to express, painful and alarming, and makes one fear that the Methodist Episcopal Church, the "good old ship" of many a pious veteran's memory, has already drifted from her moorings, and can only be rescued from the breakers by a miracle of divine power.

Can preachers and people bear to have this sore thoroughly probed? Is there not a radical wrong, a fearful mistake, a terrible unfaithfulness somewhere? We may speak the more freely because we hold that the present generation are not solely responsible for the disuse into which class-meetings have fallen. It was left them as a legacy by their fathers. As the case stands, however, a question of common morality is involved, necessitating the conclusion, already stated, that either the published Discipline or the practice of the Church must be radically changed. Otherwise the consistency and truthfulness of the Methodist clergy and laity may well be called in question. The Church proclaims its terms of membership in language too plain to be misunderstood. It declares that its purity is guarded with the utmost vigilance. It affirms that in order to a strict supervision of its members it has enacted a certain law; that the penalty of disobedience thereto is exclusion from the Church; and that every minister it ordains is solemnly pledged to enforce that law. This looks well, and all men can understand the nature and extent of these declarations. But what must the world think of the truthfulness of the Church, and of the honesty of these its public declarations, when it learns that three fourths of the members not only "willfully and repeatedly," but willfully and *habitually*, neglect attendance at class, and yet are NOT "laid aside for a breach of our rules?" It is no justification or sufficient excuse for such a state of things, to plead that meeting in class is a purely prudential arrangement, and that the Church usurps undue authority in making it a condition of membership. That is not now the question. The Church from the beginning HAS *made it such condition.* Every living member entered the Church voluntarily, with the knowledge that such was the rule, and of what was the penalty of disobedience. Having such knowledge, he solemnly promised to "observe and keep" the rule. Every minister occupies the same position. The rule was there when he entered the ministry. He solemnly declared before God and his brethren that he "knew the rules of the Society" and would "keep them;" that he had "read the form of Discipline," and was "willing to conform to it." One of the rules which he thus pledged himself to "conform to" and "to keep," requires him to "enforce vigorously but calmly all the rules of the Society."* He did not then believe that any of those rules were based upon unscriptural usurpations, or he would not have promised to conform to them himself, or to enforce them vigorously upon others. If his views have now changed, why does he hold a commission which he can no longer conscientiously execute? His vows are still upon him, and he should either ask to be released from them or pay them. And further, If the legislature of the Church no longer means what it has said by its legislation, if it is no longer intended (the teachings of the Discipline to the contrary notwithstanding) that non-attendance upon class-meeting shall work exclusion, if members are to be released from all obligation to obey the rule, and preachers from all obligation to enforce it, then, for the sake of consistency and truth, let the rule be openly repealed, that both ministers and people may be set right before the world.

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* Discipline, edition of 1860. Part 2, Chap. 2, Section 12, Question 2, Ans. 3.

With the fact before us that three fourths of the members of the Church have long disregarded the rule with impunity, some fear may well be entertained that it is now "too late" to return to the original practice of the Church. Nay, still speaking with all candor, it is not clear that anywhere—either in the episcopate, the pastorate, or the membership—there exists, to any very hopeful extent, an earnest desire to walk in this good old path of Wesleyan Methodism. Nevertheless we would plead earnestly for an institution of which the venerable founder of Methodism said that he "could never be sufficiently thankful to God" for having been led to adopt it.

Why have we ceased, to so sad an extent, to "observe and keep" this rule? We can but briefly prosecute this inquiry, painfully interesting though the subject is. One reason probably is, the partial abandonment of the *financial* use of class-meetings. Replies to inquiries prosecuted during the preparation of this article seem to establish the fact that attendance at class by the membership of pewed churches is at a much less ratio than that of free churches; and especially that where the support of the minister is derived exclusively from pew rents the attendance upon class is very limited, if indeed the institution is nominally respected. These results were not unexpected. When Mr. Wesley gave a spiritual use to class-meetings he did not abandon the financial part of the arrangement. Nor did he do this when the difficulty that led to its adoption had passed away. On the contrary he required, and the English Conference still requires, a weekly payment of money at class by each member, the minimum standard being "a penny a week and sixpence a quarter." (Poverty of course exempts any member.) These contributions are for the support of the ministry. The same usage prevailed generally, we believe universally, in the Methodist Episcopal Church for many years. The preacher had thus a twofold motive for watching over the institution with jealous care. It is not difficult to see that where he becomes independent of this means of support one of these motives is destroyed.

Possibly, too, an error has been committed by some who have been strenuous advocates of class-meetings. Too much stress, perhaps, has been laid upon their utility as a means of *oversight* over members, and of holding them to strict accountability for their religious conduct. Undoubtedly this was originally the principal design and use of these meetings, for Mr. Wesley has told us so. But the peculiar circumstances which made them a necessity in this respect have long since passed away. Our British brethren have wisely adapted themselves to this change. For many years their argument for attendance upon the class-meeting has been that it is a privilege; a source of blessing to the members; an occasion of sweet and Christian fellowship; *a means of grace*, where sorrows are healed, where cares are assuaged, where spiritual joys are multiplied, and piety is deepened and increased. We incline to think that this is the better and more persuasive line of argument.

It is probable that sufficient care has not been exercised in the selection of class-leaders. Or it may be that the Church has experienced a lack of men and women properly qualified for the office of leader, and that in consequence the interest felt in class-meetings has waned. We incline to think that herein is to be found one of the principal reasons why class-meetings have so widely fallen into disuse. And herein also we find the hope that by proper care and effort the advantages of the institution may yet become to us, as they were to Mr. Wesley, "more and more apparent every day." The qualifications of a good leader are peculiar, and it is probable that in some periods of the history of the Church the supply of persons well qualified for the office was not equal to the demand. This is indeed known to have been the case. And it is because the Church is now better able to supply good class-leaders—men thoroughly qualified for the work—that we indulge the hope that, without expurgating from the Discipline the time-honored rule that makes attendance upon class-meeting obligatory, the Church will yet free herself from the reproach of inconsistency between her law and her practice, her declarations and her deeds.

We have spoken frankly of the difficulties in the way of returning to the old paths. Let us now say that those difficulties are not insurmountable if the disposition to overcome them is felt and encouraged.

The Discipline vests exclusively in the preacher the power of appointing, as well as removing and changing, class-leaders. We are not about to recommend any arbitrary exercise of this power, or to advise any sweeping measures at which leaders or members need take alarm. We suggest an initiatory step toward reform which will not rudely disturb the existing order of things. Let each pastor commence a systematic visitation of the classes in his charge. If on careful investigation he finds that the leaders are efficient, while the attendance upon class is not what it ought to be, let him invite the leaders to meet him informally to converse about and pray for a revival in this department of the Church. If this is repeated a few times it is morally certain that the hearts of his leaders will warm toward their work. They will then be prepared to counsel and co-operate with him, and the work of reformation will be begun. The newly inspired zeal of the leaders will be communicated to the members, and the class-meeting will become, what it always may be, "a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." But if class-meetings have fallen into general disuse in his charge, the strong probability is that the leaders were either originally unsuited for their office, or have lost so much of the life of God and of their first love as to be no longer qualified for shepherds and guides in Israel. Then another course of action will become the preacher's duty, for which he will find ample warrant in the Discipline. (Part I, chap. ii, section 3.) Let him select from among the members one or more men qualified in his judgment for the office and work of leaders, and after conversation, counsel, and prayer with them, give one a class-book, commission him to raise a class, and appoint the other to assist him. Haply the other leaders may thus be provoked to good works. When the new leader has succeeded in some good degree, let the assistant be commissioned in the same way, and a third be appointed to assist him, who will thus be gaining experience and preparing himself for leadership. We admit that possibly the old leaders, instead of finding in these measures a provocation to greater zeal, might take umbrage. But even this would be a less evil than the religious torpor that invariably settles upon a charge that has inefficient class-leaders and deserted class-rooms. If the newly appointed officers are men of sound judgment, warm hearts, active piety, fair intelligence, are "full of zeal and of the Holy Ghost," and are well sustained by the pastor, the work will surely prosper in their hands. One year of such efforts, earnestly and prayerfully carried on, would go far to wipe away the reproach from our Zion that three fourths of the members willfully and with impunity neglect one of the most important and distinctive of its rules. The pastor might further help the good work by frequently attending the classes himself, and this not always for the purpose of *leading* them, but as a visitor. Let him occasionally take his place with the members, and by his own brief, hearty, frank narration of his religious experience set them an example of *how to speak in class*—a lesson that we know to be greatly needed. He will thus also be best able to form a correct judgment of the abilities of the respective leaders, and to wisely counsel or encourage them. Too many of these forget that they *are* LEADERS, and that it is their prerogative and their duty to regulate the speaking and to give counsel. Too many of the members are prone to assume the leader's prerogative, and diverge into an exhortation to their brethren and sisters, and even to the leader himself. Others again will employ, week after week, such stereotyped language that if they open their hearts, as in class-meeting all should, the inference must be that they have a more *unvarying* experience than falls to the lot of the majority of Christians. This practice inevitably makes a class-meeting unedifying and wearisome. The leader has authority, and should possess the courage and the tact to arrest this religious speech-making. Class-meetings will grow in favor with pious and intelligent people in proportion as they are simply meetings for the statement of Christian experience. The best classes we have ever known, embracing the largest number of earnest, happy, consistent, growing Christians, have been those the leaders of which have kindly but firmly insisted upon brief statements of the week's experience, and have themselves given short and pointed counsels in response. A more social character, too, should be given to our class-meetings. Where the room is small, it is better, we think, that both leader and members should remain seated, and converse as they would in the family circle, relieving the posture occasionally by rising and singing a verse of a hymn. Even in a larger room, where the leader might not hear the conversational tone of a speaker, it is best that the *members should remain seated*, the leader drawing near to each member in rotation. Everything that savors of stiffness or formality should be banished from the class-room, which is the place where a Christian family ought to meet in unreserved confidence and fellowship.

It has already been said that class-meetings are only prudential regulations. Neither in form nor name are they *divinely commanded.* The obligation resting upon Methodists to attend them we have elsewhere spoken of. Those passages of Scripture which have been sometimes quoted to show them to be divinely commanded do not seem to us to warrant such a conclusion. These texts are not *commands* in any proper sense of the word. They are but records of facts, statements of the custom of pious men in every age, which show that they often conferred together on spiritual subjects, because they found such intimate fellowship promotive of their personal piety and happiness. Thus we are told that they "spake often one to another," doubtless of God and the things of God; that they "confessed their sins one to another, and prayed for one another that they might be healed," etc. And everywhere in the Scriptures there is an implied commendation of this custom as being both the evidence and the safeguard of their piety. The rule that requires attendance upon class-meetings only requires that we follow the good example of those who feared God in the days of the prophets and the apostles. They thus "assembled themselves together," not because God had specifically commanded it, but because they found great spiritual profit therein. They had learned that by the use of such means they more rapidly grew in grace and "in the knowledge and love of God continually," if indeed they had not also learned that without such aids they were in constant danger of falling from grace. And what are we better than they, that we should neglect such helps to the maintenance of spiritual life? Have we not the same fallen and perverse nature, the same trials and temptations, the same hopes and joys, and fears and sorrows, the same needs and the same experiences? And can we devise a better means of keeping ourselves unspotted from the world than that which the fathers in Israel, and the first Christians, employed so successfully that it is commendingly recorded in the sacred volume? How can we better overcome the evil that is ours by nature, and foster the good that is ours by grace? The great and gifted Richard Watson says:

> It is by these blessed institutions (class-meetings) which so constantly respect the end of all preaching and of all religious profession—the work of God in the heart—that the blind are led in the right way; the penitent encouraged to the exercise of that faith in Christ whereby cometh salvation; the tempted comforted; and all urged forward by the counsels of experience and the prayers of those who are united in this interesting fellowship, to the mark of the prize of our high calling.

Equally pertinent is the language of Bishop Morris in his introduction to Dr. Miley's Treatise:

> As to the peculiar institution of class-meeting, whether we view it in its spiritual, pastoral, disciplinary, business, or social aspect, it is of vast importance to us. Nothing, indeed, could supply its place. . . . It is a fact that cannot be concealed, or successfully controverted, that the most faithful, useful, and influential Methodists are most devoted to our peculiar meetings, especially the weekly class, and most punctual to attend; while the lukewarm, worldly-minded, and disaffected are least disposed to enjoy the privilege.

Attendance upon class-meetings is then a privilege as well as a duty, and on this ground we entreat both clergy and laity (in the choice of two alternatives that consistency seems to require them to make) to maintain the standard of the Discipline and enforce the published rule of the Church. Let them choose this as incomparably the safer and better alternative of the two. The institution has been an invaluable blessing to Methodists. The pangs of a first sorrow for sin, and the joy of a first love begotten of the knowledge of sins forgiven, alike prompt to an attendance upon this means of grace. Whenever a genuine revival of religion is vouchsafed to one of our own Churches, the class-room is sought with increased desire, and the class-meeting is attended with increased regularity. Even in other Churches, wherein the class-meeting is not a recognized institution, when there is a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit, almost certainly and naturally, employing the word in a religious sense, the membership becomes "divided into smaller companies," not "called classes," possibly, but similar in design and spirit, and almost the same in form. One of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, we believe of the diocese of Rhode Island, introduced in the Churches under his care a kindred institution during a revival of religion. It is well known that a pious clergyman of that Church in the city of New York has done the same thing. The Rev. Dr. Wayland, in a series of published articles a few years ago, openly advocated the use of class-meetings in the Baptist Church. The fathers of Methodism, both British and American, uniformly held that the class-meeting is the glory of the Church, the crowning privilege of its people, and that attendance upon this means was the best evidence of the spiritual health of its members. Shall their sons hold the "blessed institution" in less esteem? Would not that be a confession that experimental religion and the love of Christian fellowship have declined in the Church? And *why* should class-meetings be abandoned? Was ever a man or a woman made a worse Christian by attendance upon them, or a better disciple of Christ by non-attendance? Have not class-meetings saved Methodism from the dead formality which has overtaken other Churches? Have they not largely helped to make Methodism what Dr. Chalmers, with equal truth and catholicity, declared it to be, "Christianity in earnest?" Why, then, is the institution falling into disrepute, and why are some advocating its abolition as a test of membership? Rather let pastors and people listen to the warning voice of a venerable bishop:

> Let no one under a mistaken notion of improving Methodism seek to have this test of membership done away, unless he prefers careless and worldly-minded professors of religion to living stones of the temple of God.

ART. V.—THE SIXTEENTH PSALM.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Is this Psalm Messianic?*

THIS question is clearly answered by the apostle Peter in his discourse on the day of Pentecost, recorded in Acts ii, 22, et seq.: "Men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man from God, made manifest unto us [as Messiah] by powers, wonders, and signs which God did by him in the midst of us, as also ye know. This man, delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, having taken, through wicked hands having crucified, ye have slain: whom God raised up, having broken the bonds of death, as he could not be held by it. *For David speaks* concerning him, [in the sixteenth Psalm saying,] I have set the Lord always before my face; because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved: on this account my heart rejoiced and my tongue was glad; even also my flesh shall rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul in the condition of death, nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou hast made me to know the ways of life; thou fillest me with gladness with thy countenance."

The apostle then proceeds to reason on the above quotation as follows: "Men, brethren, it is proper to speak with boldness to you concerning the patriarch David, that he also died and was buried, and his sepulcher is with us unto this day. Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn to him with an oath, that [one] of the fruit of his loins should sit upon his throne; looking forward he spake concerning the resurrection of Christ, [in the sixteenth Psalm,] and that he should not be left in the condition of the dead, neither should his flesh see corruption."

In the same manner Paul also reasons in his discourse at Antioch of Pisidia, recorded in Acts xiii, 35. He declares that David, in the sixteenth Psalm, prophesied of the resurrection of Christ, and not of his own resurrection. "For God raised him [Jesus] from the dead, no longer to return unto corruption. . . . Wherefore also in another place he says, 'Thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.' For David indeed having served his generation by the will of God, fell asleep and was gathered to his fathers, and saw corruption; but he whom God raised up did not see corruption."

Jesus, therefore, is the sole subject of this psalm, Peter and Paul concurring in their testimony to this fact. So we infer and believe; though many wise and good men have maintained the view that the psalm refers *both* to David and to Christ.

Dr. Adam Clarke says: "The contents of this psalm are usually given in the following manner: David sojourning among idolaters, and being obliged to leave his own country through Saul's persecution, cries to God for help, expresses his abhorrence of idolatry, and his desire to be again united to God's people, 1–4; and declares his strong confidence in God, who had dealt bountifully with him, 5–7; then follows a remarkable prophecy of the resurrection of Christ, 8–11."

Dr. Clarke further says in his "Analysis," at the close of his comments, "*Michtam David*, David's precious jewel or Psalm of Gold: literally to be understood of David, but *primarily and principally of Christ.*" Hence, according to Dr. Clarke, there is first a *literal* meaning, and, secondly, a *spiritual* meaning; that is, this psalm has a double meaning!

But in justice to Dr. Clarke, it should be said that in his introductory remarks he declares with noble emphasis: "*From the most serious and attentive consideration of the whole psalm, I am convinced that every verse belongs to Jesus Christ, and none other.*"

Dr. Clarke's inconsistency very forcibly illustrates the influence of traditionary interpretation upon his mind, and at the same time the force of his honest exegetical sense. Even Hengstenberg, though one of our latest and best commentators on the psalms, fails to rid himself of the traditionary interpretation and of a double sense, and ventures to say that "David in Christ could speak as he does here, with full right. Christ has conquered death, not merely for himself, but also for his members. His resurrection is the ground of our resurrection; for can the head fail to draw its members along with it?" That is, in plain English, David spoke of his own resurrection, thus contradicting the apostle, who says, "David looking forward *spake of the resurrection of Christ.*" Nor does Hengstenberg at all improve his position by saying that our Lord and his apostles handle the application of prophecy in a *free manner*.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the psalm is a prophecy of Christ, or in other words, that it is Messianic, and in the sense that it is all spoken of Christ. The rationalistic theory that it refers to David, and David alone, I do not think it worth while to spend time to refute, inasmuch as it is in direct opposition both to the apostles Paul and Peter and to David himself.

§ 2. *Is there a double sense in this Psalm?*

The view taken by many expositors of this psalm, that it refers *both* to David and Christ, fairly challenges us to consider this question. According to our view it should be answered in the negative. To admit that there is a literal and at the same time *another* sense, called spiritual, or by any other name amounts to a double sense. If a double sense, then why not a triple or quadruple sense; and then why not admit the Rabbinical maxim that "there are mountains of sense in every word of Scripture?" The absurdity of such an idea is obvious.

The view that there is more than a single sense at once opens the door to all manner of uncertainties. Revelation becomes enigmatical. The fancy of the interpreter becomes the rule of exegesis. And revelation as a *rule* of faith and practice is destroyed. It becomes a mere arena on which the fancies of men struggle against the simplicity of the truth.

We object further to the idea of a double sense because it is a principle utterly at variance with the *fact* of a revelation. The Bible is a *revelation* from heaven to men of the divine will in respect to them, and it reveals matters to them of most solemn moment. It is for all men—for the rich and the poor, the prince and the beggar, the learned and the illiterate. It is necessary, therefore, that it be written in a plain perspicuous style—not in enigmas or in words of a double signification, but in the plain language of common men.

We object further to the doctrine of a double sense in Scripture, because we find no such thing in any other book. We may lay it down as a rule, that no writing designed for human instruction could allow of such a mode of interpretation.

In allegorical works such as "Pilgrim's Progress" or the

"Holy War" there is not properly a *double* sense. These works are prolonged illustrations of the *spiritual life*. They proceed upon the principle of illustrating spiritual things by what comes to pass in our outward daily life. For example, when Christian falls into the Slough of Despond, the point illustrated is the fact of despondency as a mental state. There is no *double* sense. The meaning of the writer is simple and single, and readily apprehended by the mind.

The same also is true of the parables and allegories of Scripture. Their sense is a unit and not double. Take, for example, the story which Nathan related to David of the poor man who had one ewe lamb. The story was designed to show to David his sin in wickedly taking away the wife of Uriah. It is not a case, then, of double sense, but a parable designed to impress on David's mind, in the most vivid manner, a sense of his sin. The sense is a unit and not double. And this is the case under all other figurative language. The sense of the writer is single unless he gives notice to the contrary. But there is no case of such notification in the Scriptures of which I am now aware. We say, therefore, that if the eighth, ninth, and tenth verses of this psalm refer to Christ alone and not to David, all the other parts of the psalm refer to Christ likewise, inasmuch as the reader is not notified to the contrary.

But it may be said that any ordinary reader of the sixteenth Psalm would not even suspect that Christ was its subject; or more fully as Ruperti, quoted by Prof. Stuart in the Biblical Repository, vol. i, p. 57: "If any one without prejudice, and endowed with a relish for Hebrew poetry, and unacquainted with what the New Testament teaches, and what ancient and modern commentators have inculcated, should read the sixteenth Psalm, he would venture to bet anything (*quovis pignero contendere ausim*) that such an one would scarcely find any ground of persuasion in it that the Messiah could be meant."

All this may be admitted in respect to many readers whose minds have not been taught to apprehend the spirituality of the Scriptures. "*Haerit in litteris, haerit in cortice*"—"He that sticks in the letter sticks in the bark." This saying is true no doubt of most readers—of all, in fact, who are superficial, and do not trouble themselves to think at all. But it cannot be true that thoughtful, instructed, and spiritual readers can read the sixteenth Psalm without seeing that there is a higher than David there spoken of. Would not every thoughtful reader infer, as the apostles did, from the words "thou wilt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption," that this could not have been spoken of David? For David died and was buried, and saw corruption. To Jesus alone, then, could these words apply.

We remark still further, that the objections here raised to a double sense in this psalm apply equally to other similar psalms, as the twenty-second, fortieth, forty-fifth, and others.

§ 3. *Views of the old interpreters, as Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine.*

It is gratifying to find that these venerable and learned fathers in the Church adopt the views above presented.

Augustine says: "Our King in this psalm speaks in the character of the human nature he assumed, of whom the royal title at the time of his passion was eminently set forth." The royal title referred to by Augustine is the title placed on the cross and over the head of Jesus in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: *ὁ Βασιλεύς τῶν Ιουδαίων.*

Eusebius observes, "that if the inquiry be made to whom the things said in Psalm the sixteenth are to be referred, Peter the apostle is a teacher worthy of our confidence." He then cites the words of Peter in Acts ii, 29–32. After which he proceeds to say that it would be superfluous to inquire any further to whom this psalm is to be applied since we have the testimony *τηλικόυτου μάρτυρος*. "The Seventy," he adds, "have entitled this psalm *στηλογραφία—inscriptio, monumental inscription*, because it contains the victory over death obtained by Christ when he arose from the dead." (See Prof. Stnart.)

So also Jerome explains this psalm: "The psalm pertains to Christ, who speaks in it. It is the voice of our King, which he utters in the human nature he had assumed; but without detracting from his divine nature. *David means Christ.* The psalm pertains to his passion."

There is only one question further to which we would ask the reader's attention before presenting the psalm itself with our comments, and that is,

§ 4. *What is the meaning of* שְׁאֹל*? verse* 10.

The dissertation on this word, published in this Review, January, 1849, will afford the reader a full answer to this question. After a lapse of twelve years I have seen no good reason to modify the views therein presented. That view is that originally שְׁאֹל refers to the *state or condition of the dead*, without regard to the place of either the body or the spirit. As a secondary signification it sometimes does refer to the place of the dead body as the *grave*, as when Jacob says to his sons, "You will bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave," (שְׁאֹל,) and sometimes to the place of the lost spirit, or *hell*, as when it is said, "The wicked shall be turned into hell," etc. In this passage it is to be taken in its original signification, as denoting the state of separation between the soul and body in death. The Saviour exclaims, "Thou, my Father, wilt not leave me in the state of death." "Thou wilt soon reanimate my dead body! It shall not see corruption!"

Prof. Stuart does not succeed in ridding himself entirely of the traditional interpretation of *the grave*, though he comes very near it. "Peter and Paul," he says, "both understood שְׁאֹל of the grave or *region of the dead*, and so the following, στίχος, leads us *almost necessarily* to explain it."

If it meant precisely "*the grave*," why does Prof. Stuart add, "or *the region* of the dead?" He evidently had some misgiving that *grave* here was not the precise signification, though he would fortify himself by saying, "and so the following, στίχος, leads us almost necessarily to explain it." *Almost necessarily!* His sagacious exegetical sense was not entirely clear. Prof. Stuart knew very well that there is such a thing as *cumulative* as well as synonymous parallelism in Hebrew poetry. He knew too that the Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ very nearly corresponds with the Greek ψύχη, and that it must mean, if not the *immortal principle*, at least the *animal life* of the Saviour in verse ten. In either case he felt that it would be absurd to speak of its being *in* or held in the grave. The grave cannot hold the spirit.

PSALM XVI.

CONTENTS.

Messiah, in view of his sufferings, cries unto God, and makes Jehovah his "refuge," 1, 2. His delight in the saints, 3. His abhorrence of idolatry, 4. Jehovah his portion, 5. The redeemed his glorious inheritance, 6. Joyous confidence in Jehovah, who will not leave him under the power of death, but will give him life and pleasures for evermore at his right hand, 7-11.

TRANSLATION.

A golden song of David.

1. Keep me, O God! for unto thee do I flee for refuge.
2. *My soul* says unto Jehovah, Thou art my Lord.
My happiness without thee is naught.
3. As to the saints who are on the earth *even* they,
The excellent [*of the earth*], all my delight is in them.
4. They multiply their sorrows, who hasten after another.
I will not pour out their libations of blood,
Nor will I take their names upon my lips.
5. Jehovah is the portion of my lot and my cup.
Thou makest my lot secure.
6. The lines are fallen to me in pleasant places;
Yea, I have a goodly heritage.
7. I will bless Jehovah who careth for me;
Yea, by night my reins admonish me (to bless him.)
8. I set Jehovah continually before me:
Because he is at my right hand I shall not be moved.
9. Therefore my heart rejoiceth, and my glory exulteth:
Yea, my flesh shall rest in hope.
10. For thou wilt not leave my soul with the dead,
Nor suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.
11. Thou wilt show me the path of life:
In thy presence is fullness of joy;
At thy right hand are pleasures evermore.

COMMENTARY.

Verse 1. מִכְתָּם לְדָוִד. *A golden song of David.* So we prefer to render this superscription. מִכְתָּם is found in the titles of five other psalms, namely, the fifty-sixth, fifty-seventh, fifty-eighth, fifty-ninth, and sixtieth, and all of them are ascribed to David.

Prof. Stuart objects to the translation of מִכְתָּם by *golden song*, because many other psalms having this superscription are not more attractive, considered in a rhetorical point of view, than many others. Why then the epithet *golden?* But the subjective condition of the critic's mind has much to do in fixing his estimate of a composition. To our mind these psalms are among the noblest of David's songs, and well merit the appellation of *golden*. We take מִכְתָּם as an adjective from כֶּתֶם, *gold*, or כָּתַם, *to conceal*. So Aben Ezra, Solomon Ben Melek, Luther, Gerer, Le Clerk, Gesenius, and others. Quite analogous to this is מַשְׂכִּיל, *didactic*, which appears in the superscriptions of psalms thirty-second, forty-second, fifty-second, and others. Analogous titles we find among the Arabians who call the seven Pre-Mohammedan poems, on account of their excellence, Modhahabat, that is, *golden;* and the proverbs of Alli are for the same reason called the *gold* of *morals*. Among the Greeks we find the *χρυσᾶ ἔπη, the golden verses of* Pythagoras, and the *χρυσάι χνῶμαι* of Democritus.

In לְדָוִד, Lamedh is *Lamedh auctoris* as the grammarians say. It is the Lamedh of authorship, and is the common mode of designating authorship in the psalms. Compare the Arabic ل auctoris, in the titles of books. We may render golden song *of* or *by David*. מִזְמוֹר is usually expressed, but sometimes omitted. We find the same ל on Phœnician coins, for example, לצדנם, of *the Sidonians*, that is, struck *by* them, לְצוֹר, of *Tyre*. In the corresponding Greek *Σιδωνιῶν, τύρου*. See Gesenius's Lexicon and Thesaurus, art. ל.

שָׁמְרֵנִי, *Preserve me, O God!* Keep me safe, and from sinking under the dreadful burden of the world's guilt. For it is to be borne in mind that it is the Saviour who speaks. David is only his amanuensis. It is his prayer in distress, as in the Garden of Gethsemane. Then he said unto his disciples, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death; remain here and watch with me, and going forward a little he fell upon his face, praying." Matt. xxvi, 37, 38.

חָסִיתִי בָךְ, *I have trusted in thee*, does not give the full meaning of the Hebrew. חסה, *to flee to a place of refuge*, as Judg. ix, 15; Isa. xxx, 2; Psa. lvii, 2; lxi, 5.

Verse 2. אָמַרְתְּ, *Thou sayest*. 2d pers. fem. of the praeter tense. Why in the feminine? Every Hebrew student will at once think of נַפְשִׁי, *my soul*, as the nominative. *Thou, O my soul, sayest unto Jehovah, Thou art my Lord.* Notice the emphasis, MY *Lord thou.* It is the human soul of the Messiah speaking. טוֹבָתִי, *my happiness is naught beyond thee;* that is, I delight in nothing besides thee.

רְאוֹת טוֹבָה, *to see good*, to enjoy prosperity. Happiness is a phrase of frequent occurrence. See Job ix, 25; xxii, 21; Eccl. v, 1, 7. The suggestion of Prof. Stuart, that it refers to God as the *source* of joy or happiness, is not sustained by the Hebrew usage.

עָלֶיךָ, *besides thee.* This signification of עַל is at first view difficult. The original and usual signification of it is *upon, over.* From the meaning *over* we often have the associated idea of *surpassing, going beyond*, like the Latin *super omnes, supra modum*, English *over and above, besides*, as Gen. xlviii, 22: *I give thee a portion of land*, עַל אַחֶיךָ, *above thy brethren.*

Hence we render עַל in this clause *over and above*, or *besides Thee my happiness is nothing;* that is, in this hour of distress and calamity God alone is my help and my joy. See Gesenius's Lexicon.

In accordance with this view is the version of Symmachus: *ἀγαθόν μοί ὀυκἔτω ἄνευ σου, I have no happiness without Thee.* So Jerome in his version, *Bene mihi non est sine te.* So Syriac and the Targum.

טִיבְתִי לָא מִתְיְהִיבָא בַּר מִנָּךְ, *my happiness is not given except by thee.* So also the best German critics, as Hengstenberg, who aptly compares Exod. xx, 3: *Thou shalt have no other gods* BESIDES *me*, עַל פָּנָי, *in addition to me.* The doctrine of the passage is, that there is ever a divine and loving union between the Father and the Son.

Verse 3. לִקְדוֹשִׁים, *as to the saints, οἱ ἅγιοι* of the New Testament. לְ is like the Greek *κατα* before an accusative, *as to.* אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ, *who are in the earth*, in distinction from those in heaven. הֵמָּה is emphatic. The pronoun is thus frequently added for the sake of emphasis. See Nordheimer's Grammar, sec. 851. אַדִּירֵי, *the excellent of;* supply, אֶרֶץ, from the preceding *στίχος, the excellent of the earth, all my delight is in them.* This term, *the excellent*, and the subsequent clause, *all my delight* is in them, are beautifully expressive of Christ's love for the Church. "The Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Acts xx, 28.

Verse 4. The fourth verse is a protest against idolatry, and is appropriate, as the Saviour is to destroy the beast and the false prophet, that is, idolatry and its unsanctified wisdom. Rev. xvi. *They multiply their sorrows* [who] *hasten after another* [God.] עַצְּבוֹתָם *sorrows.* Gesenius has given this word the signification of *idols.* But his translator, Dr. Robinson, has very properly corrected him, and remarks that it elsewhere signifies sorrows; and it is better so to take it here as English version, *Many are their sorrows,* etc. Gesenius cites no other passage with this sense.

אַחֵר, *another.* The context shows that the noun to which this adjective belongs is *God,* as Jehovah is the object of Messiah's love, so *he* should be the object of the love of all the saints, and they who hasten after another god than Jehovah multiply their sorrows. The meaning *no other way,* insisted on by Prof. Stuart, does not seem to us so appropriate, nor in equal accordance with the context, and besides it is found nowhere else.

מָהָרוּ. The reasoning of Hengstenberg, going to show that this word means to *purchase a wife,* is very plausible, but not sufficiently sustained by parallel passages. We prefer, therefore, to retain the common signification of *hasten.* The usual meaning of words should not be abandoned without the clearest necessity.

בַּל־אַסִּיךְ נִסְכֵּיהֶם מִדָּם, *I will not pour out their libations of blood.* "Libations of wine were a part of the daily offerings made to the true God. Num. v, 5, 7, 10. But libations of blood, frequently of human blood, as is well known, were and still are made by very many of the idolatrous heathen."—*Stuart.*

Verse 5. On the contrary, *Jehovah is the portion of my lot and my cup.* Compare Num. xviii, 20: The Lord spake unto Aaron . . . I am thy part and thy inheritance among the children of Israel. (See Deut. x, 9; xviii, 1, 2.)

The beautiful expression, *The Lord is my cup,* is elsewhere used, as in Psalm xi, 6. My cup runneth over. Psalm xxii, 5. "The Lord is for his people a cup which is never empty, and never suffers them to become thirsty, the source of all good."—*Hengstenberg.*

אַתָּה תּוֹמִיךְ, *Thou art the supporter of my lot.* תּוֹמִיךְ is the present participle after the analogy of סֹבִיב. So Gesenius, whom I prefer to Hengstenberg, who would make it a Hiphil, from יָמַךְ; but this root is not found in Hebrew.

Verse 6. חֲבָלִים—בַּנְּעִמִים, *The lines have fallen to me in pleasant places.* The word חֶבֶל, *line, measuring line*, by which land was marked out or apportioned. Hence metaphorically *inheritance*, as here.

נָפְלוּ, *have fallen*, in reference to the custom of dividing heritages by lot. Compare Josh. xvii, 5; Amos vii, 17.

Verse 7. אֲבָרֵךְ—יְעָצָנִי, *I will bless Jehovah who careth for me.* The connection with the previous verses is this: God the father has given his Son a goodly heritage in the *Church*, redeemed out of a sinful world. Now I will bless him who has thus counseled for me, or *cared for me.* יָעַץ, not only to *give counsel*, but to give it with a loving interest. See Psalm xxxii, 8. *I will instruct* and teach thee the way thou shouldst go. *I will counsel thee with my eyes.* So the participial noun. Isa. ix, 5. His name shall be called *counselor*.

אַף—כִלְיוֹתָי, *surely by night my reins admonish me* [to bless Jehovah.] כִּלְיוֹתָי, *reins, inward parts;* hence *mind, soul,* often associated with לֵב, as Jer. xi, 20. "God trieth the reins and the heart." How beautifully this foreshadows the fact of our Saviour's continuing during the night seasons in the offering of prayer. Luke vi, 12.

Verse 8. שִׁוִּיתִי—תָמִיד, *I set Jehovah before me always*, as my protection and support. In the garden Jehovah sustained the agonizing Saviour, on the morning of the third day he raised him from the dead, and he shall see the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

כִּי—אֶמּוֹט, *because he is at my right hand I shall not be moved.* The right hand is the place of honor and of protection. The queen is at the right hand of the king. Psalm xlv. The saints are on the right hand of the Father, while the wicked are on his left. The Saviour contemplated his sufferings with calmness because Jehovah was at his right hand. He should not only be sustained in suffering, but should reap a glorious reward. "*For the joy that was set before him* he endured the cross, despised the shame, and is forever set down at the right hand of God." Hence follow the joyful anticipations of the following verses.

Verse 9. לָכֵן—כְבוֹדִי, *therefore my heart is glad and my glory* *rejoices.* כְּבוֹד, the soul, as it is here parallel with לֵב, as in Gen. xlix, 6, where it is joined with a feminine like נֶפֶשׁ. So Psalm xxx, 13: *That my glory* [soul] may sing praise unto thee. Psalm lvii, 8: *Awake my glory*, that is, my soul. Psalm cviii, 1: *I will sing and give praise, even with my glory*, that is, spirit.

אַף־בְּשָׂרִי, *yea, my flesh shall rest in hope.* How shall we interpret "*my flesh?*" Is it synonymous with לֵב in the previous στίχος; or is this parallel cumulative, and "my flesh" to be taken literally? I answer in the affirmative. Hengstenberg dissents.

Verse 10. כִּי—לִשְׁאוֹל, *for thou*, my God, my portion, and my cup—thou who makest my lot glorious, *wilt not leave my soul to sheol.* What is the meaning of שְׁאוֹל? Is it the grave? If נֶפֶשׁ, *the soul*, or the *animal life*, then how can it mean "the grave?" How can the soul or the *me* be confined in the grave? This meaning, therefore, we abandon as inconsistent with the context. Neither can it mean the world of the lost, for there is no evidence of Scripture that Christ went to the world beneath. See introduction, and this Review, Jan., 1849, pp. 79, 80.

שְׁאֹל, then, we take to mean "the dead," or the "condition of the dead;" and we render, Thou wilt not leave my soul to *the dead*, or in the condition of those who are dead. On the morning of the third day my soul shall rise again and be reunited to its own body, and in glorious triumph it shall exult over death.

לֹא תִתֵּן—שַׁחַת, *nor wilt thou permit thy Holy One to see corruption.* The "Holy One" is Christ. He shall not see corruption. So the apostles Peter and Paul. See introduction. Much controversy has arisen in regard to the word חֲסִידְיךָ, *thy Holy One.* As it stands in the text it is in the plural. The Masorites have given it in the margin in the singular. So the Septuagint, Peter and Paul, the Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, Arabic, Ethiopic, Jerome, the Talmud of Babylon, and ancient rabbies. Still all these may have been influenced by the Septuagint, and the reading found in the text may, after all, be the true one. May it not then be a simple *pluralis excellentiæ*, as many other names of the divine person, as אֱלֹהִים, אֲדֹנָי, שַׁדַּי. (See Nordheimer's Gram., sec. 553.)

Verse 11. תּוֹדִיעֵנִי אֹרַח חַיִּים, *thou wilt show me the path of life.* Thou, O Jehovah, wilt make me to enjoy the way of life—the blessedness of heaven—as the Redeemer of a lost world.

שֹׂבַע—פָּנֶיךָ, *fullness of joy is in thy presence.* But where is that presence? It is in the world of the blessed, when God unfolds his glory.

בִּימִינְךָ, *at thy right hand,* where the Son of God has forever set down, are *pleasures evermore.* Thus we are taught, not only the resurrection, but also the ascension of our Lord.

In conclusion, I have only to observe that from the interpretation given by the apostles Peter and Paul of the last three verses, it follows that the previous part of the psalm must be understood of the same person, otherwise all congruity and consistency are destroyed, and all the Philistines of a double sense are at once upon us.

ART. VI.—MAINE DE BIRAN AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE REVUE CHRETIENNE.

Œuvres Inédites De Maine de Biran, publiées par ERNEST NAVILLE, avec la collaboration de Marc Debrit. 3 vols., 8vo. Pp. 1,383. 1859.

Inedited Works of Maine de Biran, published by ERNEST NAVILLE, with the co-operation of Marc Debrit. 3 vols., 8vo. Pp. 1,383. 1859.

MAINE DE BIRAN is one of those men whose reputation has continually increased, because the age which disregarded his first productions has but gradually realized the influence which they have exercised on the progress of ideas and the general advance of the French mind. The same fortune of his works, published as they were at long intervals, and mostly after his decease, has in no small degree contributed to excite our curiosity, and to increase our sympathy for a solitary thinker, who, from his early obscurity, has arisen upon us little by little in his principal features and under forms so varied. The progressive history of this rare genius reproduces, as in epitome, the gradual development of the minds of our times; and by a marvelous coincidence the first of these two histories has only been known as it unfolded the second in its three principal periods. The philosophy of the nineteenth century, upon its *first* appearance, assumed the empirical, sensual, and at the same time materialistic direction which had prevailed in the preceding century; but in its *second* phase, paying a listening ear to the eloquent interpreters of spiritualism, it discarded the imitation of Locke and of Condillac for that of Plato and Descartes; in short, obeying its secret instincts, and at the same time listening to the lessons of experience and history, it has accomplished its *third* evolution by approaching, timidly at first, but with a decidedly increasing interest, the moral and religious questions which attach themselves to the study of Christianity. The mind of M. de Biran underwent the same changes; it attached itself successively to the ideology of Condillac, to the reaction of spiritualism, and to the meditation of the Gospel. It expressed, it summed up, so to speak, the three successive movements of cotemporaneous science; and after having forcibly co-operated in a species of philosophical revival in our country, it came to associate itself in some sort with our present religious awakening.

When M. de Biran expired in 1824, at the age of fifty-eight years, small was the number of his friends who felt the loss that French philosophy incurred in his death. Among his friends were reckoned Royer Collard, Ampère, Stapfer, Guizot, V. Cousin; and one of them—Royer Collard—said boldly, "He is our master in all things." Another, the wise M. Stapfer, declared that his death was a *calamity*, and summed up all his regrets with this declaration: "I conceive that religious philosophy has *need* of M. de Biran." The public had not been wont to hold this philosopher in so great esteem; it had known but little of him except in his *Memoir on Habit*, printed in 1803, and which, excepting some expressions of dissent then unperceived, seemed to reproduce, faithfully enough, the doctrines of Condillac. It was scarcely two years after his death, thanks to the most eminent of his disciples, the name of M. de Biran, arising from its semi-obscurity, was hailed as that of one of the founders of the new philosophy. M. Cousin in publishing for the first time, in 1834, the *Considerations on the Relations of the Physical and Moral of Man*, preceded it by one of those fine prefaces, of which he alone possesses the secret, and was enabled to fix the attention of the world of letters on the man whom he had often proclaimed his master, and *the greatest metaphysician who had honored France since Malebranche.* More recently, in 1841, the illustrious editor, wishing to complete his labor, prepared in four volumes the principal works of M. de Biran known to him; and philosophers believed that they possessed all the elements of a definitive judgment on this free and rigorous intellect; which, at first enchained by the ideologic sensualism of Condillac, had been rescued by his own reflections and put off a yoke unworthy of it, and who, after having rejected the prejudices by which it had been nourished, knew how, as we may say, to draw from its own substance a new and fruitful doctrine. Men admired this happy beginning, this thought so profound and strong, and the new school adopted for one of its founders the man whom M. Cousin persisted in calling the first metaphysician of his time.

But the work of the philosopher was not yet entirely known. The most of his productions, and in certain respects the most important, were inedited, and in danger of falling into obscurity, if a man of noble nature, M. François Naville, of Geneva, had not applied himself, with a wonderful perseverance, at first to discover, and then to prepare for publication, a great work on *Psychology*, on which he knew that M. de Biran had occupied himself for many years, and which all the world, except himself, had believed lost. The ardor of the venerable Genevese pastor would perhaps have been still greater had he known the progress made by M. de Biran; had he known that, after having broken with the philosophy of sensation in the name of the moral liberty of man, he had taken one step more in conceding to man, above the sensitive or animal life, above the human life properly so called, *a divine or religious life*, which was no other than *the Christian life.* Such are the facts decisively demonstrated by this publication of M. Ernest Naville, a worthy successor of his father in the pious work of re-establishing the thought of a great philosopher, and of restoring to his memory all the luster of which it is worthy.

The *unpublished works* of M. de Biran, which have at last come to light, are, 1. *The Essays on the Principles of Psychology*, which, with a *General Introduction* of the editor, compose the first two volumes; 2. Many writings or fragments composing the third volume, the most important of which are entitled *New Essays on Anthropology*, and are a valuable discovery of the last editor, and the unexpected fruits of his labor and perseverance. It is in this last work that M. de Biran has laid down the results of his lofty meditations, and it is especially here that he teaches his Christian philosophy. Unhappily, the *New Essays* have been but merely sketched out, and some of them in part only, and they have reached us in a deplorable state of mutilation. The thoughts of the author had then a great need of an interpreter and commentator. We find this indispensable commentary in the *General Introduction of the Editor*. But this is not the only nor the principal merit of the work. It has others better suited to most readers of this Review. The chief fragment contains not only a philosophical and religious history of an eminent thinker, but it is above all destined to demonstrate a thesis of general interest, namely, that faith does not exclude philosophy, and that our reason and our conscience may lead us by degrees to a free acknowledgment of the truths of Christianity. From the history of M. de Biran the transition to the examination of this grave question was easy; for if it is true that a spirit so bold, and which has proceeded so far and so deeply in metaphysical speculation, has been led by that same philosophy even into the arms of faith, just as in olden times was the case with St. Augustine, does not this excellent example brilliantly confirm the hopes of those who in our day seek peace of spirit in the union of liberal science with the Christian religion? So M. Naville believed, for he starts from this remarkable experience to establish, by the aid of reasoning and of history, the possibility and legitimacy of Christian philosophy. In the following pages we shall examine how M. Naville has acquitted himself of his double task. We will study in him at first an interpretation of M. de Biran, since the Christian desires to show the harmony of all his convictions.

I. All the world knows that M. de Biran at first adhered ostensibly to the method and principles of Condillac, professing, on the authority of the masters, that "all our reasoning is derived fundamentally, and primitively, from our perceptions or reception of impressions." However, although when he entered upon his career he admitted, without reservation, this dangerous hypothesis, yet his own moral sense and consciousness revolted against the prevailing doctrine. "What are our active *powers?*" he demanded from first to last; for this has been the problem of his whole life, and he seemed to have traced for himself the programme of his work when he wrote, about 1794 or 1795: "It would be desirable that a man accustomed to observe for himself should analyze *the will*, as Condillac has analyzed *the understanding.*" *He was destined to be that man;* and there can be no doubt but that his analysis ruined that of Condillac. The editor perceives during this first period a certain indecision in the thoughts; he collects with care the minute evidences of a strife between contrary principles; and it was not very difficult for him to discern, even in M. de Biran's work on "Habit," "the germs, already developed, of tendencies which ought to lead very far from sensualism." There is, first, the conviction that there is an effort and reaction of the soul in certain impressions called *active*, and which, under the improper name of perceptions, are opposed to the sensations or passive impressions. Then comes the idea of *cause;* which, after having been considered as a product of the imagination, is studied again in a note upon the exercise of our *personal power.* In short, some serious doubts of the doctrine of Condillac, a penetrating and judicious critique of the pretended analysis of this philosophy, a strong showing forth of the want of a true analysis upon the science of the soul, reveal already the uniform predispositions and the incomparable perspicacity of him who has been called with reason "a man without equal in France for the talent of interior observation, for penetration and depth in psychological judgment."

Such an observer could not remain long ignorant of himself. So M. de Biran was not slow to acquire a full consciousness of his position. Compelled to meditate on the doctrine of the day, he had at once recognized its insufficiency; he had discovered of himself, without foreign aid, an essential element of human nature, of which this doctrine could render no account. He soon comprehended at what a distance he found himself from a doctrine which saw in man nothing but the passive subject of knowledge, a sort of alembic, whose impressions were mechanically transformed into ideas; and in the name of *experi-*

ence, upon which all pretended to rely, he asserted the ACTIVITY *of intelligent being*; an important fact for a long time forgotten by philosophers, and which he had been able to recover, in spite of the false analysis, solely by the force of his thought applied to the study of his own acts. He fully merits, then, that worthy homage which has been rendered him by one well worthy of trust, M. Cousin himself. "Of all my masters in France, M. de Biran, if he is not indeed the greatest, is assuredly the most original. M. Laromiguière, with some modifications, is entirely a continuator of Condillac. M. Royer Collard comes from the Scotch philosophy, whom, with the vigor and natural power of his reasoning powers, he would have infallibly surpassed, had he followed those pursuits which are not the least part of his glory. For me, I came from the Scotch and German philosophy. M. de Biran alone *came from himself and his own meditations*."

Whatever the merits of the exposition of later editors of M. de Biran may be, M. Cousin will always have the honor of being the first to grasp with vigor, and then to explain with a fullness and remarkable clearness, that doctrine of his master which, by an exaggeration easily to be comprehended, he has called "the *sole idea*" of that philosopher. This idea, which in his opinion has sufficed for his whole life, has entirely a philosophical design; it is the re-inauguration of the *active element*, with its train of consequences. And he shows with eloquence the true activity discovered in the will, human liberty placed above all sophisms, Leibnitz restored among us, Hume triumphantly refuted; in short, spiritualism established in philosophy on the same basis with experience.

M. Naville could only reproduce with less of *eclat* this exposition in its principal traits. But he has enriched it with precious details, by the means of resources which were at his disposal, and above all by the aid of the *Essays on the Principles of Psychology*, which are for the first time given to the public entire, and which will continue to be, he says, "the most noted work of M. de Biran, and as for pure psychology his best work." Perhaps its importance will be better understood when we add that it comprises a philosophy but little removed from the bounds of psychology. The reader will certainly not expect to find here an analysis of the *Essays*. He would blame us for wishing to reperform what has been so well done by the editor, first in the *Introduction*, next in the *Summary*, which he has placed at the end of the second volume; and thirdly, in the brief but excellent *Notice*, for which he is indebted to the Dictionary of the Philosophical Sciences.. After this triple performance, it will suffice for the object of this present article to note briefly some one of those thoughts which M. de Biran has developed on *choice*, and which characterize the most of that period of his intellectual life which M. Naville has called, very judiciously, "Philosophy of the Will."

In introducing the *activity*, as he has decisively done, into a *being*, according to the Condillacians, purely sensitive, M. de Biran substitutes for the artificial *unity* of the "transformed sensation" the *duality* of the Ego, which acts and perceives itself to act, and of the organism to which it is united, and which resists it. This view, once admitted, extended and developed itself in his mind, and after having been made as a passing observation, it becomes the center and point of departure for all his philosophy. In the *Essays* he does it not merely to establish a forgotten fact, but to deduce from that fact a theory of man, and at the same time a theory of intellect. When pure psychology has discovered by observation the primitive fact at which the Ego acquires the consciousness of itself, namely, the effort of the will to overcome the resistance of the body, it has, by the same means, according to M. de Biran, determined the origin of the fundamental notion upon which reposes all the action of thought. In fact the idea of *force*, of *substance*, of *cause*, of *space* and of *time*, those of *unity*, *identity*, and of *liberty*, are nothing else than particular aspects or diverse expressions of a sole notion, that of the volitional Ego; type, eminently, of *force*; manifestation of a *substance* which opposes itself to another substance; *cause* of muscular movement; one *activity*, indivisible, identical through the succession of its acts.

Under all these aspects the idea of the Ego is indissolubly connected with and antithetical to that of the non-Ego. To the human spirit, which is the subject and principle of all knowledge, is at once opposed and united, in the consciousness, another element, which is in some sort the object-matter of the will and of thought. Man is double; and to explain his nature it is necessary to follow the two elements in their diverse combinations. We can discover by these means four *systems*, or real modes of our existence: 1. The *affective* system, or purely animal life, resulting from the primitive play of the organic machine. 2. The *sensitive* system, which develops itself in the state of wakefulness, and where the soul momently intervenes by a first effort, but where its *activity* proper is subordinate to the impressions from without. 3. The *perceptive* system, which witnesses an effort more energetic in the important act of attention. 4. Finally, by the *reflective* system, or the highest degree of the effort, when the Ego, distinguishing itself from all which is not Ego, arrives at a clear knowledge of its own power to act, without ceasing nevertheless to feel its body. All these real states which man traverses show, in his opinion, two distinct lives: that of the *organism*, which constitutes the *physical*, and that of the Ego, which constitutes the *moral*. By the union and the opposition of these elements of our nature, by their varied relations and the union of the one or the other, M. de Biran has explained, in an ingenious manner, mental alienation, sleep, dreams, somnambulism, instinct of animals, etc. He takes care to sacrifice neither the influence of the physical over the moral, nor the hyper-organic nature of the feeling and willing principle, and seems to harmonize admirably human duality with the unity of consciousness. Thus his theories pay homage to observation and common sense; although they abound in new ideas, which his editor knows how to corroborate, sometimes by his interesting developments and sometimes by judicious suggestions. Being unable to advance further with him in this study, let us note at least that by his doctrine of the will M. de Biran has powerfully contributed to restore French philosophy to the paths of a wise spiritualism, while at the same time he illustrates by his example the psychological method which alone can insure the advance, and guarantee the progress of the science of man.

M. Naville has placed in a perfectly clear light this double service rendered to the philosophy of our day in France, but he has gone too far perhaps in assigning to M. de Biran a place apart in the general history of the human mind. Ancient spiritualism, in his opinion, attached itself too exclusively to *thought*, to which it rendered the will subordinate, so that we are able to sum it up in this formula: "*Man is an intelligence served by* *a will*," thence as a necessary consequence the determination or negation of liberty. Now, says he, it is the contrary which is true, and M. de Biran is the only man, after Descartes, who has comprehended and marked the anteriority of the volitional power in its relation to the intelligence.

That this estimate of classic spiritualism, so to speak, is very ingenious, I willingly acknowledge. I believe it to have some foundation in truth. But is not the importance ascribed to M. de Biran a little excessive? I fear that his able defender has allowed himself to be carried away by his zeal for a philosopher whom he by so noble an undertaking saved from obscurity, or, if you please, from that common notoriety which is the reward of average talents and medium virtues. Assuredly M. de Biran has a claim to something more; for he was an original thinker, and his doctrine has exercised a salutary influence in marking its imprint on the most eminent minds, on the chiefs even of our philosophical literature. First, M. Cousin and then M. Jouffroy accepted him as a master, and his writings have popularized this conviction of our moral liberty, which, fertilized by the idea of duty, still inspires so happily the noble talent of M. Jules Simon. These facts are worthy of being signalized, and it is not we who contest their importance; but is it not overrunning proper bounds to compare and to oppose to Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, Descartes, Malebranche; and to Leibnitz, to Reid, and to Kant, a philosopher who after all does not hold an equal position with them? Further, is it not rather rash to affirm so explicitly as M. Naville does "the priority of M. de Biran in the movement of those minds which have produced the cotemporaneous philosophy?" Nothing is in general more difficult than to establish a right of this kind. Aristotle himself has a hundred times been proved as the inventor of syllogism, and yet is constantly called in question. As to what is due M. de Biran, we ought undoubtedly to attribute to him a great part in the reaction of the French mind against the school of Condillac; but if he has fortified in associating himself with it, we ought to admit that he has elicited, not shaped it. Every one knows that his opposition to sensualism was for a long time obscure, and that the public knew him under this relation only subsequent to a crowd of celebrated writers, and also of philosophers, such as M. Royer Collard, M. Laromiguière, and M. Cousin himself. Now, is it in the least shown that he has preceded in intention those who labored among us for the revival of thought and the renewal of philosophy? Before M. de Biran came to Paris to propagate his new notions among persons of note, had not Cabanis already written to M. Fauriel that letter on *Primary Causes* which appeared at the time a retraction of his former opinions; while others saw in it but the developments of that germ of spiritualism which well-wishing attention can discover even in the saddest productions of the French philosophy of the eighteenth century? The elevated doctrine of M. Royer Collard was firmly established, and expressed in a language worthy of itself, before it came in contact with the ideas of M. de Biran. It was the same with M. Laromiguière who, in the year 1805, presented, in his *Paradoxes of Condillac*, an approaching reform of that doctrine of which his spiritual lectures were at the time an exposition and critique. Finally in 1804, while the thought of M. de Biran was still exploring itself, a modest scholar, but very well known, and to whom belongs a place in our philosophical literature, namely, Pierre Provost of Geneva, had published in two volumes his *Essays of Philosophy*, where we meet, by the side of sad concessions to the hypotheses of the ideologists, some elements of a doctrine more solid, more elevated, and more enlarged: the doctrine of sensation, of intelligence, and of the will; the active and moral faculties of man opposed to his intellectual faculties; the activity of the soul in sensation, to which it either "surrenders or resists;" the attention above all analyzed and described as an effort frequently the most painful, and cited as a proof of "that empire which the soul exercises over its faculties in order to stop its natural levity;" finally, in default of originality, an honorable independence opposed to a reigning philosophy, to which the author highly prefers the Scottish school. Without going further, without seeking for other proofs, it is certain that M. de Biran was not the initiator of the movement before the public, and it is permissible to doubt whether he had revolved it even in his study.

For a stronger reason we ought not to subscribe to the judgment by which M. Naville pretends to reform philosophical history to the advantage of the philosopher of Bergerac. For believing him, it is no longer necessary to date modern philosophy from Descartes, if thereby we mean a philosophy founded on the psychological method and on the observation of the Ego. All this is said of M. de Biran. I do not exaggerate. The following are M. Naville's words:

> If this credit be not properly due M. de Biran he is at least entitled to a large share of it, and should by just title be considered as *the founder of the psychological method.* . . . Descartes without doubt has placed at the base of his metaphysical edifice the *I am*, the immediate expression of the fact of consciousness. But . . . scarcely has he taken a step before he abandons the ground of fact in order to launch into the world of ideas. . . . All the demands he makes of experience, the rights of which he is in a hurry to forget, is to be a stepping-stone from which to sally forth. . . . It is then very vainly, as it seems to me, that for hastily seizing upon a word, the real import of which has not been examined, men have been willing to declare him the founder of the psychological method, and the promoter of internal observation in the entire speculative department. . . . The point from which all at once Descartes has taken his departure, namely, the *I am*, is where M. de Biran has stopped.

If one limits himself to showing that M. de Biran is more exclusively a psychologist than Descartes it is undeniably true. But because a great intellect, which embraced in their wholeness the problems of philosophy, did not circumscribe all his life in the study of his own nature, this is not a sufficient motive for accusing him of having forgotten the importance of that study. The allegation is indeed founded upon the smallness of the place accorded to the *I think, therefore I am*, in the *Discourse on Method.* But this discourse is but an abridgment of the philosophy of Descartes. It is unnecessary that its brevity should cause this illusion. All there is recapitulated and condensed, namely, the study of God, and that of the physical world, as well as that of the science of the soul; and that is laid at the base of all the system, not, as one has well said, a single fact taken at hazard in its domain, but, I repeat it, the science of the entire soul. The design of Descartes in this respect has nothing of doubt or of obscurity; it is developed fully enough in the *Meditations*, in the *Responses to the Objections*, and in the *Principles of Philosophy.* Let any one read the *Meditations* in particular, and he will see that Descartes is not content merely to establish the *I think, therefore I am;* but that before he launches forth more deeply he tries to render an account of his own nature.

There, then, he gives but a summary of his doctrine of the soul. But we may judge of the value he attached to it by that admirable passage placed at the opening of the third *Meditation:* "I will firmly shut my eyes, I will close my ears, I will efface from my thought all images of things corporeal; or, at least, since I am hardly able to do this, I will consider them as vain and as false; and thus keeping on by myself and considering my interior, I will try to become little by little more acquainted and more familiar with myself." Finally, history presents us a magnificent commentary on the thought of Descartes, in the development of his school, in that succession of writings upon the knowledge of himself, on the nature of man, and on the human understanding, in which it suffices us to recall the chief works of Malebranche and Locke. Before we arrive at M. de Biran, it is necessary to go through with Kant and Reid, not to make mention of Condillac, whose school has meantime finished by placing all philosophy in psychology, confounded, it is true, with the analysis of the sensations.

M. de Biran partook of the narrow manner of viewing philosophy. More slowly his views expanded it, but he remained always within the limits of psychology; and there even he did not ascribe to all the elements of human nature their legitimate part. To the exclusive doctrine of the man-sensation he opposed the doctrine, almost as exclusive, of the man-will; and, omitting reason, he does not know how to explain the knowledge of *first truths*, the idea of the *infinite*, and even the notion of *duty*. Strange fact, and yet incontestable; M. de Biran has left the ethical without the pale of his philosophy. We can hardly be enough astonished that a spirit so penetrating and so conscientious should have remained so long a time plunged in the study of the will, without ever seriously preoccupying itself with *the law of that will.* Nothing is more true, meantime, than this apparent paradox. No writing of M. de Biran has thus far come to disprove this; and the *Fragments on the Foundations of Morality*, which contain the third volume of the new publication, as well as the interesting preface of M. Marc Debrit, do themselves prove but one thing, namely, the exclusive attachment of the author to the psychological analysis. They go to confirm at once the more important critiques passed upon him by his first editor, when he signalized the omissions of the system.

"The theory of M. de Biran," said he, "true in itself, is profound but narrow. M. de Biran has recovered, and properly replaced, a real order of facts entirely forgotten and effaced; he has separated from sensation and re-established in his independence the voluntary and free activity which characterizes the human personality. But, as if exhausted in this work, he did not retain enough force or light to seek and discern another order of phenomena hidden under the two first."

M. Naville, in his turn, noticed with not less force than M. Cousin this default, so to be regretted in a philosopher on the will. He expatiates on this double singularity of a profound analysis of human activity, which passes in silence the motives of our actions, and of a theory of knowledge, which separates itself from sensualism without bringing to light the ideas and notions irreducible to experience. Axioms, principles of the reason, moral law, existence of God, necessary truths, the rational order, are all wholly absent. How could a philosopher so decidedly empiric become Christian?

II. The empiricism of M. de Biran, according to the remark of his editor, is of a nature entirely peculiar, and ought not to be confounded with any other. The author of the *Essays* belongs, then, it is true, to the school of experience; but this is due "to the omissions of his method rather than to his method itself."

In short, if M. de Biran did not ascribe to thought a suitable place in his analysis, it did not proceed so much from a resolution taken to deny reason, as from a profound sentiment of the activity of the will, and from a desire of establishing its reality by means of experience. If he had for a long time the fault of rejecting all distinction between the intellect and the will, it was not that he wished to weaken or suppress the most elevated conceptions of the soul. It was rather the exaggeration of a truth too little remarked even then, and which M. Naville has developed with a just complaisance, namely, that the spontaneous activity of the soul does not necessarily suppose thought, but that, on the contrary, intelligence has for an indispensable condition the first activity, of which it is but a manifestation, either as it sought truth, or as it adhered to it with more or less energy. Now this preoccupation of the character of the will in the acts of intelligence carried its remedy with it. Precisely, because M. de Biran constantly demanded, *What are our powers?* he was obliged to recognize sooner or later, as formerly the later stoics, but in a different manner, the limits of our voluntary power. So we see him, in 1813, avowing to himself that attention is not cognition, and that effort no more creates ideas than the fact of opening the eyes creates light. "To open the eyes of the spirit," says he, "to direct them to the spot from whence comes the light, to hold their gaze fixed upon an object, comprise all our powers, and all in which our liberty consists. From this, then, he more and more clearly distinguishes two sorts of thought: on one part, cognition, properly so called, which he continues to call experience, and which rests on the consciousness of the voluntary and free action, or of the Ego; on the other part, belief, that is to say, the fated and necessary conviction of all truths, which he calls absolute, such as the soul in its substance, the existence of the corporeal substance, universal notions, principles, and above all the infinite, the eternal, in short, God; of whom the idea daily acquired grandeur in his soul and took a place in his philosophy. From the year 1818 M. de Biran entered decidedly into a new phase, in which the philosophy of the will, which he had at first joined to, or rather substituted for, that of sensation, found itself completed and corrected in its turn by a higher philosophy. We can judge of the channel of his thought by the following passage, in which he lays down the division and plan of his New Essays on Anthropology, commenced in 1823:

> I shall form three divisions of the science of man, such as I conceive it to be. This notion of man is infinitely complicated, since it includes all the passive modes of our existence, all the diverse products of the living forces which constitute it. These living forces, or these *lives* which interior experience knows how to distinguish, and which the inner sense does not allow us to mistake, are *three*, and not merely one; although there is but one man logically, and psychologically but a unique Ego. I shall lay down, therefore, *three* divisions of this work. The first comprehends the phenomena of animal life, which I do not distinguish from that which has been distinguished under the title of organic life. I shall say why this distinction, futile in itself, is useless for my object. The second division will include the facts relative to the proper life of man as a feeling and thinking subject, obedient to the passions of the animal life, and at the same time free to act in its proper force and in virtue of this force alone, a moral person, an Ego, which knows itself, and knows other things, exercises diverse intellectual oper-

ations which have their common principle in the consciousness of the *Ego*, or in the active force which constitutes it. The third division, the most important of all, is that which philosophy even to the present time has felt it necessary to abandon to the speculations of mysticism, although it also resolves itself in facts of observation, exploring an elevated nature, it is true, superior to sense, but not foreign to the *spirit* which knows God and itself. This division will comprehend, then, the facts or modes and acts of the spiritual life. . . . All the faculties relative to the spiritual life constitute the *spirit* of man in a state of pure receptivity of an influence superior to itself, but not foreign to its most elevated nature. This influence, in manifesting itself to the spirit's interior view, reveals at the same time the spirit itself as at the base of all, and as in connection with an ideal of beauty, of intellectual and moral perfection, etc. (*New Essays*. Introduction, tome iii, pp. 356–357.)

The *New Essays* were destined, in the thought of their author, to explain the nature of each of these three *lives*, in showing their differences, their mutual connections, and their hierarchy. Death did not permit him to finish his work; but we have an outline of it, which suffices at the least to give us a knowledge of its essential traits, and to attest the presence of a definitive doctrine, of which we find remaining but the indications. We shall examine soon, in another article, the import of this later evolution of his thought.

ART. VII.—THE EXPLOITS AND MIRACLES OF FRANCIS XAVIER.

Life of St. Francis Xavier, Confessor, Apostle of the Indies. By Rev. ALBAN BUTLER. Dublin: 1833.

Life of a Jesuit Missionary. By Rev. W. H. RULE, D. D. London: 1852.

THE Church of Rome, from the period of her pretension to ecumenical supremacy, has sought in various ways to profit by the credulity of mankind. She has forged apostolical constitutions, she has sought to authenticate false decretals; and to say nothing now of her system of indulgences, by which she has made merchandise of the souls of men, she has encouraged the traffic in relics till Europe and other portions of the Catholic world are filled with proofs of the extent to which superstition can be mingled with a semblance of the truth.*

Perhaps the most remarkable of all the modern prodigies performed or recorded in the interests of the Roman Church, are those associated with the names of Francis Xavier and his master, Ignatius Loyola.

Of the latter Trench remarks: "Upward of two hundred miracles of Loyola were laid before the Pope when his canonization was in question, miracles beside which those of our Lord shrink into insignificance. If Christ by his word and look rebuked and expelled demons, Ignatius did the same by a letter. If Christ walked once upon the sea, Ignatius many times in the air. If Christ by his shining countenance and glistening garments once amazed his disciples, Ignatius did it frequently, and, entering into dark chambers, could by his presence light them up as with candles."

Notwithstanding these marvels, the name of Loyola has come to be regarded, at least in the Protestant world, as little less than the synonym of craft, unscrupulousness, and duplicity. Xavier, however, owing to convenient abridgments and commutations that have been made in his history, is held in a very different estimation.

At this late period we should hardly deem it important to bring the life of Xavier to the test of criticism, did it not seem to have become a habit of some Protestant writers and speakers to present it often for the admiration and imitation of the present and future generations. Of the propriety of this course a better judgment may be formed in the sequel.

The full life of our hero was written in Latin by F. Turselin, in six volumes, and first printed at Rome in 1594. The same author translated into Latin and published, in 1596, the saint's letters, in four volumes. His life was further written by Orlandino, in the history of the Society of Jesus; in Italian by Bartoli and Maffei, in Portuguese by Luzena, in Spanish by Garcia, and in German by Nuremberg; while it figures largely in Guzman's history of missions to the East Indies, and various books of history and travel relating to the East. From these and other sources a most popular life of Xavier was compiled and written in French by the celebrated Jesuit rhetorician Bouhours. In 1688 a translation, purporting to have been made by Dryden, was published in English. Dr. Johnson, in his life of the poet, discredits his having made the translation; and the probability is that as he had about that time professed Romanism, his name was merely secured to aid in the circulation of the book. Thus it will be seen that all the principal countries of Europe have been favored with full accounts of the man whom the Jesuits delighted to honor. One of the most substantial Catholic biographies of Xavier is that first named at the head of this article, and found in Butler's Lives of the Saints. It is a thorough digest of the material furnished by the original biographers, and the Catholicity, piety, and learning of the author are officially attested by not less than twenty-eight bishops and archbishops of the Roman Church.

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* Not to speak of the bones of the saints generally and the wood of the true cross, the following may be named as specimens of the relics of which the more favored churches and cathedrals boast: A piece of linen cloth woven by the Virgin Mary; a piece of the head of a fish mentioned by Tobit; the scissors with which Delilah cut off Samson's locks; a piece of the apron which the butcher wore who killed the fatted calf at the return of the prodigal; a branch of the tree on which Absalom hung by the hair; a piece of St. Peter's fishing-net; a quill from the wing of the Archangel Gabriel.

The memoir by Dr. Rule is the first of a series entitled CELEBRATED JESUITS. The series includes memoirs of a saint, a doctor, a regicide, a cardinal, a mandarin, and a refugee. It is written from a Protestant point of view, and with great ability.

In order to reach in the most direct manner the merits of the case now under inquiry, we will present a summary statement of the principal miracles said to have been performed by Francis Xavier, taken from the record of Father Butler in his own language, which we have barely illuminated with a few italics.

It is worthy of observation that all these miracles are located beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and that the series commenced immediately after the arrival of the missionary in the Portuguese possessions of the East. One of the original six of the company of Loyola, Xavier was its first foreign missionary. He sailed from Lisbon in 1541, bearing briefs as an apostolic nuncio, and accompanied by two subordinates. His first destination was Goa, the seat of Portuguese authority, but a place abandoned to the lowest degree of immorality.

MIRACLES AT THE PEARL FISHERIES.

The reformation of the whole city of Goa was accomplished in half a year, when the saint was informed that on the coast of the Pearl Fishery there were a certain people called Paravas, who some time ago, in order to please the Portuguese, who had succored them against the Moors, had caused themselves to be baptized, but for want of instructions retained their superstitions and vices. Xavier had by this time got a little acquaintance with the Malabar language, which is spoken on that coast; and taking with him two young ecclesiastics who understood it competently well, embarked in October, 1542, and sailed to Cape Comorin, six hundred miles from Goa.

Here St. Francis went into a village full of idolaters and preached Jesus Christ to them, but the inhabitants told him that they could not change their religion without the leave of their lord. Their obstinacy, however, yielded to the force of *miracles*, by which God was pleased to manifest his truth to them.

A woman who had been three days in the pains of childbirth, without being eased by any remedies or prayers of the Brahmins, was immediately delivered and recovered upon being instructed in the faith and baptized by St. Francis, *as he himself relates in a letter to St. Ignatius*. Upon *this miracle* not only that family, but most of the chief persons of the country, listened to his doctrine and heartily embraced the faith.

When Xavier proceeded to preach to the heathen Paravas so great were the multitudes which he baptized that sometimes, by the bare fatigue of administering that sacrament, he was scarcely able to move his arm, according to the account which he gave to his brethren in Europe. . . . Diseases seem never to have been so frequent on that coast as at that time; which happened as if it had been to drive the most obstinate in spite of their reluctance into the folds of the Church, for the people had almost all recourse to St. Francis for their cure or that of some friend, and great numbers recovered their health by being baptized or by invoking the name of Jesus. The saint *frequently* sent some young neophite with his crucifix, beads, or reliquary to touch the sick, after having recited with them the Lord's prayer, creed, and commandments; and the sick, by declaring unfeignedly that they believed in Christ and desired to be baptized, *recovered their health*.

This *great number of miracles*, and the admirable innocence, zeal, and sanctity of the preacher, recommended him to the veneration of the Brahmins themselves.

The process of the saint's canonization makes mention of four dead persons to whom God restored life *at this time* by the ministry of his servant. The first was a catechist who had been stung by a serpent of that kind whose stings are always mortal; the second was a child who was drowned in a pit; the third and fourth a young man and maid whom a pestilential fever had carried off.

AT TRAVANCORE.

While he exercised his zeal in Travancore God *first* communicated to him *the gift of tongues*, according to the relation of a young Portuguese of Coimbra, named Vaz, who attended him in many of his journeys. He spoke very well the language of those barbarians without having learned it, and had no need of an interpreter when he instructed them. He sometimes preached to five or six thousand persons together in some spacious plain.

As the saint was one day preaching at Coulon, a village in Travancore, perceiving that few were converted by his discourse, he made a short prayer that God would honor the blood and name of his beloved Son by softening the hearts of the most obdurate. Then he bade some of the people open the grave of a man who was buried the day before, near the place where he preached, and the body was beginning to putrefy with a noisome scent, which he desired the bystanders to observe. Then falling on his knees, after a short prayer, he commanded the dead man in the name of the living God to arise. At these words the dead man arose, not only living, but vigorous and in perfect health. All who were present were so struck with this evidence that, throwing themselves at the saint's feet, they demanded baptism.

The holy man also raised to life on the same coast a young man who was a Christian, whose corpse he met as it was carried to the grave. These miracles made so great impressions on the people that the whole kingdom of Travancore was subjected to Christ in a few months, except the king and some of his courtiers.

AT MALACCA.

The saint arrived here on September 25, 1545, and by the irresistible force of his zeal and *miracles* reformed the debauched manners of the Christians, and converted many Pagans and Mohammedans.

On a subsequent visit to Malacca Xavier restored to life a young man named Francis Ciavos, who afterward took the habit of the society.

IN JAPAN,

New miracles confirmed his doctrine. By his blessing, a child's body, which was swelled and deformed, was made straight and beautiful, and by his prayers a leper was healed, and a pagan young maid of quality that had been dead a whole day was raised to life.

At Amanguchi God restored to St. Francis the gift of tongues; for he often preached to the Chinese merchants who traded there in their mother tongue, which he had never learned.

Passing over various miracles of a less imposing character, we only notice further those which occurred

> ### AFTER HIS DEATH.
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> He died at Sancian, a Portuguese smuggling station on the coast of China, December 2, 1552. His corpse was interred on Sunday, being laid, after the Chinese fashion, in a large chest which was filled with unslacked lime, to the end that the flesh being consumed the bones might be carried to Goa. On the 17th of February, 1553, the grave was opened to see if the flesh was consumed; but the lime being taken off the face it was found ruddy and fresh colored, like that of a man who is in a sweet repose. The body was in like manner whole, and the natural moisture uncorrupted; and the flesh being a little cut in the thigh, near the knee, the blood was seen to run from the wound.
>
> The sacerdotal habits in which the saint was buried were in no way endamaged by the lime; and the holy corpse exhaled an odor so fragrant and delightful that the most exquisite perfumes came nothing near it. The sacred remains were carried into the ship, and brought to Malacca on the twenty-second of March, where they were received with great honor. The pestilence which for some weeks had laid waste the town on a sudden ceased. The body was interred in a damp church-yard; yet in August was found entire, fresh, and still exhaling a sweet odor, and being honorably put in a ship, was translated to Goa, where it was received and placed in the church of the college of St. Paul, on the 15th of March, 1554; upon which occasion several blind persons recovered their sight, and others, sick of palsies and other diseases, their health and the use of their limbs. By order of King John III. a verbal process of the life and miracles of the man of God was made with the utmost accuracy at Goa, and in other parts of the Indies.
>
> Many miracles were wrought through his intercession in several parts of the Indies and Europe, confessed by several Protestants, and Tavernier calls him the St. Paul and true apostle of the Indies. St. Francis was beatified by Paul V., in 1554, and canonized by Gregory XV. in 1662. By an order of John V., king of Portugal, the archbishop of Goa, attended by the viceroy, the marquis of Castle Nuovo, in 1744, performed a visitation of the relics of St. Francis Xavier; at which time the body was found without the least bad smell, and seemed environed with a kind of shining brightness; and the face, hands, breast, and feet had not suffered the least alteration or symptom of corruption.

This summary statement, with all its exaggerations, falls very far below the standard of the picture drawn by the florid pen of Bouhours and other writers who have aimed to make the most of their case. As a specimen of the more moderate wonders attending upon the career of the saint, we will quote from another author an incident of his voyage to the Moluccas:

> When sailing one day among those islands a tempest arose, and in order to quell it, as they say, he touched it with his crucifix.

> The virtue of the crucifix stilled the raging of wind and sea; but to his great grief he let the image fall into the water. Some time afterward, walking with a Portuguese on the beach, he saw the sacred object appear above the crest of a wave. The wave broke on the sand and threw up a crab, holding the crucifix in one of its claws. Xavier stood still. The crab crawled toward him, carrying the cross erect, laid it at his feet, and returned to his native element.

Taking the last specimen as a basis of expansion, it may be inferred that full justice could not be done to the marvelous events condensed above, with their appropriate episodes, short of volumes. We must, however, content ourselves, for the most part, with the simplest form of stating what purport to be facts, and which, as such, have had the sanction of formal investigation and solemn oaths in the presence of popes and cardinals. Among these, it will be observed, that we have miracles of healing without number—miracles of tongues, the control of the elements, and the restoration of the dead to life, in *far greater numbers* than attended the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ!

As to the miracles following the decease of the saint, it is to be confessed that they were not in imitation of anything narrated in the gospels. Their importance, however, may be estimated from the statement of Father Butler in another connection, that "*the miracles chiefly attended to in a canonization are those which have been performed after a person's death.*"

Now be it observed, that the miracles attributed to Francis Xavier and his remains are either true or false, and great must be the credulity of the person who, in these days, can credit the truth of any one of them. Their very number and extravagance condemns them. Their spuriousness is patent. The fable is not even cunningly devised; it is absurd.

But the question will be asked whether there was not a sufficient foundation of truth to enable us to throw away the embellishments of lying biographers and the absurd inventions of miracle-mongers, and still have evidence that, if not a saint, Xavier was at least a model missionary?

This is the precise question to which the remaining remarks shall be devoted. We have no wish to set down aught in malice against any man, but we think it time that the Protestant world at least should discriminate between saints and fanatical impostors, by whomsoever apotheosized.

To form a just estimate of the character of Francis Xavier, we need to go back to the beginning of his career, and ascertain the *animus* of his early movements, as well as the relations he sustained to the grand scheme of Jesuitism. This will require us to notice some statements of his biographers which we shall denominate EXPLOITS, in contradistinction to miracles.

When Ignatius Loyola first visited Paris to proselyte for his new order, with a sagacious reference to the influence of learning, he entered himself as a student at a college. He there not only repaired the deficiencies of his own education, but became associated with susceptible and promising young men, who readily yielded to his personal influence and became imbued with his spirit. One of the first whom he sought to win to his plans was his fellow-Spaniard, the subject of the present notice. Francis was then pursuing with some *éclat* a course of philosophy at the same college of St. Barbara, and already lecturing at a neighboring college.

At first nothing was further from his thoughts than the idea of becoming a saint. His head was full of ambitious plans in reference to scholarly advancement; and he made a long and vigorous resistance to the solicitations of a man who had already won notoriety by his austere practices. Indeed, he "bantered and rallied Ignatius on all occasions, ridiculing the poverty and meanness in which he lived as a degenerate lowness of soul."

Ignatius was too old a soldier not to watch his chances for a flank attack when repulsed in front. Therefore, "assaulting him on the *weaker* side, he often congratulated him for his talents and learning, applauded his lectures, and made it his business to procure him scholars; also, on a certain occasion, when he was in necessity, he furnished him with money." Few persons are able to resist the flattery of their vanity, and fewer still are indifferent to the friendship of those who can supply their lack of money. Francis under these appliances began to yield.

The zeal of Ignatius became still further aroused by a new discovery. Francis was in danger of becoming a Protestant! "At that time certain emissaries of the Lutherans secretly scattered their errors among the students at Paris, in so dexterous a manner as to make them appear plausible, and Xavier, who was naturally curious, took pleasure in hearing these novelties, till Ignatius put him upon his guard."

Ignatius, with ominous emphasis, renewed to him the scriptural interrogatory, "What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

At length we find our subject giving "*himself up to the conduct of Ignatius*," and seeking protection by the aid of "haircloth, fasting, and other austerities." Here is the key to the character of Francis Xavier. At the turning point of his life, instead of taking the word of God, which seems to have been providentially brought to his attention, for his guide, he deliberately and without reserve submitted himself to the spiritual control of the most determined fanatic of his own or of any age. Thenceforward we find him the faithful echo, or the implicit tool of Ignatius. The very next record made by Butler is, that at a following vacation he performed Ignatius's "spiritual exercises, in which, such was his fervor, that he passed four days without taking any nourishment."

It is quite possible to suppose that these men verily thought they were gaining a mastery over their spirits by these mortifications of the flesh, but it is difficult not to believe also that they had all the time a shrewd reference to the sanctity with which outward inflictions would invest them in the eyes of the superstitious. Butler calls Xavier "the Thaumaturgus of these latter ages," and if we carefully observe his movements from the time he espoused the cause of Loyola, we shall be strongly inclined to the belief that, instead of a real conversion, his ambition only took a new direction. Instead of pursuing fame in the doubtful career of a scholar, he now sought it in the life of a religious devotee. That by the latter course he gained it, is certain, but whether more by his own acts or the complicity of his associates and historians, will perhaps ever remain a matter of doubt.

Whatever we may think of his sincerity, we know that his principal biographers had the strongest motives for wishing to make out in his name a case of the marvelous.

About the time that Xavier's letters began to arrive from India the society was gaining an expansion so rapid as to excite the largest ambition of its members. These letters furnished the kind of material wanted to enhance the *éclat* of Jesuitism both in Europe and in foreign parts, and that they were turned to the largest available account no one needs to doubt.

If possible, it would be pleasant to suppose that Xavier was a simple devotee, wholly innocent of the pious fictions that were so extensively manufactured from the material he furnished. But the more thoroughly his character and proceedings are analyzed, the more we shall be convinced that instead of a saint he was only a Jesuit like his compeers, ready to perform his part in the full understanding that they would perform theirs.

Up to the time of his designation as a missionary for the East, his proceedings were almost identical with those of Loyola. Both were generally as successful in their pursuit of the marvelous as was Doctor Syntax in his pilgrimage after the picturesque.

Before leaving the college at Paris, where the associates made a vow, they must needs pronounce it aloud in the subterranean chapel at Mont Martre.

When the junior associates started overland to meet Ignatius in Venice,

> They traveled all through Germany on foot, loaded with their writings, in the midst of winter, which that year was very sharp and cold. Xavier, to overcome his passions and punish himself for the vanity he had formerly taken in leaping, (for he was very active and had been fond of such corporeal exercises,) in the fervency of his soul had tied his arms and thighs with little cords, which by his traveling swelled his thighs and sunk so deep into the flesh as to be hardly visible. The saint bore the pain with incredible patience till he fainted on the road, and not being able to go any further, was obliged to discover the reason. His companions carried him to the next town, where the surgeon declared that no incision could be made deep enough, and that the evil was incurable. In this melancholy situation Faber, Lainez, and the rest spent that night in prayer, and the next morning Xavier found the cords broken out of the flesh!
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> At Venice it was his delight chiefly to attend those who were sick of contagious distempers or infected with loathsome ulcers. Among these one had an ulcer which was horrible to the sight, and the noisomeness was yet more insupportable. Every one shunned him, and Xavier found a great repugnance in himself when he first approached him. But reflecting that the occasion of making a great sacrifice was too precious to be lost, he embraced the sick person, applied his mouth to the ulcer, and sucked out the purulent matter. At the same moment his repugnance vanished, and by this signal victory over himself he obtained the grace that from that time no ulcers, how filthy or fetid soever, caused in him any loathing, but rather a sweet devotion.

If any one after such a statement can doubt either the unnatural craving of the man after notoriety or the unscrupulous mendacity of his biographers, he is at liberty to be credulous. While the latter view has no lack of confirmation, the former is sustained by his having soon after practiced a forty days' retreat in a deserted cabin near Padua. "He lay on the hard ground without any shelter, scourged himself with a whip, and fasted every day till evening, when he sallied out to beg bread and water at the surrounding cottages."

Indeed, at this period of his life he seemed to have acquired the perfection of ostentatious asceticism. His public journey from Rome to Lisbon appears to have been diligently improved for this purpose.

> He found perpetual occasions for the most *heroic actions of humility*, mortification, charity, zeal, and piety, and was always ready to serve his fellow travelers as if he had been everybody's servant. At Pamplona the embassador pressed the saint to go to the castle of Xavier, which was but a little distant from the road, to take leave of his mother, who was yet living, and of his other friends whom he would probably never more see in this world. But the saint would by no means turn out of the road, saying that he deferred the sight of his relations till he should visit them in heaven.

"Without natural affection" is one the most decisive characteristics of the degraded heathen as described by the apostle Paul. It certainly is no part of the true Christian's character. But so perverted were the views of those among whom our Jesuit figured, that this unnatural neglect of his mother passed for "a wonderful disengagement from the world."

Nothing is more evident than that he understood the temper of his times, and having entered upon the *rôle* of a devotee he sustained it earnestly.

When embarking for Goa "no importunities of the king or his officers could prevail on the saint to accept of any provisions or necessaries, except a few books for the use of converts." Nevertheless on the voyage he "received the dishes which the governor sent him from his table."

It may startle some of the innocent Protestant eulogists of Xavier to learn that he was also a *particeps criminis* of the Inquisition. Such, nevertheless, was the fact. The following passage is from Dr. Rule:

The prisons of the Inquisition were never more crowded than at this time; (the period of his sojourn in Lisbon;) nor was there ever a sovereign of Portugal more zealous than John III. in immolating his subjects on the altars of the Church. Xavier, saint that he was, entered heartily into that service. "The Lord Prince Henry," said he, "supreme Inquisitor of this kingdom, and brother of the king, frequently requested us to take the spiritual charge of the persons that are in custody of the sacred Inquisition. We therefore visit them daily, and endeavor to make them understand with how great benefit from God they are exercised in that school of penance. We give them altogether an exhortation once every day, and have assigned them exercises for the first week to their great comfort and profit. Many of them tell us that they are thankful for the singular grace of God toward them, since they have heard by our means for the first time many things necessary to be known for the salvation of their souls."

Those prisoners, it must be remembered, were not confessors of Christ, but Jews, who in order to save their lives or to avoid banishment, submitted to baptism and professed themselves Christians; but being suspected of Jewish practices or opinions were thrown into the Inquisition. Of course they pretended to be thankful for instruction, hoping to be the sooner delivered and dismissed with somewhat lighter penalty. Their visitor, however, unmoved by the sight of atrocities that even brought down the censure of the Pope on Cardinal Henry, who is here so honorably mentioned, praised the most murderous of Inquisitions then existing as a "school of penance," an institution honored with the special approbation and grace of God; and boasted of the mortifications imposed by him on the wretched inmates. If you may believe him, the prisoners were grateful for the discipline of chains, darkness, filth, penitential hunger, and hereditary shame.

Since so much stress has been laid upon his missionary character, it is proper to assert that as described by his best friends he lacked the most essential requisites of a true missionary to the heathen. His idea of conversion was not a spiritual change wrought by the power of truth or by the Spirit of God, and followed by a holy life; it was fully satisfied by a consent to be baptized, by whatever jugglery or curiosity that consent was secured. Hence his labors, if not conducive to increased superstition, were at least powerless in a moral point of view. He was certainly indefatigable as an explorer, and seemed to be thoroughly possessed with the idea that he was doing God's service. It is impossible, however, to acquit him of *complicity with deception.* Witness his report of his first miracle among the Paravas as quoted above. The account of that affair is credited to one of his own letters, in which he shows a disposition to magnify into an outright miracle what at most could only have been a lucky coincidence.

Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus. When a man once gives himself up to practice holy frauds, there is no length to which he will not go!

The philosophical student of St. Barbara's College was too intelligent not to know that the sending of his beads and reliquary to touch sick heathen whom he could not visit, could have no other virtue than that of a charm to work upon their superstitious imaginations; and yet he practiced it *often*, and gravely reported the results as miracles.

It is unnecessary to multiply illustrations of his complicity in the production and report of marvels. It was the habit of his life. The society at home was in want of the marvelous, and according to its maxim the end justified the means.

His adventures in visiting the reputed tomb of the Apostle Thomas exhibit fanaticism in its humorous phase.

Having taken St. Thomas, first evangelist of India, for patron and guide, considering that his unexpected arrival at Negapatam had brought him far on his way toward the temple of that saint, and believing that no prayer for direction could be so effectual as it would be if offered up through his intercession, he resolved to go thither and obtain that guidance from St. Thomas which it did not occur to him to seek from Him who said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

After a stormy voyage, tempests raging round him, the deep threatening hourly to swallow him up, and, to add to the romance, prophetic and miraculous powers waiting on him all the time, he reached the port, and no sooner was his landing known than the vicar, who had heard of him as nuncio and apostle, came to render his respects, and invited him to lodge in his house, near the church where lay the relics of his chosen guardian, St. Thomas. He joyfully accepted the invitation, and told the vicar that he had come as a pilgrim to cast himself before that shrine, and seek there for counsel concerning his projected visit to the further East.

The vicar and his pilgrim guest slept in the same chamber; and no sooner had the former fallen asleep than the latter arose.

quietly and stole to the church, passing through a burial-ground that lay between that edifice and the vicarage. His host had forewarned him that he might expect some disturbance, as the place was not very sure, and because horrible specters often made themselves visible in the church. But Xavier feared nothing. He approached the resting-place of the evangelist, and had begun to make fervent prayer to the saint, when fearful sounds fell on his ear. But he persevered, and night after night prosecuted his exercises on the same spot. Terrific phantoms disputed his passage through the grave-yard, their domain, but he mocked them and went on. But demons, say our authority, are too proud to be mocked with impunity, and accordingly they surrounded him one night when kneeling before an image of the Virgin Mary, under the flickering of an untrimmed lamp, fell upon him with one accord, and so sensibly avenged themselves upon his body that he was necessitated to keep his bed for several days. There lay poor Xavier, men, elements, and spirits being combined against him; but he rose to the grandeur of the occasion, and as soon as his limbs regained their suppleness he repeated his visits to the ghosts. Satisfied with having chastised the ascetic who came to spoil their pleasures, they generously allowed him to resume his devotions undisturbed. He would have kept the adventure secret, but a young man from Malabar, who slept near the church, was awakened by the noise, and heard the blows and cries of the sufferer vainly imploring the assistance of the Virgin in those moments of extremity. He divulged the matter, and the humorous vicar, not sufficiently impressed with the solemnity or the sublimity of such a conflict, often presumed to rally his guest with ejaculations which he had wasted in those moments of nocturnal terror.

One morning, very early, the demons themselves took possession of the choir while Xavier was in bed. They were singing matins. The sound passed into his chamber. The voices were those of the canons, as he thought, but the vicar said it was a band of evil ones. We should say it was the very canons who had committed an assault on their visitor; but the judicial witnesses who gave testimony in order to the canonization of St. Francis, declared that the hands that inflicted bruises on him were not fleshly. The Church of

Rome accepts their judgment, acquits the canons, and adores the saint!

It remains to notice that Xavier's policy as a missionary marked the Jesuit rather than the apostle.

When among the Portuguese, from whom asceticism won saintly honors, he gloried in mendicity and meanness of apparel. Among the Japanese he found quite another line of proceedings necessary:

> Perceiving that he was rejected at court on account of his mean appearance, he bought a rich suit, and hired two or three servants, and in this equipage waited on the king, to whom he made a present of a little striking clock and some other things. Thus he obtained his protection, and preached with such fruit that he baptized three thousand persons in that city.

The following extract, from Rule, describes a similar proceeding in another part of Japan:

> We next find him in the dominions of the King of Bungo. He was welcomed by De Gama, captain of a Portuguese ship, and honored with a salute. The sound of the guns—four rounds were fired—alarmed the neighborhood; a messenger from the king came in great haste to ascertain the cause, and returned full of wonder at the reverence paid to this famous bonze, of whom they had only heard evil reports until that day. Moved by these honors, the king sent him a letter of invitation to the palace, and great preparations were made to introduce the representative of the religion of Portugal to the favorable attention of the sovereign of Bungo.
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> No more poverty and rags. The gods of Japan hate the poor. The men of Japan despise mendicity, and refuse to accept a beggar for a hero. The vow of poverty avails not for a mission here, where wealth, power, and wisdom are needed to produce effect. Thirty Portuguese traders were therefore selected to escort Xavier to the palace in great state. They were clad in rich stuffs with chains of gold and jewelry. A train of servants and slaves were dressed suitably to the occasion. Father Francis was attired in a cassock of black camlet with a snow-white surplice over it, and a green velvet scarf embroidered with gold. Boats richly carpeted, and gay with silk banners, conveyed the company on shore with sounds of trumpets, flutes, hautboys, and other instruments. A multitude of natives thronged the landing-place and filled the streets. Duarte de Gama, captain of the largest ship, walked before Xavier, having his head uncovered and carrying a golden rod; the father himself walked with a majestic yet modest air, and five of the best looking traders followed him, carrying respectively a book, (not the Bible,) a gold headed staff, a pair of black velvet slippers, a por-

trait of the Virgin, and a grand umbrella. The others followed, more like lords than commoners, and when the procession reached the palace, after traversing many streets, they found that the king of Bungo, a gay young man of five-and-twenty, had made as brilliant a display as possible for the reception of the marvelous bonze of Portugal. Indeed, the genuflexions and other marks of worship to Xavier were so profoundly reverential that the court of Fucheo thought him to be a bonze come down from heaven to confound all the bonzes of their country, and the king received him with honors exceeding any that had ever been shown to mortal man within that palace.

Xavier's politic conformity to circumstances is well illustrated by his having written home asking that the pope would send him a liberal grant of indulgences, urging that "the Portuguese excel all nations that I have ever seen in their fondness for Roman indulgences, and by the charm of things of that kind are much more enticed to frequent participation in the sacraments."

In the next letter, for the special benefit of those inhabitants of India who, on account of the climate, cannot live upon fish during March and April, he implores the pope, if it be possible, to transfer Easter to June or July, and thus bring Lent later in the season!

We must now take leave of St. Francis Xavier. He holds a place in history by virtue of his early entrance upon the work of missions in India, and by having been the acknowledged leader of the vast scheme of missionary efforts upon which the Roman Church subsequently entered in the East.

How unscrupulously his fame has been exaggerated by interested partisans and by confiding copyists, who have failed to penetrate the rationale of his character, has now been shown. He was gathered to his fathers with the richest "odors of sanctity" upon him, but time, which reveals all things, has shown that he was either a weak-minded devotee or an unscrupulous fanatic, unless indeed he blended both characters into that of the Jesuit. His works have followed him. Like an edifice built upon the sand, the whole fabric of Roman missions in the East, once so imposing and so splendid in its promised results, has long since fallen into powerlessness and desuetude. The dead forms of their ritual service are indeed kept up in some parts of China and other eastern countries, but they have become so blended with heathen rites as scarcely to be recognized by either native or foreigner as differing from Paganism itself. Thus will all the works of men and Churches perish which are not built on Christ as the chief corner-stone.

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ART. VIII.—THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

America before Europe. Principles and Interests. By Count Agénor de Gasparin. Translated from advance sheets, by MARY L. BOOTH. New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand street. 1862.

La Reconnaisance du Sud, par A. GRANDGUILLET. Paris: C. Dentu, Palais Royal, 13 et 17 Galere d'Orleans. 1862.

La Revolution Americaine de Voilie. Paris: C. Dentu, Palais Royal. 1862.

Que L'Europe soit attentive aux Evenements Possibles en Amerique. Par R. F. FRESNEL. Paris: C. Dentu. 1862.

Les Blancs et les Noirs en Amerique, et le Coton dans les Deux Mondes. Par l'Auteur de la Paix en Europe par l'Alliance Anglo-Française. Paris: C. Dentu, Libraire, Palais Royale, 13 Galere d'Orleans. 1862.

North America. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE, author of "The West Indies and the Spanish Main," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin square. 1862.

THE American civil war has excited the anxious attention of the whole Christian world. Since the revolutions of 1848, nothing has stirred it so much. Well may it be so, for Americans are the blood relatives of nearly all the peoples of Europe, and America is the best market for many of their products, and, like Egypt of old, the granary whence her frequent deficiencies in corn are supplied. Her millions too are largely, though often scantily, clothed with American cotton. But, selfish as men are, and potent as are the arguments that appeal to clothing and food for the body, there is also in humanity a soul, and America has a mysterious moral influence among the peoples of the old Christian world. The English affect to sneer at the Americans as over-sensitive to foreign criticism. They may be, though fast outgrowing this trait of youth and modesty, but America is not so sensitive to European opinion as Europe is to American fact. A commercial revulsion in the United States jars the business of the world; civil war here produces cotton famines and even bread famines there: but England and France and Russia and Turkey, and the rest of Europe, engage in deadly conflict, and America feels no shock but that of sympathy.

It cannot be concealed from the old world, that man in America is emancipated from many restraints and sufferings, which, but for the United States, would have been deemed an unavoidable element of society. It cannot be concealed that there are, and have been for nearly a century in America, whole states, embracing millions of human beings, among whom there is not known to be hunger or nakedness, or any lack of an elementary book education, except in such few instances as to indicate the imbecility, or more likely the intemperance of the sufferers. In extreme cases excess creates famine. That foreigners should refer to these things as worthy of notice seems astonishing to a native American, so accustomed has he become to his blessings. Observe for instance the following from Mr. Trollope:

> I do not remember that I ever examined the rooms of an American without finding books or magazines in them. I do not speak here of the houses of my friends, as of course the same remark would apply as strongly in England, but of the houses of persons presumed to earn their bread by the labor of their hands. The opportunity for such examination does not come daily; but when it has been in my power I have made it, and have always found signs of education. Men and women of the classes to which I allude talk of reading and writing as of arts belonging to them as a matter of course, quite as much as the arts of eating and drinking. A porter or a farmer's servant in the States is not proud of reading or writing. It is to him quite a matter of course. The coachmen on their boxes, and the boots as they sit in the halls of the hotels, have newspapers constantly in their hands. The young women have them also, and the children. The fact comes home to one at every turn, and at every hour, that the people are an educated people. The whole of this question between the north and south is as well understood by the servants as by their masters, is discussed as vehemently by the private soldiers as by the officers. The politics of the country and the nature of its constitution are familiar to every laborer. The very wording of the Declaration of Independence is in the memory of every lad of sixteen. Boys and girls of a younger age than that know why Slidell and

> Mason were arrested, and will tell you why they should have been given up, or why they should have been held in durance. The question of the war with England is debated by every native pavior of New York.—*North America*, p. 271.

The natural exclamation of the American, on reading the above is, What is there worthy of notice about that? As we are told by novel writers and tory reviews that the highest classes of Europe have an inimitable refinement of manners that no commoner can ever reach, growing out of an utter unconsciousness of art, so we may claim with more truth, that the American people have a freedom from ostentation in their universal education, from a knowledge that it is their common inheritance, as it ought to be of all men.

All this is becoming known by even the people of Europe. It is known that, without a hereditary aristocracy or sovereign, the people have evolved and enjoyed a government as just and discriminating, as strong a protection to life and property, as any in the world, without standing armies in the time of peace, without minute police regulations, without an ostentation of pomp or force. For this reason, in Europe, America has become a talismanic word. Tyrants hate it; the people are familiar with its sound. The former would rejoice in a cataclysm that should bury it forever, and restore the planet to the good old times before 1492; the latter cherish, as among the good times coming, either the thought of emigrating to a transatlantic home, or to see American institutions planted on their own shores. Therefore when the news goes sounding through the nations that the United States are violently broken into two parts, attacking each other with all the deadly hostility of such armies as have from earliest times been led by European despots to gratify the ambition of sovereigns or courts, or to preserve "the balance of power," the intelligence excites in one party gladness, in the other dismay. Those who are jealous of the people in their own country cannot conceal their exultation. They spring at once, with unseemly and most un-British haste, to accord to a horde of rebels the position of "a belligerent power." Their periodicals defend perjury and treason and slavery. Once American slavery was "the vilest that ever saw the sun," now it is excusable, inevitable, or, if wrong, the southern rebels would be glad themselves to be relieved from it. The rebellion proves the folly of democracy. What better could be expected of a nation without a hereditary aristocracy, without laws of primogeniture, without an established Church, and with universal education! This is what they have been prophesying for half a century! Is it not written down in long essays and courtly argumentation, that the American republic, being only an organized mob, must, like a mud-house, soon perish? The leading British periodicals of the last twenty-five years, down to the last twelve months, are permeated with furious philippics against slavery; and now that the defenders of slavery have resorted to arms to establish a nation where it cannot be disturbed, these periodicals commend the slaveholders; thus showing that it is not slavery, but the American government and people, that they hate.

On the other hand, the people of foreign countries, so far as they become acquainted with the true merits of the great controversy, decidedly sympathise with the free and educated people of America. They are quick to arrive at the conclusion that the merits of the quarrel are the same as of the contests that have often arisen in their own countries—contests between the people and an oligarchy, the majority and those who wished to secure for themselves gain and pleasure wrung out of poorly requited labor. The governments of Europe desire the success of the rebels, because it will divide the American republic into small nations, like the nations in Europe, holding each other in check, often engaged in war, and by their mutual distractions and contests made at least commercially if not politically dependent upon them. The people of Europe, so far as they are enlightened and generous, desire that the United States should succeed in suppressing the rebellion, in order that the only large and truly prosperous popular government in the world may not be humbled and ruined. Their interests as a people are morally identical with our interests.

To confirm these representations we might quote pungent paragraphs enough from European periodicals, pamphlets, and volumes, to fill this number of the Quarterly, and then have made only a fitting preface to the great library of volumes on the American question that Europe has already produced. The French pamphlets, whose titles are given at the head of this article, are selected as specimens of the productions of the writers of that country, which was the first to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and our noblest as well as first ally in war and peace. The French Revolution—a terrible thunderstorm, that sweetened the atmosphere and burnt up the corruption of ages—mother of the empire, the Orleanist kingdom, the republic, and the empire again—was born out of the American Revolution; and it is not therefore strange that the heart and mind of France are aroused by our national convulsion.

The pamphlet, "La Reconnaisance du Sud," is intensely southern in its argument and style. One cannot resist the impression that it is bought by southern gold. Indeed, it seems like a speech of a rebel recast from the alembic of a Paris *savan*, with some peculiarly French ornaments and additions. It gives a specious rebel argument on the rightfulness of secession, and then proceeds to attack the European dislike of southern slavery by an assertion that slavery is American, and that the northern states are actually worse in this regard than the southern. He attempts to prove this by the customs of the North. "You may be rich," says M. Grandguillet, "in New York, have your millions even, and be connected by blood with the most aristocratic families of Europe; but if at the extreme end of your finger nails, in the *rete mucosum*, a keen eye can detect the slightest trace of dark blood—avaunt! You can neither ride in an omnibus, nor be a citizen, father, son, husband, or man." Page after page of such assertions are given to prove his position. Some of the "facts" are so marvelous that nothing but a French brain could have imagined them. We give one of the most pathetic, that no doubt has drawn tears from many a sympathizer with the southern planters, who breed human beings like cattle: "An unhappy creole woman in a northern city, in whom the dark complexion was nearly imperceptible, found herself far from home, and desired to enter an omnibus. She was near her confinement, and not in a very good condition to walk, and for this best of reasons anxious to reach her home. The tender-hearted driver, having some reference, perhaps, to the fee, and seeing that she was richly dressed, allowed her to enter the carriage. An 'evangelical Protestant clergyman' remonstrated. He would not ride with a 'nigger.' In spite of her tears she was ejected. The most unhappy consequences followed, including the death of the child. The quadroon, or octoroon, mother was rich, and brought an action at law against the clergyman, and lost her case, though it was ably argued—and that, too, since the administration of President Lincoln began!" Ought not that Parisian pamphleteer to receive a premium for what rhetoricians call "invention?" And what must be the merit of southern secession, if, while at home its very *virus* is known to be an unyielding devotion to slavery, it seeks such defenders abroad?

The argument of this pamphlet is summed up in the statement that "the sympathy of the Federals with the negro race was born with the war, and will disappear with peace. Emancipation is only a pretext, and not a genuine cause of dispute. The northerners pretend to be champions of a principle to vail their selfish purposes with a sentimental and poetical garb."

The scurrilous pamphlet, "La Revolution Americaine de Voilie," is dedicated to Jefferson Davis, and pursues precisely the same train of thought. "Is it said," it asks, "that there are societies in the North to aid slaves to escape from their masters—what reception do they give the fugitives? Do they receive them as citizens? No. Into their families? Never. Not even into an omnibus that runs through Broadway." Even General Butler's famous proclamation styling slaves "contraband of war," and the employment of negroes "as laborers only" in the army, are quoted as proof that the North really intends to perpetuate the slavery of the blacks. If they are "contrabands" they are property. They are employed as "laborers," not as men. To this is added the common southern delusion of superiority of race. Forgetting the ignorance and poverty and degradation of a large portion of the early immigrants to the southern colonies, this French hireling secessionist pretends that they are cavaliers and liberal, while the North is made up of "Puritans." A highly-seasoned hash of Connecticut blue-laws is given, with no intimation that they have ever been repealed; and such a description of northern society as has often appeared in the *Richmond Examiner*. Northerners are fanatics, whom puritanism and immorality have rendered moral caricatures of the human race!

Far be it from us to deny that there is enough of truth in the alleged contempt for the negro in the North, to make the allegations of southerners abroad and of foreigners sting. We quote them to show, not their extravagance, but what is actually the greatest weakness of the United States, in the estimation of other nations. If ever European countries intervene in this quarrel in behalf of the South, they will commit that crime against humanity and God, with the apology, and perhaps with the belief, that the loyal states are as unjust to the negro race as the rebel states are. Justice to the negro, on our part, will prevent foreign intervention. Let the United States manfully resolve to do exactly right by the colored people, and the strongest argument of foreign sympathizers with southern treason will be exploded and no more heard. Nearly all the defenders of the South in Europe, except a few pro-slavery men in England, take the ground that the North do not intend to emancipate the slaves; thus yielding the point that if they did intend to be just to the negro the rebellion would meet with universal indignation and be crushed out. The French particularly can understand no contest not founded on an idea. The idea of "union" alone seems to them like an idea of empire and conquest: unite with it the idea of justice to the slave, and they yield their homage to it at once.

But the French mind is not wholly deceived on this subject. They are too philosophic a people to invent facts as well as theories. The little book of M. Fresnel is a thorough, statesmanlike argument, as nearly exhaustive as it could well be in so small a compass. It enters upon the merits of the controversy with a keen analysis, and concludes that, without doubt, unless Great Britain selfishly interferes by the force of arms, the United States will completely crush out the rebellion, together with slavery, its source. No eminent foreign writer supposes that the rebellion can be suppressed without the abolishment of slavery.

"Les Blancs et les Noirs" is still more decided. It equals the excellent works of Count de Gasparin in sympathy with the United States, and surpasses them in clearness of method and searching analysis. It boldly avows that France, and all Europe, and the world, are practically and vitally interested in the American war. Its decision, if right, will bless; if wrong, will curse Europe. Slavery was virtually condemned, even by the European powers, so early as 1825. Great Britain expended, in 1834, five hundred millions of francs, and France, in 1848, one hundred and twenty-six millions of francs, for the emancipation of negro slaves; and the northern states have expended as much as both together by the voluntary emancipation of their slaves. The result of the American war must be the death of slavery. The whole world condemns slavery. The abolishment of serfdom in Russia, and of slavery in America, are parts of the same great reformation. The American war will also establish the triumph of genuine democracy. It is a strife between the many and the few, between slavery and freedom, between the systems that prevail among the heathen and the system that a matured Christianity demands. The American government ought to triumph, because in theory and practice it most nearly fulfills the doctrine of Jesus, "all men are equal before God." America is now fighting the battles of the whole human race. Such is the sentiment of this able defender of the United States. Its spirit may be seen from the following brief quotations:

> All other founders of empires, though defenders of Christianity—Constantine, Charlemagne, St. Louis, Charles V., Louis XIV.—proceeded in violation of the true doctrine of Jesus: the first, the greatest, who adhered to the doctrine of Jesus was Washington." "Let him bring back the southern states into the Union without slavery, and without compensation for their slaves, and Mr. Lincoln will be the rightful successor of Washington—saviour of his country, benefactor to the world."

Such is the conclusion of an impartial countryman of La Fayette. So far as our information extends, such is the conviction of all strong minds in foreign lands, who can afford any claim to be regarded as unprejudiced by hatred or love to America. It is as presumptuous for Americans to despise the honest convictions of strong minds in other nations, as it would be pusillanimous to fear the threatenings of interested aristocrats, or to cringe at the sarcasms of their conceited flatterers and defenders. And it cannot be denied that those skilled in political science abroad, whether actually statesmen or scholars in their retirement, agree, with a singular unanimity, that the old *status* of the American Republic can never be restored. They believe either, with Palmerston, that the two fragments will crystallize into independent and often hostile nations, perhaps cleaving into smaller nationalities, or that the North with majestic frown will reabsorb, not reannex, the southern states into itself, becoming one nation in customs, in social institutions, in character. In a word, slavery must practically yield and expire, or exist outside of the diminished and enfeebled United States of America.

We hesitate not to say that such is also our conviction.

The reasons for this belief are chiefly moral. They spring not from superficial phenomena, but from the causes of things. Revolutions are never born of whims. Despots may fight about trifles; peoples never. The American civil war is not a petty lovers' quarrel, or a jealous matrimonial dispute, soon to be hushed with a few penitential tears from the triumphant weaker vessel, and extravagant terms of endearment from the yielding lord; but it is a deadly antagonism between two conflicting growths, that have simply tolerated each other hitherto, from abundance of room and a common fear of others, but have now reached a stage when they must separate, or one must die. The lion and the wolf may live in peace together when both are cubs, but not after the teeth are grown. Freedom must grow, or slavery must grow, in one nation, or both must try to grow apart. The disputers have waxed warm, and resorted to physical force, and neither will yield except as a conquered party, giving up the very cause of the strife.

Of course it is not theoretically certain that the final result shall be reached at once. Time is an element never absent from the works of God. It is not impossible for the Union to be re-established, with slavery still acknowledged, but the vitality of the barbarous institution must expire. Its pretensions will be a mimicry of its former exploits.

> Last scene of all,
> That ends this strange, eventful history
> Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

The great question is, therefore, can that which breeds plots and rebellions be destroyed? Can slavery be abolished? If not, the American Republic cannot stand in all its former integrity. Slavery will prove the triumphant foe of self-government, and the procurer of American subserviency to Europe. It will dissipate the dreams of patriots, dissolve the Union, consume the Monroe doctrine into smoke, necessitate the curtailment of American manufactures, and by consequence of agricultural industry; it will re-establish colonial dependence, and set the divided states adrift on the ocean to seek protection in small clusters, or by lashing themselves to some of the leading nationalities of Europe.

But notwithstanding these fatal necessities there are some who consider negro slavery indestructible. Their arguments, alas, are too familiar to all.—We have received it *ab ovo*, and can resign it only with life. The climate necessitates it. The crooked isothermal line marking the average range of 60° Fahrenheit in the summer, being the northern limit of the cotton region, separates the loyal from the disloyal states. Heat dissolves the Union. The southern states must fall away for the want of mountains. So far as the shadow of the Alleghanies reaches, and wherever the thinner soil is well fertilized by the snows of winter, freedom can thrive, elsewhere the negro must toil on the cotton and tobacco fields, and the whites must keep them in order and enjoy the products of their labor. The negro is fitted only for slavery. God made him for that. Or, what is practically the same thing, some theologians say, the devil made him for that. The millennium will destroy slavery, and thus be a great disadvantage to the South. Four millions of negroes, rapidly multiplying, cannot be colonized. The doom therefore of the nation is sure: it must be divided into two nations, one slave and one free.

These arguments are all specious, and all have their advocates. But one of them is true. The assertion of the practical impossibility of removing the negroes by colonization is unanswerable.

The only proper reply to them is, that the negroes can work on small estates, owned by themselves, as well as other men. Cotton and tobacco and sugar can be raised on small farms by freemen as well as on large plantations by slaves. The white man can work on the flat lands of the southern states, *or he can leave them.* He has no right to live where he cannot work. Facts are proving, outside of our country on a large scale, and inside of it clearly enough to careful observers, that there is no more reason why the rice and cotton fields of South Carolina should be cultivated by slaves, than the corn prairies of Illinois and Iowa. King Cotton deserves no better and no worse treatment than King Corn. Freemen can raise tobacco as well as potatoes; the sugar-cane as well as the *sorghum saccharatum.* Geology and climate do not necessitate slavery. Serfdom can exist throughout the extensive Russian empire, from the polar regions of the Ural Mountains and the White Sea to the Crimea and the Black Sea, and can be abolished there; and slavery could have prevailed throughout New England and the northwest as well as in the southern states, and can be abolished in the latter as safely as it has been in the former.

The propriety of seizing upon the present emergency to abolish slavery, may be considered in a threefold light: as a political right, as a military necessity, and as a moral duty.

It is a political right; for in a time of rebellion traitors have no claim to a particular and unstable privilege, granted to them in time of peace to secure their friendship or alliance. It may be proper for Great Britain in time of peace to guarantee to her subjects in India the privileges of caste and idolatrous worship. But in the Sepoy rebellion were the British under obligation so to carry on the war as not to violate the Hindoo laws of caste? The first duty of a nation, as of a man, is to preserve itself. Rebels have no claim to constitutional rights. "Inter arma silent leges." They have a claim to show, if possible, that they are not rebels. This can only be done by laying down their arms, and asking for the protection of the law. When that is done their claims should be carefully and conscientiously considered.

Emancipation is a military necessity. Six millions of men, inhabiting a large country, could never be conquered if they were planted firmly upon right, and free from internal defection. Their internal social privileges should not and could not be wrested from them. Even leagued together in defense of a wrong, it would be an almost unparalleled enterprise to subdue them. The nation attempting to accomplish such an enterprise would be foolish, in a military point of view, not to seize upon any element of internal weakness on their part to overcome them. Now, confessedly, slavery is the most vulnerable part of the rebel states. This is the opening in their coat of mail through which the sword can be thrust. The slaves of the South are the natural allies of the nation when fighting for self-preservation, provided that liberty be promised to them. However weak they may be, however ignorant and deluded, they should be invited and urged and entreated to enroll themselves with loyal men. All their strength should be secured for the nation. If they raise cotton and corn, it should be for the nation, and not for rebels. If they dig trenches and bear arms, it should be for the nation.

But "what shall we do with four millions of emancipated slaves?" "Aye, what shall we do with them?" This is the triumphant question that has been rung in our ears by the defenders of slavery from the beginning. It comes mostly from men incapable of consecutive thought. The most ignorant people vociferate it the loudest. It is a prejudice, born without reason and without observation, and therefore it will not yield to reason or to fact. Can the objector point to a single instance in which there was any difficulty in finding out what to do with men and women after giving them their rights? If so, there might be some reason for the inquiry. We answer the oft-repeated question thus: Let the emancipated slaves live where they choose, which will be mostly where they do now. The only difference will be that they will, on the average, be more industrious, more thrifty, mingle their blood less with the white race, and contribute more to the honor and strength of the nation than now. One half of the colored population of Maryland is free, and that half is in every respect more valuable to the state than the other half. How much better would it be if all were free! The evils of slavery are real; the evils of emancipation are only imaginary.

We have no sympathy with the idea that it would be humiliating to the pride of the loyal states to ask the assistance of the enslaved. We are not fighting to display prowess, but to save the republic. We are fighting for peace. If we fail now, there will be a succession of wars in this country that will shed the best white blood for several generations to come, and make the preponderance of the white race over the black much less than now. While the white men fight, the black men stay at home and multiply, toiling mostly, through our infatuation and apathy, for the rebels. Our pride gives the enemy half of his power and all of his success. We are ashamed to ask, or even allow, our allies to bear their part of the burden.

Emancipation is also a moral duty. Having been driven into this war by a rebellion the object of which is to substantiate and perpetuate slavery, it is our duty to annihilate that practice which has so demented the nation, and which if allowed to exist will hatch more deadly broods in time to come. Slavery is essentially immoral. A healthy conscience never spontaneously approved it. Its laws, both Roman and American—especially the latter—are the vilest statutes ever wrought into language. Law, whose proper object is to protect innocence and punish vice, has been, in behalf of slavery, perverted to promote crime, perpetuate ignorance, and suppress a virtuous ambition. No literature can surpass in baseness and wickedness the statutes of the southern states on slavery. A century hence they will be read as the most astonishingly wicked productions of Christian states. American slavery of the nineteenth century and the Inquisition of the dark ages will be alike marvelous. These laws grew out of practices, and were effects, not causes. It is the duty of the nation to declare them null and void. Let the stain be washed away, and the sore burnt out that caused it.

From these considerations we give our hearty approval to the United States government for striking at this rebellion legally; by abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, the capital of the nation; by forbidding it in all of the common territory of the nation; and by authorizing the emancipation of the slaves of rebels and the employment of them to suppress the rebellion. Action as yet under this last law is too halting and feeble. We are still under the influence of our chronic palsy and infatuation. Our only hope is in more vigor and zeal. It is "never or now." Let liberty to all the people be proclaimed, and God will certainly sustain us.

We have presented the opinions of intelligent foreigners, inasmuch as when free from hostility to America they occupy the most favorable position for an impartial survey of our duty. Among the best books called forth by this crisis of free institutions are the two works of Count de Gasparin: "Uprising of a Great People," and "America before Europe." The latter book is especially practical and impartial. It indicates the great shrewdness of the author, and at the same time tends to confirm our confidence in the wisdom of President Lincoln, that this work, though written before the late steps toward emancipation were taken, recommends a course nearly identical with the one actually pursued. The following extract was prophetic, in part at least; let us hope it will be entirely fulfilled:

> What is there to prevent the adoption, at this moment, of a series of resolutions, designed definitively to settle the fate of slavery? To abrogate the Fugitive Slave Law; to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia; to interdict domestic slave-trade; to decide that no new slave state shall be henceforth admitted, and that all the territories shall belong to freedom; to offer, lastly, an indemnity to such states as, within a given time, shall decree progressive abolition; all this is strictly constitutional.—*America before Europe*, p. 359.

Nearly all of the above has already been directly done, and more, by the adoption of the principle of the emancipation of the slaves of rebels. The following expresses good and hopeful thought:

> Enterprises like this succeed only by going on to the end. There, there alone are encountered beneficial solutions; there all becomes simple, because all has become just. The difficulties will fall one after the other from the day that Christian and liberal America accepts all the consequences of her principle; from the day that she consents to say, "We are about to apply henceforth, restricting it in nothing, the fundamental dogma of our Constitution: the time must come when none but freemen shall be found among us, and when all freemen shall be truly equal. We have not to trouble ourselves to know how the free negro race, which will soon be affranchised, will be distributed over our territory. Perhaps it will accumulate in certain regions, perhaps it will be gradually effaced before the waves of European immigration; in going where it suits it to go, in doing what it suits it to do, it will make use of its right. The respect of right will be now our policy."
>
> There is but one saving policy: it is that which accomplishes the decrees of justice. It is in vain to cry, "On to Richmond!" unless you cry at the same time, "On to justice!" Supported by these three great measures—progressive abolition, voluntarily decreed, indemnity accorded to the masters, and equality secured to the affranchised negroes—America will confound its calumniators, and gain for all humanity the greatest liberal contest of our times.

To all of this we give our hearty approval.

We do not look for a speedy reconciliation with the rebel states. Enterprises of this magnitude are not easily completed. Our children will have other burdens to bear than their portion of the expense of this war. The nation cannot be suddenly converted with such a thoroughness as to be in no danger of a relapse. The evils of slavery will entail a long series of trying duties and heavy burdens upon the nation. It has ever been our fear, and will long be our weakness. There is to be a great social revolution in the North and South. Many of the improvements will be gradually adopted after much experimentation and many failures. It will be a long time before the idea of colonization will be generally abandoned, and before climatic influences and the peculiarities of races will have led to permanent results. What they will be none but the Omniscient knows—whether several of the states shall be peopled mostly with the colored race, whether the negro shall become extinct as a separate people—these and kindred hypotheses can be tested only by time. Our duty is now clear. Not "On to Richmond," but "On to justice," should be our motto. With that we cannot fail, for justice never fails.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE ESSAYS AND REVIEWS AND THEIR FRIENDS.—On June 25 judgment was delivered by Dr. Lushington, in the Court of Arches, on the "Essays and Reviews," or at least upon two of the compositions in that volume—the essays of Dr. Williams and the Rev. H. K. Wilson. The judge refused to go into the meaning of Scripture, or the opinions of divines, but confined himself to a legal construction of the Articles of the Church of England, and to the consideration how far the opinions of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson impugned those Articles. Acting on this principle, he rejected a great many articles of accusation—that is to say, he acquitted the writers of heresy in holding them—that relating, for instance, to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Book of Daniel, the interpretation of the prophecies, etc., on which he said the writers might be right or wrong, sound or unsound, but in which they did not contradict any of the Articles of the Church. In the case of Dr. Williams, the general allegation, that "the tendency, object, and design of the whole essay is to inculcate a disbelief of the divine inspiration and orthodoxy of the Holy Scriptures, to deny the truth of parts thereof, and to deny the doctrines of original sin, justification by faith, atonement, propitiation, and the incarnation," is rejected by the court as unprecedented, and as contrary to the fair rule established by the judicial committee, that the words or writings of the person accused must be pleaded; that the meaning which they are alleged by the prosecution to convey must be pleaded; and that the particular articles of religion, or parts of them, asserted to be contravened, must be pleaded also. But the judge finds the declaration, that "the Bible is an expression of devout reason," inconsistent with the twentieth Article, in which it is denominated "God's written word." "Devout reason," says Dr. Lushington, "belongs to the acts and doings of men, and not to the works of the Almighty." This passage, therefore, he condemns. The declaration that "the Bible is the written voice of the congregation," although it is admitted to be "not a denial that the Bible is inspired," is declared to be contrary to the sixth and seventh Articles. The doctrine of propitiation put forward by Dr. Williams, according to which a merely subjective change, and not a new relation brought about by a mediatorial act is signified, is condemned as contrary to the thirty-first Article; and similarly his doctrine of justification is declared to violate the eleventh Article. In the case of Dr. Wilson, the doctrine specified in the fourteenth charge against him—that he teaches an intermediate state and denies everlasting punishment—was condemned, as were the doctrines specified in two other charges denying the inspiration of the Bible, and in the twelfth denying original sin. These last charges were ordered to be reformed; the others were rejected. The judge did not pronounce sentence, but allowed both parties the right of appeal.

Already before the judicial committee of the Privy Council had confirmed the sentence of the Court of Arches against the Rev. Mr. Heath, who, for doctrines like those contained in the "Essays and Reviews," had likewise been charged with deviation from the doctrine of the Church of England. These sentences have created a great sensation in England; for the state of servitude in which the Church finds herself has rarely before appeared in so strong a light. The judges, who are laymen, take the position that the courts are bound to demand of all clergymen of the Established Church a strict conformity, not with the teaching of the Bible, but with the letter of the thirty-nine Articles. The condemnation of these doctrines by the English bishops and by the convocations, as Dr. Lushington expressly stated, had no weight whatever with the court. Certainly no Church of Europe is in a more humiliating position.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The Scottish Episcopal Church being not fettered, like the established Church of England and Ireland, by a connection with the state, can decide on important questions of reform with greater liberty than the state Churches. She has held this year, after a long interval, a General Synod, at which a controversy of long standing, the change of the communion service of the Church, has been decided. The synod commenced its sittings in Edinburgh on Tuesday, July 8—the upper chamber meeting under the presidency of Bishop Eden, of Moray and Ross, and the lower chamber meeting under the presidency of Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh. The principal business before the synod was the consideration of the communion service, which is looked upon with general suspicion in the English Church, and by a not inconsiderable party in the Scottish Episcopal Church, as affording too much countenance to the Romish dogma of "the real presence." By a somewhat narrow majority the synod resolved to adopt the English Book of Common Prayer as the only service-book of the Church, including of course the English form of the holy communion. It was provided, however, that while this rule should apply in all new congregations which might be formed, and to all existing congregations to whom it may be acceptable, it should not be compulsory on existing congregations, where the incumbent and a majority of the congregation should wish to continue the use of the Scotch communion office. In this modified form the resolution was only passed by one in the upper chamber, the primus, with the Bishops of Brechin and St. Andrews, opposing the resolution, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Argyle voting in its favor. In the lower house the majority was eight to five. The new canon will not make much change in the practice of the Scottish Episcopal Church in the mean time, as most of the congregations already use the English Book of Common Prayer, but it will undoubtedly strengthen the Episcopal Church in Scotland, by associating it more intimately with the Church of England. Among the other canons adjusted by the synod, the most generally interesting was one which provided for the infusion, to a small extent, of the lay element in the diocesan synods.

THE NON-CONFORMIST BICENTENARY—On August 24 the Dissenters of England celebrated with great solemnity the two hundredth anniversary of the ejectment of two thousand ministers from the Church of England on account of Non-Conformity. The day on which the ejectment took place—St. Bartholomew's—fell this year again, as it did two hundred years ago, on a Sunday, and the Non-Conformists throughout the country accordingly determined that, in connection with other forms of celebration, their services of the anniversary day should have a special bearing on this great and critical event in their history. Their pulpits throughout the kingdom reminded the Protestant Dissenters of the patience and sufferings of those early confessors, and exhorted to admire and imitate their unfaltering fidelity to conscience, and supreme devotion to what they held to be the truth. The consequences of the event have invested it with peculiar value and importance. Its results have been of the most various, extensive, and permanent kind. In driving out a large body of able and conscientious divines, the religious uniformity of England was broken, all hope of compromise or reconciliation excluded, a large body of high-minded Non-Conformists created, and wholly thrown for support on the people. The ejected ministers, many of whom up to that time had no rooted objection to Episcopacy, now voluntarily adopted the Congregational form of government. The same effect was produced in relation to the voluntary principle. The ejected clergy were not opposed to a connection with the state, so long as it was not incompatible with their Christian integrity and spiritual freedom. By this act of violence that expelled them they were, however, led to rely wholly on the voluntary principle, and the result has proved fatal to the exclusive pretensions which inspired the Act of Uniformity. Since that measure was passed, the new principle it quickened into life has won its way among the people, covered the land with places of worship, and produced a body of ministers of various denominations almost equal in numbers, and superior in circumstances, to the great body of the working clergy in the Church. Nor does the principle appear to have yet lost any of its power, as a single denomination of Dissenters has already raised a special fund, amounting to more than a hundred thousand pounds, for the purpose of erecting chapels and establishing schools in commemoration of the event.

Many of the High Church clergy dwell upon the same subject, taking of course a very different view of the matter to that urged by the Non-Conformist ministers. They contended that the seceding clergy had no right in the benefices of which they held possession at the Restoration, that their own conduct provoked hard measures, and that with the "two thousand" of 1662 the Dissenters of the present day could have no legitimate sympathy.

GERMANY.

Progress of Protestantism in Austria.—Protestantism in Austria continues to make steady progress. The Churches are awakening to the consciousness that they now enjoy a greater amount of liberty, and they begin to make use of it. On July 26 the Protestant Churches of the German and Slavic Provinces of Austria celebrated a festival, such as they had never before been permitted to celebrate. It was the first general assembly of the Gustavus Adolphus societies in these provinces. The permission to join the Gustavus Association of Germany, and to found branch associations, had been given by the ministry several years ago. Last year Austria was for the first time represented at the General Assembly of the Societies of Germany. This year the organization was completed by the meeting of a General Assembly of the Austrian Societies, which met at Vienna on July 26. It was composed of the representatives of the provincial associations in Lower and Upper Austria, in Silesia, in the Tyrol, in Corinthia, Moravia, Bohemia, and in Trieste; of the local societies in Gallicia. Styria was the only province not represented at all. The total receipts were ten thousand florins, a part of which, according to the peculiar constitution of the Gustavus Adolphus Association, will be paid over to the central committee for all Germany at Leipzic. As this meeting at Vienna was the first of the kind in Austria, it has attracted considerable attention on the part of the Austrian press. The delegates enjoyed it as one of the happiest days they had ever seen, for it was the first time that the Austrian, the Silesian, the Tyrolese, the Corinthian, the Moravian, the Gallician, met together in a Protestant assembly. They all went home with the expectation that the Austrian Churches will never relapse into that lethargy from which they are just now emerging. Many of the delegates expect soon to meet at the first General Synod of the Churches of the German and Slavic provinces. Though again and again put off, it is thought that the General Synod will be soon convoked by the government.

A great gain for Austrian Protestantism is also the reorganization of the Protestant faculty of Vienna. Formerly none but Austrians were appointed to it, and as all literary communication with Germany was obstructed as much as possible, it was natural that the faculty of Vienna remained far behind the theological faculties of the universities of the other German states. Since the accession of the present emperor the former policy has been changed. No less than four distinguished scholars have been called from other German states to Vienna, which, therefore, can now stand a comparison with other theological schools. Hitherto the bigotry of the Austrian government had refused the incorporation of the faculty with the University. As the isolated position in which the faculty was thus placed was a great obstacle to its efficiency, the faculty itself and the Protestant Churches in general have petitioned the government to order the incorporation. This petition has been violently opposed by the entire ultramontane party, and the Archbishop of Vienna has even threatened to prohibit all students of Catholic theology from attending the lectures of the University, in case the Protestant theological faculty should be recognized as a part of the University. But these threats have been of little avail. The most numerous of the faculties of the University, that of Philosophy, has at its last meeting voted with an immense majority in favor of admitting the Protestant theologians, and little doubt is felt that the government will soon pronounce the incorporation.

THE BREACH BETWEEN THE PROTESTANT CLERGY AND GERMAN PEOPLE.—We have often called attention, in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, to the great danger into which a large number of the Protestant clergy of Germany are bringing the Protestant Church, by their unceasing efforts to force what they consider an ecclesiastical and doctrinal reform upon an unwilling people by means of the secular arm. They are thus driving the members of the congregations by the thousand into the ranks of the Rationalists, who are the only great party in Germany which openly advocates the separation between Church and State. The most recent example of this conflict between clergy and people is furnished by the kingdom of Hanover. On April 14 the king issued an edict, according to which the old catechism was to be supplanted in the Lutheran day-schools of the kingdom by a new work of the same kind, but of a stricter character. This new catechism is so distasteful to a large portion of the population that opposition to its introduction has broken out on all sides. Petitions covered with thousands of names were presented to the king, praying him to rescind his decree. A pamphlet against the new catechism was published by a minister of the state Church, Pastor Baurschmidt, of Luchow, who on that account was summoned before the Consistory of Hanover. The people have given him unmistakable proofs of their sympathy, and in the city of Hanover hostile demonstrations were even made before the houses of two of the chief counselors of the consistory. The crowds had to be dispersed by the soldiery.

ITALY.

THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD.—The annual meeting of the synod of the Waldensian Church took place in the parish church of San Giovanni, about three miles from La Tour, on the 20th of last month. An important discussion arose on a conflict in the parish of Turin. There are at Turin two congregations, one French, the other Italian, and the former was constituted, long before the constitution, the parochial congregation of Turin. Unfortunate divisions have existed for some years between the two ministers and congregations, and when the time of electing representatives to the synod came round this year, the votes of the Italian members were refused, though there is but one consistory. The case was taken by appeal to the synod, where, by a large majority, the election was declared invalid, on account of the Italian members' votes being refused, and the deputies from Turin were unseated. The table reported that the corps de pasteurs had examined the contents of the letter published in the *Diretto* (the Garibaldian organ of Turin) last year by Mr. Bert, the pastor of the French congregations at Turin, and had found it to contain sentiments unworthy a Christian minister, whereupon the table had most solemnly admonished Mr. Bert. The committee appointed by the last synod to examine into the divisions existing between the two congregations of Turin, and the causes thereof, reported that they arose solely from Mr. Bert's not preaching the Gospel, and that he should be admonished to do so; the synod found in terms of the report, and unanimously approved of the solemn admonition given to him by the table. A long discussion ensued on the report on education, and the state of the schools; also, as to whether their schools should be put on the same platform with all the other schools of the kingdom, or maintained as they now are. The latter question remained unsettled, as there were difficulties in the way which required further consideration, and an understanding with government. On the one hand, by placing them on the same platform, there would be a pecuniary advantage, as the state would assist their schools. On the other, there is danger that the state might interfere with the internal arrangement of their schools, and remove the Bible from them, which the Waldensian Church would not permit. The synod unanimously passed a law that henceforth, instead of giving their students ordination immediately after they have finished their studies, and passed their examinations as formerly, they will only ordain when a man receives a call from a parish, or from the commission of evangelization, to occupy a mission station. In the interval the young men will occupy a position similar to the licentiates or preachers of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

ITALY.

The Council of Rome.—The great council in Rome, to which all the Roman Catholic bishops of the world had been specially invited by the pope, took place on Sunday June 8, and Monday June 9. On Sunday the Japanese martyrs were canonized in the most solemn style in the Basilica of St. Peter. The ceremony lasted six hours, and was attended by an immense concourse of bishops, priests, and people. On Monday the 9th the pope held a consistory, at which all the foreign bishops were present. He pronounced an allocution, in which he deplored the errors spread by the revolutionary spirit against the authority of the Catholic Church, as well as against divine and human laws. In reply to this allocution, the bishops signed an address to the pope, in which they declare that the temporal power is necessary for the independence of the papal power. They approve all that the pope has done in defense of his power, and exhort him to continue firm in his resistance. The address is signed by twenty-one cardinals and two hundred and forty-four bishops.

According to the custom of the Church of Rome, which never liked publicity for its episcopal assemblies, it was undoubtedly intended to hide the proceedings of the council from the eyes of the world; but the enterprising spirit of the daily press of Paris has been able to elicit the main points of its history. It was, in particular, the *Patrie* which published the minutest accounts of all the episcopal proceedings. According to it, some bishops made an attempt to prevent altogether the discussion of political topics, and the issuing of an address. But this opinion was at once voted down. Then a marked difference became visible between the strict ultramontanes and those who were opposed to an absolute condemnation of the spirit of modern civilization. Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, was the talented leader of the latter party; while the strict ultramontanists are said to have lent an ear to the counsels of Louis Veuillot, the editor of the late *Univers*, and finally elected Cardinal Wiseman as their spokesman. Some bishops of France, and most of those of the (non-Austrian) German states, and of the United States, showed sympathy with liberal principles, while most of the others co-operated with the ultramontanes. It is further said that Bishop Dupanloup and Cardinal Wiseman both drew up the draft of an address. The former contained four points: Assurances of inviolable attachment to the Holy See and the pope; Necessity of the temporal power for the independence of the spiritual power; Consecration of the liberal ideas by an indorsement of the policy pursued by Pius IX. during the first years of his pontificate; Vote of thanks to France, with an expression of the hope that she would continue to protect the Church and the papacy. The address of Cardinal Wiseman is said to have contained a sweeping condemnation of "those ridiculous liberties in which modern nations glory." The committee of eighteen bishops charged with preparing an address would have adopted the address of Cardinal Wiseman without discussion, but for the presence of Bishop Dupanloup, who not only strongly protested against it, but threatened his and his friends immediate departure from Rome in case of its adoption.

In view of the protest of Bishop Dupanloup, and its unexpected indorsement by Cardinal Antonelli, the adoption of the address of Cardinal Wiseman was not insisted upon. A new committee, consisting of only five members, and, like the former, presided over by Cardinal Wiseman, was charged with fusing the two addresses, and at length agreed upon striking from the one the most violent attacks upon the liberalism of our age, and from the other all that was said in favor of liberalism.

Very singular is also what the *Patrie* reports of the way in which the address was signed. The cardinals and bishops were divided into three groups, containing about one hundred persons each. Each group went singly to the palace of Cardinal Wiseman. The address was read, and the signatures of the bishops requested, with the remark that there was no time for discussion. Some bishops expressed dissatisfaction with several passages, others were not sufficiently familiar with the Latin to understand fully every part of it, yet none had the courage to refuse his signature, and so they all signed without having read it.

Thus far the account of the *Patrie.* The statements of this paper are frequently not reliable, and, with regard to the Roman council, M. Veuillot had denied the truth of what the *Patrie* has said about him. That, however, the correspondent of the Patrie had had good sources of information appears clearly from a declaration of the French Bishop of Montauban, which is of the highest importance, as it gives us the first official intelligence about the inner history of the council. The substance of it is as follows:

The bishops, when assembled, did not dare to appoint themselves a committee for preparing an address to the pope, "as no one had the right of taking the initiative in such a grave question," and the pope was therefore asked to select the members of the committee. The committee consisted of eighteen members, and the great Roman Catholic nations—Spain, France, Italy, Austria—were each represented by one archbishop and one bishop. Cardinal Wiseman was selected as president, in order to avoid a jealousy of these four Catholic nations against each other. One of the most active and prominent members of the committee was Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans. The address, before its adoption, underwent considerable changes. A vote of thanks to the French government was proposed, but rejected at the demand of the non-French bishops Whether a passage in favor of liberalism was proposed the bishop does not know, but considers it probable, "as the liberal principles were represented at Rome by a certain number of foreign pilgrims." If it really was proposed, the bishop says, it had of course to be rejected, because the Church cannot express a preference for any form of society. The bishops had no opportunity to examine the address before signing it, but felt no hesitation, because they knew what its general character would be, and that it had received the approval of the pope.

The declaration of the French bishop, as will be seen, established beyond a doubt that there is even in the ranks of the Roman Catholic episcopate a progressive party, which does not brand the belief in civilization as a dangerous heresy.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The first volume of a new edition of the works of John Howe, the celebrated Puritan divine, has been published by the London Religious Tract Society. It is the handsomest edition in which the great theologian has ever appeared. It is furnished with a general preface, by Henry Rogers.

An able work by Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory, published by M'Millan & Co., has attained a second edition. It is regarded by earnest evangelical Protestants as a very timely and efficient defense of the doctrines of the vicarious atonement and justification by faith alone. The bishop rejects the attempt to separate the efficacy of the *obedience* of Christ from the efficacy of his death. The two united, that is, his obedience in submitting to death, are the ground of our justification.

New Testament criticism has received a valuable contribution from the hands of Rev. A. Roberts, entitled *Discussions on the Gospels.* Mr. Roberts maintains with thorough research that, at the time of the Saviour's ministry, both the Aramaic and Greek languages prevailed in Palestine. Greek, which was then, in consequence of the conquests of Alexander, spoken from the Indus to Gaul, predominated, especially in the villages and towns of Palestine, though Aramaic still probably prevailed in the rural districts. Our Lord discoursed, and the apostles preached and wrote in Greek, and hence we have not an Aramaic but a Greek New Testament. Mr. Roberts holds Matthew's Greek Gospel to be an original, denying indeed that any Hebrew Gospel of his ever existed. His discussions are considered to be very masterly.

A goodly octavo volume, entitled *History of Non-Conformity in Wales, from its Rise to the Present Time*, by Rev. Thomas Rees, of Beaufort, Monmouthshire, is highly complimented. Welsh authority pronounces the learned author's work "a monument to Welsh dissent and to himself that will defy the ravages of time."

A series of quarterly volumes, historical, biographical, theological, or practical, written by Baptist authors, English and American, is in course of publication in London, under the general title of *The Bunyan Library*. It has already published Dr. Wayland's *Principles and Practices of the Baptists*, *The Select Works of Robert Robinson*, Mr. Conant's *Life of Judson*, and Professor Hackett's *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles*. The volumes for 1862 are *Selections from Milton's Prose Works*, *The Early English Baptists*, by Evans, *Christmas Evans and the Welsh Baptists*.

GERMANY.

The Church history of Geneva is a subject in which every Protestant takes a great interest, and a thorough and exhaustive work on it may therefore count in advance on a large number of readers. According to the opinion of the theological press of Germany, the subject has been treated of in an able and entirely satisfactory manner by Baron von der Goltz, a Prussian clergyman who was for some time preacher of the Prussian Embassy at Rome, in a work entitled *The Reformed Church of Geneva in the Nineteenth Century.*[*] The work sets forth in four books, 1. The theological system of the Reformation of Geneva, its development and its degeneracy, (1535–1815.) 2. The first period of Revival, (1817–1830,) or, the religious revival in the form of separistic individualism. 3. The second period of Revival, (1830–1846,) or the progress of revival and victory of moderate individualism; and 4. The foundation of the ecclesiastical regeneration of Geneva, (1847–1850.) The author has had access to a large number of sources of information, many of which have not been used before.

It is well known that the large majority of the Protestant clergy of Germany are staunch advocates of a union between Church and State. They still indulge the illusion, that they can retain by coercive measures an unwilling population within the pale of the state Churches. They therefore advocate compulsory baptism, and compulsory celebration of marriages. Instead of attaining their end, they produce, instead of the indifferentism and the rationalistic Churches of free countries, that intense hatred of religion which characterizes all countries which deny religious liberty. It is therefore a hopeful sign, if earnest and pious members of the state Churches raise their voices against the despotic and dangerous course pursued by the privileged Churches. Such a work is a pamphlet entitled *The Obligatory Civil Marriage. A Testimony from a Church Member for Civil Marriage.*[*] The author shows that the state should coerce no one in matters of religion, and should, therefore, with regard to marriage, be content with its conclusion before the civil authorities, leaving the ecclesiastical solemnization to the free choice of every individual. He declares himself also, in the interest of the Church, in favor of making this conclusion of marriage before the civil authority obligatory, as it is in France and other European countries, and not optional, as it is in the United States.

Professor Hofman, of Erlangen, a veteran theologian of the Lutheran Church, has commenced the publication of an extensive Introduction into the New Testament, or, as he novelly calls it, a *Connected Examination of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament.*[†] He thinks that many theologians commit a fundamental error in the doctrine of the New Testament, by confounding the purely dogmatical element with the historical. He undertakes in his work, in the first place, to show the chronological order of the several books composing the New Testament. Next, he proposes to give the aggregate contents of the New Testament in the form of a biblical history and of a biblical theology. Then a history of the compilation of the New Testament canon is to follow. When thus the character of the New Testament as one whole will have been established, the influence of the Holy Spirit on its production will be discussed. The conclusion of the work is to be an investigation into the relation of the New Testament to the Old, and into the right of the Christian Church to acknowledge both as the Holy Scriptures. The first volume, which has appeared, only begins the investigation on the chronological order of the books.

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[*] Goltz, Die Reformirte Kirche Genf's im 19 ten Jahrhundert. Basel, 1861.

[*] Die Obligatorische Civil-Ehe. Berlin, 1862.

[†] Hofman, Die Heilige Schrift Neuen Testamentes zusammenhängend dargestellt. Vol. 1. Nördlingen, 1862. Pp. vii, 366.

The prophecies of Zechariah have recently found a number of commentators in Germany. The most recent one is Dr. Kliefoth, the well-known leader of the ultra High-Church party of the Lutherans, and commonly designated as the "Pope of Mecklenburg." He gives us a translation and commentary,[*] and principally combats the millennial views of Dr. Hofman, (the author of the above-mentioned work on Introduction,) who, with many other theologians of his Church, believes in the establishment by Christ of a political empire after the conversion of the Jews.

We have already noticed, in a former number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, the excellent collective work published under the title, *The Lives and Select Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Lutheran Church*,[†] and edited by the venerable Dr. Nitzsch, of Berlin. The third volume, which has recently been issued, contains *The Life and the Writings of Johannes Brenz*, by Julius Hartmann. Volume 1 contains *Melancthon*, volume 2 *Urbanus Rhegius*. The whole collection will embrace eight volumes.

The Biography of Baron Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, by Beck,[*] is an important contribution to the modern history of the Roman Catholic Church. Wessenberg (born 1774, died 1860) was the last of the reformers in the Catholic Church of Germany who believed in the possibility of ridding their Church of the grossest corruptions and abuses to a sufficient extent, to prepare the way for a future reunion with Protestants. Being the scion of a distinguished family of old nobility, Wessenberg obtained early an influential position in his Church. He was, since 1802, vicar-general and administrator of the diocese of Constance, which at that time embraced a large portion of Switzerland, and became soon famous by his exertions in behalf of promoting public instruction, purifying the form of public worship, introducing the use of German hymns at church, and perfecting, in general, the administration of the diocese. The pope of course was greatly dissatisfied with these reforms, and refused, after the death of the prince primate, to confirm the election of Wessenberg as Bishop of Constance. Wessenberg consequently retired into private life, devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits. He was a very prolific writer, his poems alone filling eight volumes. His most important work is a History of the Great Councils of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

A new work on "The Origin of Sin, as set forth in the teachings of Paul, and with special regard to modern theories,"[†] has been published by H. Fr. Ernesti. The author, as intimated in the title of his work, bases his investigations exclusively upon those portions which are expressly designated as Pauline, that is, the Epistles of Paul, (not including the Epistle to the Hebrews, as it is not ascribed in the canon to Paul,) and the Pauline passages in the Acts. The work is divided into two parts. The first discusses the theory which finds the origin of sin in sensuousness, and tries to show that this theory, which derives sin from the struggle of sensuousness against the spirit, is clearly in conflict with the teaching of the Apostle Paul. In the second part the author develops his own theory.

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[*] Kliefoth, Der Prophet Sacharjah übersetzt und ausgelegt. Schwerin, 1862. Pp. 287.

[†] Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter der Lutherischen Kirche. Vol. 3. Elberfeld, 1863.

[*] Beck, Freiherr J. Heinrich von Wessenberg. Sein Leben und Wirken. Freiburg, 1862. Pp. 528.

[†] Ernesti, Vom Ursprunge der Sünde, Göttingen. 2 vols. Pp. 280.

The question whether there is extant any genuine image of Christ, has called forth a numerous literature. A new work with the title "Christ-Archeology: The Book of Jesus Christ and his True Image,"[*] claims to supersede all that has been written on the subject before. Its object is to show which of the many images of Christ extant is the genuine one. Speaking of the celebrated image of Edessa, which Christ is reported to have sent himself to King Abgar of Edessa in reply to an epistle of the latter, the author admits that this image is not now extant; but he pretends to have, after an extensive comparison of the monuments of art and historical records, established the true type of the Edessal image of Christ with sufficient certainty, and to have discovered, among the many images of Christ, a group which can be traced back to the Edessene type. After having—as he believes—succeeded in this, he came into possession of a very ancient Oriental image of Christ from Syria, the examination of which concluded his studies, investigations, and travels. The first part of his work contains, besides some obscure mystical speculations, a treatise on the relation of Christianity to art, ancient testimonies on the personal appearance of Christ, on the images said to have been made by Luke, and the beginning of a treatise on the celebrated image of Edessa. The second part will be principally devoted to this Edessene image.

The Franciscan monk Bonaventura was undoubtedly one of the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages. Having entered the Franciscan Order, he became in 1253 professor of theology at Paris, and was soon regarded as one of the most celebrated theological teachers of Europe. In 1256 he was elected General of the Franciscan Order, and in 1274 Cardinal and Bishop of Alba. He was one of the leading theologians at the Council of Lyons in 1274, and died, shortly before the fifth session of the Council, from exhaustion. Still his theology has been rarely treated of by Protestant theologians. A recent work by Hollenberg, entitled "Studies on Bonaventura,"[†] supplies therefore a want in Protestant literature. It treats, in four chapters, of the theological education of Bonaventura, of his exegetical works, of his labors as Superior of the Franciscan Order, and of his mystical writings.

A new biographical sketch of Julian the Apostate[*] has been published by Carl Semisch. According to him, the education of Julian in strict retirement, the suspicion of the Emperor Constantius, and the repeated dangers to which his life was exposed, destroyed his sense for truth, and accustomed him to disguise. His secret intercourse with prominent Neo-Platonians disposed him favorable to their doctrines, but he did not openly unfurl the banner of paganism until after opening the campaign against Constantius. Henceforth all his labors were divided between a reorganization of the state and the reconstruction of the popular religion. The latter he hoped to effect by inoculating paganism with speculative ideas, and by imitating that which he admired in Christianity. Yet he saw himself before his death the uselessness of his enterprise, and the certainty of the downfall of Roman paganism.

Biblical Theology, that is to say, an investigation into the doctrines taught by the Bible, or by either of the two Testaments separately, or one particular class of canonical books, without any regard to ecclesiastical formulas of creed, or the views of the Church fathers, has become quite a favorite study in Germany. Thus we have manuals of biblical theology, of the theology of the Old or the New Testament, of Pauline, Petrine, or Johannean Theology, of Theology of the Psalms, and so forth. Nearly all these works have Protestant authors. A Roman Catholic work of this class is the Manual of the Theology of the Old Covenant in the light of the New Covenant, by Paul Scholz,[†] which has just been completed by the publication of the second volume. This volume contains the doctrine of the relation of God to the world in general, (creation, preservation, and government of the world,) and the doctrine of the relation of God to the animate beings: 1. the angels; 2. the evil spirits; 3. men. With regard to the department of ethical theology, the author treats only of the doctrines of sin, of conversion, and of righteousness. Protestant journals of Germany commend the book for several fine essays, and for clearness and perspicuity of style; but show that the author constructs the Old Testament theology, not so much "in the light of the New Testament," as in that of the Roman Catholic Church.

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[*] Glückselig, Christus-Archäologie. Prague, 1862. Vol. 1, pp. 104.

[†] Hollenberg, Studien zu Bonaventura. Berlin, 1862. Pp. 116.

[*] Semisch, Julian der Abtrünnige. Breslau, 1862. Pp. 62.

[†] Scholz, Handbuch der Theologie des Alten Bundes. 2 vols. Regensburg, 1862. Pp. 224.

A young professor of Theology at the University of Zurich, Dr. Keim, all of whose works are distinguished for keenness of investigation, has recently issued a work on the Conversion of Constantine to Christianity.[*] He investigates the motives of Constantine for first protecting and at length embracing Christianity. His first advance toward Christianity, according to Keim, did not proceed from a moral dissatisfaction with paganism, or from spiritual wants, for which he sought and found a supply in Christianity, but, on the contrary, from superstition and utilitarianism. But from his superstition, which at least included the recognition of a higher power, there developed itself gradually the more pure, ideal, and joyous consciousness to be the instrument in the hands of this higher power for establishing a universal religion. And from the utilitarian view which at first regarded the Church merely as an instrument for supporting the state, and for preparing the way for the establishment of a universal empire, there arose gradually an internal sympathy with the spiritual truths and goods imparted by this Church, as Constantine toward the close of his life describes it enthusiastically in a letter to the Persian king Sapor I.

Socrates is manifestly rising in the estimation of the German scholars. A few years ago Professor Lassaulx, of the University of Munich, compared Socrates even with Christ, and attempted to claim for him the character of a special divine messenger; and now we have another plea in behalf of the inspired character of Socrates in a special pamphlet on "The Demonium of Socrates,"[†] by Dr. Volquardsen, Privatdocent at the University of Kiel. The author argues that we must accept the belief of Socrates, that a really divine voice warned him. He analyzes the statements and the belief of Socrates; the views of his accusers, judges, and the multitude; the statements and opinions of his followers, and later explanations. Under the latter head he reviews the statements of Plutarch, the Neo-Platonians, and Church fathers; the views of those who, like Fragnier, Barthélemy, etc., regard the name of demonium only as irony, jest, or speculation; and the modern attempts at explanation by Lassaulx, K. F. Hermann, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Kant, Zeller, Grote, and Brandis.

The Pantheistic philosophy of Spinoza has found so many admirers of late, that a work of an opposite tendency appears almost an exception. Since Schleiermacher called the father of modern Pantheism the "Sainted Spinoza," it has been common to surround his life with a poetical halo, and to represent his system as a gigantic product of consummate metaphysical keenness. Both views are very decidedly combated in the work of Dr. Van der Linde, on "Spinoza, his Doctrine, and its first Effects in Holland."[*] The history of the system of Spinoza in Holland, where it sometimes appeared in the form of Pantheistic Rationalism, and sometimes in the form of Pantheistic Mysticism, and where its chief representatives came often in conflict with both state and Church, is especially valuable. The work contains, besides, a complete account of the literature of Spinoza. The extent of this part, which covers forty-three pages, shows how largely the scholars of Europe have occupied themselves with the system of the celebrated Dutch Jew.

The unity of the two accounts of the creation in the first two chapters of Genesis is the subject of a treatise published by Professor Hölemann of Leipsic.[†] It is especially directed against the English Essays and Reviews, and the Manual of Lutheran Dogmatics of Professor Kahnis of Leipzic. The latter work, which has been referred to in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review, has made, in the theological circles of Germany, an extraordinary sensation, as Professor Kahnis has hitherto been known as one of the chief champions of

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[*] Keim, Der Uebertritt Constantin's zum Christenthume. Zurich, 1862. Pp. 106.

[†] Volquardsen. Das Dämonium des Socrates und seine Interpreten. Kiel, 1862.

[*] Van der Linde, Spinoza. Göttingen, 1862. Pp. 214.

[†] Hölemann, Die Einheit der beiden Schöpfungberichte. Leipzic, 1862. Pp. 90.

High-Church Lutheranism. His attacks upon the authenticity of the Pentateuch took, therefore, every one by surprise. Professor Hölemann, who undertakes to ward off one of the attacks of his colleague, is well known as the author of a popular work called *Bibel-Studien*, (Biblical Essays.)

Church hymns in modern languages are the almost exclusive property of Protestants. Rome has so urgently recommended or demanded the introduction of Latin hymns at divine service, that a native hymnology could not be cultivated. Germany alone forms in this respect an exception, as Rome found it necessary to make concessions to the unanimous wish of the German Catholics not to be deprived of their popular hymns, which were cultivated with such eminent success by the Protestant Churches of the country. The Catholic Germans have produced a number of excellent hymns, many of which, expressing only sentiments common to Protestants and Catholics, the Protestants have not hesitated to admit into their hymn books. An extensive work on the tunes of the German Catholic hymns has recently been commenced by K. S. Meister.* The first volume, which has just been issued, gives a treatise on hymnology in general, and then speaks of the Catholic and Protestant works on the subject, of the singing in the German Churches before the sixteenth century, of Luther's influence on the German hymns, etc. It gives a complete list of all the hymn books from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, and finally treats of the tunes, their origin and history.

The work of Professor Döllinger, of Munich, on the Church and Churches, having been at once translated into the principal languages of Europe, has made so profound a sensation that it was to be expected that Protestant scholars would reply to it. The first to undertake this task is Professor Schenkel, of Heidelberg, who, in a work on "The Ecclesiastical Question and its Protestant Solution,"† reviews the great ecclesiastical questions of the day, especially in their bearing upon civilization. He combats the views of Professor Döllinger and of Bishop Ketteler, of Mentz, who, in a recent work, advocated the paradox theory that the Church of Rome was the best patron of freedom and progress.

FRANCE.

We have repeatedly referred, in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, to the singular fact, that while the principles of the so-called critical school of Germany, among whose chief representatives are Professor Baur, of Tübingen, and Dr. Strauss, seem to lose ground in Germany, they are circulated in France by an increasing number of young and gifted theologians. One of the most recent publications of this school in France is a work by Mr. Albert Reville, pastor of the Walloon (French) Church in Rotterdam, Holland, on the composition of the Gospel of St. Matthew.* The work contains hardly anything that is new; (and it will be difficult to find still anything with regard to this subject that has not been exhaustively treated of in a number of German works;) but Mr. Reville treats the subject with the usual clearness of distinguished French writers, and is therefore likely to find for his work a comparatively larger number of readers than the too learned, and therefore too often unintelligible German works. It is a remarkable fact that the book is extensively reviewed and warmly recommended by E. Renan, in one of the leading daily papers of Paris, the Journal des Debats. This is a plain commentary on the state of public opinion in the literary classes of France, for there would hardly be any prominent daily in England or America which would openly indorse the views defended by Mr. Reville. But no less remarkable is it that the book, which attacks the authenticity of the Gospel of Matthew, has received a prize from an old Dutch society for "the Defense of the Christian Religion." This society, which annually puts a number of literary prize questions, has passed over, together with the state Church of Holland in general, into the camp of Rationalism.

The history of French Protestantism has been of late cultivated with great zeal. Besides the general history of the French Protestant Churches by F. Puaux,

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* Meister, Das Katholische Deutsche Kirchenlied. Freiburg, 1862. Vol. 1.

† Schenkel, Die Kirchliche Frage. Elberfeld, 1862.

* Reville, Etudes Critiques sur l'Evangile de Saint Matthieu. Paris, 1862.

(which has been referred to in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review,) there is now published every year a large number of local histories. One of the most recent and important of these publications is the History of the Reformed Church of Montpelier, by Corbière.* Montpelier has been, ever since the 16th century, one of the strongholds of French Protestantism. For a long time the city was predominantly Protestant, and even now it has a large Protestant element. M. Corbière has made extensive researches for his work, consulted numerous manuscripts and documents, and searched a number of libraries. His book is therefore warmly welcomed by his fellow-Protestants, some of whom, however, complain that he has carried his desire to be strictly impartial so far as to become, in some instances, unfair to the persecuted Protestants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

An article by St. René Taillandier, the great French critic, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, highly commends a work by Abbé Flottes† on St. Augustin and his Philosophy. Abbé Flottes, according to Taillandier, is one of the ablest and most indefatigable defenders of the Gallicanism of the seventeenth century against the ultramontane theories which are prevailing in the Church of France at present. His sketch of the character of St. Augustine is said to be of superior ability. Interesting chapters are given on the views of St. Augustine respecting social order, property, slavery, capital punishment, and liberty of conscience. With regard to the latter point, the opinions of the great Bishop of Hippo underwent, in the course of time, a painful change. At first his relations to the heretics were characterized by the utmost mildness and charity. But when the Donatists made alarming progress among the African Churches the urgent representations of his colleagues caused a radical change of his views. He became the most ardent advocate of the compulsory suppression of every heresy, and he based this shocking theory on the passage in Luke xiv, where the master of a house, after the invited guests have declined to come, orders the servants to bring in the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind, from the streets and lanes of the city, and when there was yet room, to "go out into the highways and hedges, and *compel them to come in.*" This interpretation, by a Church father so profoundly revered, has been, in the following centuries, the source of incalculable mischief. It was one of the principal weapons with which ecclesiastical and royal despots attempted to justify the murder of millions of good citizens on the charge of heresy. Even men like Bossuet were induced, by the weight of Augustine's authority, to advocate compulsory measures against heretics. Abbé Flottes condemns with inflexible firmness both the principle of religious intolerance and the opinion of St. Augustine, which has done so much for supporting it. In this he is in accord with the distinguished men who are at the head of the so-called liberal school of French Catholics, such as Montalembert, Prince Broglie, Father Gratry, Abbé Maret, and others.

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* Corbière, Histoire de Eglise Reformée de Montpelier. Montpelier, 1862.

† Abbé Flottes, Etudes sur Saint Augustin, son genie, son âme, sa philosophie. Paris, 1862.

ART. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. Psychology and Skepticism. 2. Comparative Grammar. 3. The Origin of Idolatry: A Criticism of Rawlinson and others. 4. The Temptation of Christ. 5. British Sympathy with America. 6. The Presbyterian General Assemblies.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. Dr. Hickok's Philosophy. 2. Vindications of Dr. Hickok's Philosophy. 3. Augustine. 4. Diversity of Species in the Human Race. 5. The General Assembly. 6. Slavery and the Slave-trade.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, July, 1862.—1. Church Book of the Puritans at Geneva, from 1555 to 1560. 2. Semitic Comparative Philology. 3. A Shaksperian Glossary for our English Bible. 4. The Bible and Slavery. 5. Quatrefages and Godron in reply to Agassiz on the Origin and Distribution of Mankind. 6. Hopkinsianism.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, July, 1862.—Zachariah Eddy. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Portage and Summit Counties, Ohio. A True Revival of Religion. Oratio Dominica. Result of a Council at Grafton, Mass., in 1744. A Hymn of Thomas Aquinas, A. D. 1262. Sketch of the Half Century History of the Congregational Church in Litchfield, Me. Captain Miles Standish's Books. The Worship of the Christian Sanctuary. President Chauncy's Oration, 1622. Two Hundred Years Ago in New England. The Rebellion to be Tributary to Congregationalism. Lessons from Statistics. Summary of the Presbyterian Church. First Congregational Church, Woburn, Mass., (with engraving.)

DANVILLE REVIEW, June, 1862.—1. Studies on the Bible, No. I. 2. The Secession Conspiracy in Kentucky, and its Overthrow; with the Relations of both to the General Revolt. 3. Imputation and Original Sin. 4. The Immortality of Man. 5. The General Assembly of 1862 of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1862.—1. The Book of Job. 2. Martin Luther. 3. Public Worship. 4. Philip Jacob Spener. 5. Our General Synod. 6. The Crusades. 7. The Great Commandment. 8. Remarks on Romans vi, 3, 4.

FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1862.—1. The English Bible in Manuscript and its Translators. 2. Public Life. 3. Elias Hutchins in North Carolina. 4. Human Culture. 5. Government of God. 6. Christ's Universal Possessions.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. Readjustment of Christianity. 2. Man and Men. 3. The General Assembly of 1862. 4. The Future of the Colored Race in America.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1862.—14. Regeneration. 15. A Providential View of War. 16. Allegiance to Government. 17. The Holy Spirit. 18. Law *versus* Force. 19. Idolatry Better than Practical Atheism. 20. President Miner's Inaugural. 21. The Assistance rendered by Man to his Maker. 22. Evil often a Stimulant to Good. 23. Our Late Publisher.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. The Poetical Element in Scripture. 2. The Theological System of Emmons. 3. Montalembert's Monks of the West. 4. Power in the Pulpit. 5. Dorner on the Sinless Perfection of Jesus. 6. The Greek Testament of Webster and Wilkinson. 7. Rougemont on the Primitive People—their Religion, History, and Civilization. 8. Mr. Buckle's Philosophy of the Mind.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. The Science of Language. 2. George Frederick Handel. 3. Ritual Uniformity a Protestant Innovation. 4. Peaks and Passes. 5. France and Italy. 6. The English School of Painting. 7. Döllinger on the Church and the Churches. 8. The Turkish Empire. 9. The Great Exhibition of 1862.

THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, July, 1862.—1. M. Mudry's French Translations. 2. Scott on Unclean Spirits. 3. Literature of the Lord's Prayer. 4. Replies to "Essays and Reviews." 5. George Herbert and his Times. 6. The Sarum Missal. 7. Publications of the Surtees Society. 8. The Future of the Scottish Liturgy.

JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, July, 1862.—1. Religion of the Ancient Romans. 2. The "Te Deum." 3. Sacred Trees. 4. Monasticism in the West—Benedict of Nursia. Part II. 5. The Epistle of St. Jude. 6. Clement of Alexandria and his Defense of the Faith. 7. What is Superstition? 8. The Record of Creation. 9. Exegesis of Difficult Texts. 10. Peter's Denial of Christ. 11. New Testament Critics: Tischendorf versus Tregelles. 12. The Antediluvian World, its Longevity and Progress in the Arts. 13. The Gospel of St. Luke. 14. Considerations on the State of Man: Tending to a Holy Life.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. Memoirs of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel. 2. Sussex. 3. Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. 4. The Volunteers and National Defense. 5. English Poetry from Dryden and Cowper. 6. The International Exhibition. 7. The Hawaiian Islands. 8. The Bicentenary.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW. July, 1862.—1. The Life and Policy of Pitt. 2. Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the Old Testament. 3. Election Expenses. 4. Sir William Hamilton: his Doctrines of Perception and Judgment. 5. English Rule in India. 6. Celebrated Literary Friendships. 7. The Dawn of Animal Life.

LONDON REVIEW, (WESLEYAN,) July, 1862.—1. Rénan on the Shemitic Tongues. 2. Froude's History of England, vols. 5 and 6. 3. The Mormons at Home. 4. The Portal Family. 5. Vocation and Training of the Christian Ministry. 6. Esquiros on the English. 7. The Bi-Centenary of Non-conformity.

The learned and able article on Rénan is the gem of this number. It is mainly a review of that author's work entitled, "Histoire Générale et Système Comparé des Langues Sémitique." In this work M. Rénan has, with pre-eminent genius and learning, but in a spirit vitiated by his skeptical dogma, applied to the Shemitic languages those methods of comparative philosophy with which Bopp and others have wrought such wonderful results in the Aryan or Indo-Germanic tongues. The reviewer, with a great mastery of his subject, discriminates between the excellences and defects of Rénan, and very successfully shows that the results of his researches may be separated from the skeptical alloy.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. The Explorers of Australia. 2. Wellington's Supplementary Dispatches. 3. Sir G. C. Lewis's Astronomy of the Ancients. 4. Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt. 5. Troyon's Lacustrine Abodes of Man. 6. Weber's Gleanings from German Archives. 7. Iron—its Uses and Manufacture. 8. Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench. 9. Döllinger on the Temporal Power.

The articles on *Lacustrine Abodes of Man* is a detail, intensely interesting, of the evidences of the ancient existence of pre-historical races inhabiting the lakes and bays of Europé. Hitherto the doctrine has been that the Celts were the first tide of immigration from the East into the once howling wastes now tenanted by the highest civilization. But the present geological signs show that, ages before, a race of an inferior stature, who used warlike implements of stone only, lived in villages based upon platforms sustained by piles driven into the lake bottom at a little distance from the shore, with which they were connected by a bridge of similar structure. Immense masses of the remains of this race are revealed in different parts of Europe, of their life and of their ultimate destruction by a second more civilized race, who used weapons of bronze. These, in their turn, were exterminated by a third race, identified with the Celts, a race of iron.

As to the antiquity of the first of these races, Troyon estimates that they may have existed three thousand three hundred years ago. But M. Morlot dates them as far back as seven thousand years. The reviewer in a note informs us that Sir Charles Lyell is preparing a work on the evidences for human fossil remains.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW, July, 1862.—1. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. 2. M. Rénan's Translation of Job. 3. The Roman Index of Forbidden Books. 4. The Growth of the Early Italian Poetry. 5. Baxter and Owen. 6. Modern Latin Verse. 7. Political and Religious Phases of the Roman Question. 8. The Slave Power and the Secession War.

The name of M. Rénan has become eminent in the department of Shemitic literature. This gentleman was born in 1823, and was at first destined for holy orders. He prosecuted at Paris the study of Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew, and obtained the Volney prize for a dissertation on the Shemitic languages. Having become thoroughly imbued with Neological principles, he dismissed all purpose of an ecclesiastical profession, and obtained a position in the national library. He has published a number of treatises on comparative philology, some translations of Old Testament books, and various articles and archæological memoirs which have attracted the notice of the literary world.

The "dogma" with which M. Rénan commences, is thus stated in this Review:

> The science of criticism must start with proclaiming that the miracle has no place whatever in the tissue of human affairs, or in the order of the facts of nature; that everything in history is capable of human explanation, even when that explanation escapes us from want of sufficient knowledge. . . . He avows the deepest respect for religion, as being the universal instinct and necessity of man's nature. He thinks the formulas of religion are the utterances, and the doubts and questionings of men as to their ultimate destiny are the consequences of the same instinct. The instinct will shape itself differently, according to the race, country, climate, and habits of life of each people; at the bottom it is essentially a human instinct. And the forms and systems of belief may be salutary or hurtful. Though ordinarily what is narrow and hurtful in the dogma will become harmless in practical life, the superstitions which displease the cultivated man will become the ideal and poetry of life to the uncultivated. And because religion is such a need and necessity of human nature, because it does that which philosophy cannot—raise man's life above material interests, and awaken in him hopes of a higher destiny than the present—therefore the critic must not only respect it, but do it reverence. "I avow that I should be inconsolable," says M. Rénan, "if I knew that my writings would offend one of those simple souls who worship so well in spirit."

Of course the criticism which opens a professed revelation with the assumption that everything miraculous, and therefore everything that is revelation, must be false, is little likely to furnish results acceptable to those who start with no such dogma.

The National Review has, upon the subject of slavery and the American war, revolved the circuit of the horizon, and now points due north.

German Reviews.

JAHRBUCHER FUR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE. (Year-books of German Theology. Second Number, 1862.)—1. Schmidt, Origen, and Augustine as Apologists. 2. Plitt, On the Organic-Genetic Character of the Doctrinal Development of the Christian Church. 3. Wittichen, On the Tendency and Doctrinal Content of the Synoptical Sermons of Jesus. (Sermons of Jesus in the three "Synoptical" Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.)

The second article, by Hermann Plitt, Inspector of the Theological Seminary of the Moravians at Gnadenfeld, undertakes to show that the history of the Christian doctrine, as well as the history of the Christian Church in general, is, in the full sense of the word, a development; that, while it was planned and regulated by God, it was at the same time to grow up under the influence of men, and bear the mark of the great historical junctures through which the Church had to pass, and of the individuality of the prominent men who were the leaders of the Church of their times.

The character of the development, according to our author, is designated by Christ himself in the two parables of the mustard-grain and the leaven. The one symbolizes the *creative power* with which the new germ settles in and grows up from the receptive soil; the other shows the *penetrating and transforming agency* which shapes the new creation. In the one we see the creative power of the spirit, in the other the conquering power of love. In the several epochs and prominent men of Church history, sometimes the one principle, sometimes the other prevails. Thus it was even in the apostolic Church. Paul and John were the representative men of these two principles. The Church, in the following ages, leaned sometimes more on the Pauline, sometimes more on the Johnanean theology, and consequently developed the doctrines of Christianity more in the one or the other form. In conclusion, the author lays down his views about the course Protestant theology ought to take in future.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHTE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology, edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld, Professor at Jena. Third Number, 1862.)—1. Hilgenfeld, The Two Epistles to the Thessalonians; their Contents and Origin. 2. Uhlemann, On Gog and Magog. 3. Egli, The Septuagint. 4. Paul, On the Doctrine of the Trinity in the Works of the Apologist Theophilus. 5. Böhmer, A new edition of the Commentary of Melancthon to the Epistle to the Romans.

Dr. Hilgenfeld, of Jena, who, after the death of Dr. Baur, is the ablest representative of the critical school of German theology, seeks to show in the first article that the second epistle to the Thessalonians was not written by the Apostle Paul, while he admits the authenticity of the first. Baur rejected the authenticity of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, as well as that of all other Pauline epistles, with the exception of those to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans. Hilgenfeld acknowledges, besides, the authenticity of the epistles to the Philippians, Philemon, and the first to the Thessalonians.

In the second article Professor Uhlemann, of Göttingen, gives an article on the history, the residence, and the signification of Gog and Magog. He finds that the names of Gog and Magog signify two northern but little known tribes, which were feared by their neighbors. The name passed over from the Bible into the rabbinical literature and the Koran, and has maintained itself in the eastern countries up to the present day. They lived north-east of the Bulgarians, and comprised all the unknown savage tribes north of the Black Sea, Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, and from there to the furthest east. Gog was the name of the whole or a part of the

Caucasus, and signifies mountain. The name of Caucasus itself preserves the name, for *Καυκασιον* (*οὐρος*) is equal to *Καυκ-Ασιον*, the Asiatic mountain, and *Καυκ* is identical with Gog. As the name of a tribe, Gog means "the mountaineers." The signification of Magog is, either the "country of the mountaineers" or the Highest Gog.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Fourth Number.)—*Essays.* 1. Hundeshagen, Ulric Zwingle and his Reformatory Labors, Compared with Luther and Calvin. 2. Kleinert, On the Subject of the Prophecy, Isa. lii, 13 - liii, 12. *Thoughts and Remarks.* 1. Köster, Epistle to Dr. Reiche and Dr. Meyer, on Rom. viii, 18-28. 2. Knödel, On the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. 3. Sengler, On the Ontological and Economical Trinity. *Reviews.* 1. Buttmann, Novum Testamentum Græce, noticed by the author. 2. Witte, The Gospel in Italy. Noticed by Holtzmann. *Miscellaneous.* 1. Ullmann, On the Tercentenary of the Heidelberg Catechism in North America.

The most important article of this number is the first. Dr. Hundeshagen insists that the importance of Zwingle as a reformer has generally not been sufficiently acknowledged. He believes, with Ranke, that Zwingle was the greatest reformer Switzerland ever produced. He finds that more recently a greater interest in the history of Zwingle has been awakened, and more justice done him. On occasion of the tercentenary of the Reformation in Zurich a new edition of his works was published. Some years later, a selection of them was published for popular use. (Christoffel, Auswahl aus Z.'s Schriften. Zurich, 1843. 15 vols.) His doctrinal system has been elucidated in a number of articles in the theological periodicals; a number of biographies have been published, (by Röder, Christoffel, and others,) and greater attention has been in general shown to him in theological and historical works. On the basis of all these new investigations Dr. Hundeshagen undertakes to give a complete view of all his labors for the religious and political reform of Switzerland, and compares him with Luther and Calvin.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUER HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology. Fourth Number, 1862.)—1. Dr. Nippold, Heinrich Niclaes and the House of Love, (second article.) 2. Ebrard, the Culdean Church in the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Centuries. 3. Baumgarten, Two Documents in the Case of Baumgarten.

The subject of the first article has been briefly noticed by us in the preceding number of the Methodist Quarterly Review. The continuation in this number of the Journal for Historic Theology treats of the writings and doctrines of Heinrich Niclaes.

The second article is only the beginning of an essay on the Culdees, or, as the author calls them, the Culdean Church. To judge by the length which the essay is to have, the treatment must be exhaustive. The first article confines itself to a discussion of the different calculations of the time of Easter, which the ancient Churches deemed so important as to excommunicate each other on account of their disagreement about it, and which even modern scholars, like Dr. Ebrard, consider a subject worth a laborious investigation, extending over about sixty pages.

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French Reviews.

Revue des Deux Mondes.—*May* 15.—3. **D'Haussonville**, Le Congrès de Vienne. 5. **Forgues**, l'Ere des George 8. **D. Mazade**, Affaires du Mexique.

June 1.—**Cherbuliez**, 1. Le Comte Kòstia, (1st article.) 2. **Le Duc d'Ayen**, La Constitution Anglaise, 4. **Reymond**, La Marine Comparée de la France et de l'Angleterre, (1st article.) 5. **Le Comte Bernard d'Harcourt**, La Première Ambassade Française en Chine. 6. **Jacobs**, La Region des Lacs de l'Afrique Equatoriale. 11. **Pallu**, Une Colonie Militaire Annamite.

June 15.—1. **De Mazade**, la Russie sous l'Empereur Alexandre II., (1st article.) 3. **Raymond**, la Marine Comparée de la France et de l'Angleterre, (2d article.) 5. **Reclus**, Le Bresil et la Colonization, (1st article.) 6. **Cherbuliez**, Le Comte Kòstia, (2d article.) 10. **Janet**, Une Defense des Spiritualisme.

July 1.—1. **Amedee Thierry**, Stilicon. 2. **Esquiros**, l'Exposition Universelle de 1862. 3. **Raymond**, la Marine Comparée de la France et de l'Angleterre, (3d article.) 7. **Renan**, l'Art du Moyen Age. 10. **Jeffroy**, Deux Poemes Populaires de la Finlande.

July 15.—1. **Guizot**, Un Projet de Mariage Royal, (1st article.) 2. **Cherbuliez**, le Comte Kòstia, (4th article.) 3. **Rene De Courcy**, la Grèce depuis l'Avènement du Roi Othon. 4. **Reclus**, le Bresil, (2d article.) 5. **Raymond**, La Marine Comparée de la France et de l'Angleterre, (4th article.) 10. **Taillandier**, Saint Augustin et la Liberte de Conscience.

The article of Mr. Janet, in the number of June 15, headed a "Defense of Spiritualism," is not, as many may infer from the title, a defense of the movement known by this name in America, but refers to a school of metaphysical philosophy, known as the spiritualistic school. Mr. Janet reviews a work by Mr. Saisset, called *Essay de Philosophie Religieuse*, which defends the views of this school. The religious doctrine of Mr. Saisset and his school is reduced to three points: 1. The existence of God is a truth of intuition, and the different proofs which are given for it are only an analysis of the natural movement of the spirit which is carrying us toward God. 2. God is distinguished from the world by the thought of himself and by self-consciousness. 3. The world expresses the absolute infinity of God by its relative infinity; that is to say, by an unlimited extension in time and space. The reviewer of Mr. Saisset admits entirely and without reserve the second of these propositions. The first he admits equally, but with a little more regard to the classic proofs for the existence of God. As to the third proposition, the reviewer says that also it has his preference, although not his adhesion, as the principles of Descartes forbid him to affirm anything that is not entirely evident. The reviewer regards the large circulation of the book of Mr. Saisset, which has already appeared in a fourth edition, as a cheerful sign of the times, since it proves that the new materialistic schools, which have of late made great efforts to denounce all philosophy no less than religion, have not attained their end.

Revue Chretienne.—*May*, 1862.—1. Kuhn, Les Lettres de Madame Swetchine. 2. Bonnet, La Jeunesse de Paleario. 3. Fisch, La Vie Religieuse aux Etats-Unis. 4. De Pressense, Deux Articles du Journal le Temps.

June.—1. Pozzy, Diversités des Races Humaines. 2. Bersier, Le Christianism et le Progrès Social. 3. Rosseeuw-Saint-Hilaire, Fragment d'une Leçon Professée à la Sorbonne.

July.—1. Rosseeuw-Saint-Hilaire, De la Poésie Lyrique en France. 2. Ruffet, Francesco Spiera. 3. Pozzy, Diversité des Races Humaines, (second article.)

In the May number Pastor Fisch, of Paris, concludes his interesting series of articles on the Religious Life of the United States, which have since been published in book form under the title, Les Etats-Unis, en 1861. Pastor Fisch, like his countryman and coreligionist, Count Gasparin, ranks among the warmest friends of the United States. He throughout his letters shows a great admiration of the religious and political institutions of our Union. He has a firm conviction that the crisis which now tests the character of the people will be successfully passed, and that then the Union will stand higher in the esteem of the world than ever before. His account of the moral and religious condition of our country is as calm as impartial, and on the whole as accurate as it is sympathetic, and it will therefore hardly fail to make on public opinion in France a favorable impression in our behalf. As a proof of the spirit which pervades his letters, we give the concluding words of his last article:

> I should be happy if I have succeeded in showing the beneficial power of Christian truth, free from all human fetters and restored to its primitive condition. Without doubt this truth is forcing its way in the world with difficulty. It is with it as with some of those rivers which descend from high mountains. Often enormous rocks obstruct their passage; their channel is narrowed, they disappear under clouds of foam, and they do not regain their liberty until they have escaped from the mountains which they have rent. Such is the crisis through which the religious life is now passing in the United States. It is the painful regeneration

of a people, over the origin of which strong evangelical convictions presided, but which still opposed to them formidable barriers. Soon the gloomy defiles will have been crossed. The downfall of slavery, after having been so long delayed, will be all the more striking. The religious life in America will retake its peaceable course. Then it will be free, to expand with unparalleled power over a renewed land, and the world will learn once more that the Gospel is the safety of nations as well as of individuals.

ART. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins, in Six Discourses; and a Sermon on the Judgeship of the Saints. By JOSEPH A. SEISS, D.D., author of "Last Times," "Gospel in Leviticus," "Lectures on Hebrews," etc. 12mo., pp. 189. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Dr. Seiss expounds the interesting passage of Scripture mentioned in his title-page with a scholarship, an impressiveness, and a piety which command our respect. His exposition belongs, however, to the Millenarian school; a school which, however characterized by a fervid tone of piety, founds its appeals very much upon what we esteem a mistaken interpretation of Scripture, and is ever treading upon the verge of a precipice of danger.

His theory is that the second advent of Christ is now chronologically near at hand; that at its arrival the personal reign of Christ and his saints will be established over the earth, while the generations of men will still flow on in endless succession. The virgins of the parable, wise and foolish, are Christians of a higher and a lower piety; their sleep is the indifference of the Church in regard to Christ's coming; and the rejection of the foolish virgins is, in his view, consistent with their final salvation.

We hold, with the great body of ancient commentators, that the sleep of the virgins is the slumber in death of the generations of men. We can scarce believe that our Lord should not have left on record some significant intimation, of what history has proved to be the fact, that there would be ages of mortality and death between his first and second coming. There is nothing in the parable to indicate that the slumber of the virgins was blamable, or to disprove that it was a natural and rightful procedure. The natural impression is that they retire to repose in darkness, expecting to be awakened at the proper time, and to rise, when called, to light their lamps, or rather *torches*, to join the bridal procession. That the so-called lamps were not the illuminators of the interior of a house, but utensils used for a torch-light procession, we know from the customs of Jewish weddings. The word "trimmed" means in the Greek *set in order;* and part of this setting in order, as we learn from Mr. Ward's narrative, was *lighting* the torch. The slumber of the virgins, therefore, was a rightful and natural fact.

The charge which is implied against the rejected five virgins, and which is inconsistent with their Christian character, is not that they neglected to keep awake, but that they were *foolish*, and showed their folly by taking "no oil" for their torches, so that when they came to light them for the procession the dry wicks soon expired. The solemn words of the bridegroom, "I never knew you," are too decisive to admit the supposition that they were truly regenerate.

The Testimony of Christ to Christianity. By PETER BAYNE, A.M., Author of "Christian Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 200. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1862.

This excellent monograph does not, as we expected, present a full refutation of the notion that Christ did not make miracles an evidential basis of his religion. It is rather an argument for Christianity, based upon the fact that Christ assumed to work miracles, that he would not deceive, and could not be mistaken. The structure of the argument is in some degree original; but perhaps the details hardly equal the outline. Mr. Bayne writes in a style animated and varied, but wanting in compactness, exactness, and finish. The work contains many fine passages and valuable thoughts, and is on the whole an excellent additional chapter to evidential literature. Among its most choice paragraphs is the following reply to the charge, that the Gospel histories are the product of oriental easy faith and fancy:

> The Jewish people, first of all, were markedly different from every other Eastern race. No nation ever was more practical. Amid the vagaries of Oriental polytheism they held firm the belief in one God; and for eighteen hundred years, though scattered and peeled, with nationality destroyed and scepter broken, they have shown themselves capable of being pitted, in the arena of commerce, of science, of art, and of literature, with the most robust and sharp-minded Western races. The Jews have been a gold-dust among the nations of modern Europe, a gold-dust which will one day be gathered into the crown of humanity. Christianity, in the second place, was, almost from the first, a thing of the West. It had not received its name when it was taken up by the acute Greek intellect; a few years after the death of Christ it was accepted in the city of Rome; it has since appeared too definite, practical, and calmly wise to be retained in purity by the Asiatic mind; but it "is still," as says Gibbon, "professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms." The most complete refutation, however, which can be conceived of this thoughtless sophism, is derived from a consideration of the exact balance of all powers in the Saviour's mind. Christ's parables and similitudes are clothed in no Oriental drapery; they have a chaste simplicity and clear cut distinctness, which ally them to the most exquisite poetry of ancient Greece and of modern Europe. In intellect, as in every human characteristic, Christ belongs not to a nation, but to mankind; he is the second Adam, the type of perfect humanity.

Scripture Cabinet; or, Texts and Truths Illustrated. By ERWIN HOUSE, A.M. 12mo., pp. 482. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1862.

The plan of Mr. House is to adduce a striking text and furnish some incident or other illustration apposite to its thought. The illustration is usually from the pen of some eminent author. The book is thence a series of gems from the best intellects strung on a Scripture thread. It becomes a fund in reserve for preacher or layman. Reference is rendered easy by copious indexes. It bears the marks of the skill and taste of its preparer, and is entitled to a place in popular use. We commend it to an extended circulation.

◆

The "I Wills" of Christ: being thoughts upon some of the passages in which the words "I will" were used by the Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. PHILIP BENNETT POWER, M. A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Worthing, Author of the "I Wills" of the Psalms, etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 395. New York: Carters. 1862.

This title is somewhat quaint, and, we opine, not in the best of good taste: the book itself is nevertheless earnest, clear, evangelical, and very readable. The character of the contents, seen "through a glass darkly" in the title-page, may be inferred from the subjects discussed in the nine chapters which compose the volume. These are, The "I Will" of Invitation, of Reception, of Healing, of Confession, of Service, of Comfort, of Disposal, of Subjection, of Glorification. Each of these themes is briefly discussed by the author, and then, when practicable, illustrated by examples gathered from every quarter, and skillfully handled, so that the lesson taught by them is brought out in bold relief. Some of the chapters are more than half quotations; yet there is no rambling, no degeneracy into the mere retailing of religious anecdotes. It is rather the collating of Christian experiences, a harmony of the life-gospels which good men make of their history. The author's style is unpretending and attractive, and the effect upon the mind and heart of the reader can hardly fail to be a good one. C.

◆

Address to Class-Leaders. By E. S. JANES. 12mo., pp. 46. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1862.

This impressive discourse, on a very important topic, by Bishop Janes, is a tract for the times. Its pertinent suggestions, forcible argument, and eloquent appeals, will, we trust, command for it a general attention. Every pastor, preacher, and class-leader should furnish himself a copy for well-digested study.

The subject of class-meetings seems, at the present time, to awaken a special attention in the Church. So long as our itinerancy endures, the class is a counterpart necessary to the effective discipline of the Church. We think the right of the Church authoritatively to require the attendance of her laity upon these means is just as unquestionable as her right to require her ministry to itinerate. We may be safe in saying that that will ever be a well-ordered Church where the class efficiently performs its disciplinary functions. Very strongly do we reprobate any effort to remove the absoluteness of the condition to membership of the performance of this duty; for the refusal of class attendance is a withdrawal of the most elementary support from the institutions of the Church.

◆

John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out from the natural force of the words the Simplicity, Depth, Harmony, and Saving Power of its Divine Thoughts. A new translation, by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, M.A., and MARVIN VINCENT, M.A., Professors in Troy University. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 980. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862.

This second volume of Bengel's great work covers Romans—Revelation. Excluding matter rendered obsolete by time, the editors have supplied notes from Alford, Calvin, De Wette, Lücke, Meyer, Tregelles, and others. Hearty thanks are due to the enterprising editors and publishers for bringing this Bengel, modified on the principle of a wise utility, within the easy reach of American preachers and Biblical scholars.

◆

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

A Dictionary of English Etymology. By HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, M.A., late Fellow of Christian College, Cambridge. Vol. I. (A–D.) With notes and additions by GEORGE P. MARSH. 8vo., pp. 237. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1862.

This tall, thin octavo, one of the elegant products of the Cambridge Riverside press, is the commencement by Mr. Marsh of the republication of a valuable English contribution to English etymology. "The principal object of the work," according to Mr. Marsh, "is to illustrate and enforce the theory that language is imitative in its origin and primary character."

This doctrine of the origination of a large part of human language, though repudiated by Max Müller, is ably, and it would seem to us conclusively maintained by a copious body of instances, in the introduction by the learned author. A large number of words, ordinarily supposed to be the illegitimate and transient products of the day, such as *fiz*, *whack*, *bump*, *bang*, are venerable denizens in old literature; perhaps (like *slam* found in Lapland) in the modern sister languages.

The author proposes to accomplish his work in two more volumes. The work, with valuable additions by Mr. Marsh, will be found replete with interest to the inquiring linguistic student. Such authors as Wedgwood, Max Müller, and B. W. Dwight may be particularly recommended to the study of any blatant ignoramus in our rural periodicals who may imagine that to repudiate one of Aristotle's etymologies is to claim a superiority in Greek over the great Stagirite himself.

◆

Manual of Homeopathic Theory and Practice. Designed for the use of Physicians and Families. By ARTHUR LUTZE, M.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by CHARLES J. HEMPEL, M.D. From the sixteenth thousand of the German edition. 12mo., pp. 750. New York: William Radde. Philadelphia: William Radde. 1862.

This is claimed to be a standard in Homeopathic practice; at least so we judge from its bearing the indorsement of Hempel and the imprint of Radde. It appears to occupy the pure, or some would say, the ultra ground of the system. Its arrangement is very clear, and we doubt not the practitioners of that treatment, professional or lay, will find it one of the best as well as latest manuals.

◆

History, Biography, and Topography.

The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California. By RICHARD F. BURTON, Author of "*The Lake Region of Central Africa*," etc. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 574. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Burton took notes as he traveled. He had his writing apparatus on the spot, and, although his narrative has been of course critically retouched, the record is made in sight of the object. We are fully ready to believe his description of any material object, or his narrative of any physical fact; but when he departs from matters of fact, Mr. Burton can utter nothing amounting to the dignity of an opinion. Mr. Burton is conscious of a habit of seeing everything in a ridiculous light, and his apology is the same as the Hunchback in Byron made for his deformity, "I was born so, mother." To us his clumsy vivacity seems attributable to an inveterate purpose, rather than to the gift of nature. He favors Mormonism, holding it to be no worse than all other religions. His pretended account of the origin of Mormonism is a very needless piece of stultification.

Harper's Hand-Book for Travelers in Europe and the East: being a guide through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Switzerland, Spain, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain and Ireland. By PEMBROKE FETRIDGE. With a map, embracing colored routes of travel in the above countries. 12mo., pp. 459. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

The above title is a very good guide-book through the contents of the volume. The work is eminently familiar and practical, aiming to tell you as explicitly and frankly what you want to know before starting, as your personal friend just returned from the tour could. And if you have no purpose of traveling, it is the best substitute for an actual tour that we have lately seen.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

America before Europe. Principles and Interests. By COUNT AGENOR GASPARIN. Translated from advance sheets, by MARY L. BOOTH. 12mo., pp. 419. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

We wish Europe possessed that moral susceptibility which would render this work as acceptable to her conscience as it is to American feelings. We might then hope that Gasparin's clear and accurate statement of facts, his exposition of fundamental principles, and his irresistible conclusions would conduce to the mutual respect and peace of the two continents for a century. We fear, however, that his lofty assertion of truth is fully appreciated in America only. But even here there is ample need that both government and people should heed, as from our warmest advocate, monitions like the following:

> Many men less confident than myself are obstinate in believing that so long as separation does not take place, the amalgamation of principles will subsist. They wish the North to constitute a purely abolition state. They think this the only means of dissolving the democratic party, and destroying the thought of compromise. It seems to them that, slavery being concentrated on one side and liberty on the other, it would be to the advantage of every one. The constitutional transformation which abolition supposes might be accomplished with the majorities required by the compact; everything would go on, therefore, in a more regular and surer manner.
>
> I comprehend this point of view, which is not my own. Once more, if the question were to choose between Union without abolition and abolition without Union, I would vote for the latter, certain that it alone could accord with the honor and greatness of the United States. The miserable Union which would be purchased by an act of cowardice would not be worth the trouble of picking up; it would tarnish the cause of America and compromise its future.

To the present state of feeling in our country the title of Gasparin's book is hardly palatable. The implication that America is standing for judgment before the tribunal of Europe is just as true as that Europe is on trial before America. To public opinion, worthy of the name, both ought to hold themselves amenable. But to any political assumption that our measures are to be judged or dictated by any foreign power, or by all foreign powers combined, our reply would be defiance. Thanks to a million of men in arms, to an iron-clad navy, and to our complete mastery of the emancipation question, Europe *dare* not intervene. And that is our sole safety. "Before Europe," the logic of our eloquent friend would not avail us a particle; but the iron demonstrations being put together in our navy yards have a Q. E. D. to them that Europe can perceive. We are masters of the position; and nothing is likely to defeat us but incompetent leadership in cabinet or field.

Belles-Lettres and Classical.

Poems, with Autobiographic and other Notes. Illustrated by DARLEY, HOPPIN, and others. By THOMAS H. STOCKTON, Chaplain to Congress. 12mo., pp. 321. Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien. 1862.

This volume contains poems written at various times between 1834 and 1861. It is furnished with eight picturesque illustrations, mostly being graphic shadows of the poetic images furnished by the author's fancy. Thirty pages are devoted to the notes, in which the author with freedom and simplicity gives an outline of the recollections of his life. The book was intended, he tells us, chiefly "for circulation among known friends; with some overflow of the edition in dreamy contemplation of possible unknown friends."

The poems are marked with the purity, devotion, and elevation which characterize the author's soul. No one can read a page without realizing that the writer views nature with the eye of a poet, and that nature to him is not only marked with the traces of God, but radiant with hues shed from the cross of Christ. Two extended poems occupy the first part; the first on Faith and Light, or the Spirit-world and Sense-world; the other, unfinished, on Snow, in which the imagination of the author chases that cold but poetic element through a variety of picturesque winter sceneries. We have a poem on "The Three Harps," namely, the Humble, the Plaintive, and the Joyful. "Genius" is a very ingenious performance. The remainder of this first part, consisting of poems in "rhythm," or blank verse, are brief.

In the second part we have poems in rhyme, all brief and occasional, called out by some suggestive thought or incident, and possessing various degrees of merit. "Horseback on the Height" strikes us here as exhibiting the most of the genuine poet.

The third part consists of hymns, in which the author gives in simpler verse the natural expression of a true religious emotion. Most of these too were called forth by special occasions. It requires a peculiar power and a moment of wonderful inspiration to furnish a hymn which the general Church is willing to adopt and endow with permanent life. We looked for such with some expectation in these pages, but are not sure of having found the deathless strain.

There is a genuine poetry with none of its fiction in the simple detail which Stockton gives of the passages of his life. Singular that when he was taken from the Methodist Episcopal Church by our seceding friends of the Methodist Protestant Church, with his young talent just blooming into manly power, he "had never been requested to offer a prayer." Sad, too, it seems to us, that so unwonted a negligence on the part of the Church that should have developed him—*unwonted*, we say, for early Methodism was ever alert to bring out her retiring talent—lost him to us and us to him. He would have had, but for this, an ample regular range for his rare endowments, and we much doubt whether he would have been led into those trains of thought by which he has embraced that—shall we call it?—conscientious crotchet, that denominational organizations are wrong. We have known some anti-denominational movements made in our experience, but they are infallibly involved in the contradiction of being simply an anti-sectarian sect. In spite of themselves they become the very thing they condemn, a denomination; or would so, if their self-contradictory and self-dissolving nature did not forbid.

Dr. Stockton intimates that he has ample materials for a full volume of reminiscence. When we review the range of rare association, ecclesiastical, political, literary, surrounded by which he has lived, it seems to us that it is in his power to furnish a work of no ordinary interest.

Beauties, Selected from the Writings of THOMAS DE QUINCY. 12mo., pp. 482. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862.

In an accidental colloquial rencounter, in his young manhood, with George III., De Quincy had the opportunity to inform royalty that his family was in England as early as the Conquest. One branch of the family emigrated to America, dropped the aristocratic prefix, and he is proud to specify Josiah Quincy in proof that its blood is not unhonored by its democratic branch. He might have added that the name, at least, ascended the presidential chair, borne upon the person of one of the minority of incumbents whose character honored the position. He claims that the family is now "distributed among three mighty nations—France, America, and England—and precisely those three that are usually regarded as the leaders of civilization." And this is in character. For whoever appreciates his native genius, his scholarly finish, the exquisite subtilty of his thought, his transparent and ever varying and richly variegated style, will readily affirm that none but an age of highest civilization could have produced a De Quincy.

The present volume presents an excellent selection from his works. It embraces his own Narrative of his early Life, Dreams, Narratives, Essays, Critiques and Remembrances, and Detached Gems.

Last Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. With a Memorial by THEODORE TILTON. 18mo., pp. 242. New York: James Miller. 1862.

Mrs. Browning is here done up in a style of imitation so close that we for some time imagined that we had in hand a regular specimen of the blue and gold of Ticknor & Fields. The "Memorial" by Theodore Tilton is in the peculiar living and brilliant style which indicate him as one of the most effective writers of the day. His enthusiasm for his subject is glowing; perhaps the man who does the criticism for the Independent might as truly attribute "adoration" to him as to a contributor on the same subject in our last Quarterly.

Mr. Tilton brings out very emphatically Mrs. Browning's earnest sympathy with the American antislavery cause. In America she would have stood foremost in the battle; and doubtless she would have been called upon to brave the obloquy which the northern minions of the southern despotism have poured upon every heroic spirit that has dared to stand for God and the right.

Miscellaneous.

The Tax-Payer's Manual, containing the Act of Congress imposing Direct and Excise Taxes, with complete marginal references, and an analytical index, showing all the items of taxation, the mode of proceeding, and the duties of the officers. With an explanatory preface. 8vo., pp. 128. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1862.

The Adventures of Philip on his Way through the World. Showing who robbed him and who passed by him. By W. M. THACKERAY. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Health; its Friends and Foes. By R. D. MUSSEY, M., LL.D., late Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Dartmouth College. 12mo., pp. 368. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1862.

First Book in Chemistry, for the use of Schools and Families. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College. Illustrated by engravings. 8vo., pp. 231. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862.

Pamphlets.

Martin Van Buren: Lawyer, Statesman, and Man. By WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER. 18mo., pp. 47. New York: Appleton & Co. 1862.

No one can object to Mr. Butler's paying this graceful tribute of affectionate memory to his eminent departed friend. No one can reprehend his dwelling on the better points, and skillfully gliding over the indefensible. History will have a sterner task to perform. It will bring out a large share that Mr. Butler evades, and perhaps reverse some views he presents. To no one more than to Mr. Van Buren do we owe that partisan discipline which has rendered our politics a scramble for spoils, a game of unprincipled selfishness, which has enslaved all just public opinion, and placed our country at the mercy of a well-trained northern subterraneanism, and a controlling southern oligarchy. We are reaping in the present war the bitter fruits of that demoralization.

A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Policy of Count Cavour. Delivered in the Hall of the New York Historical Society, February, 1862. By VINCENZO BOTTA, Ph. D., Professor of Italian Literature in the New York University, late member of Parliament, and Professor of Philosophy in the College of Sardinia. 12mo., pp. 108. New York: G. P. Putnam.

This eloquent tribute to a personage styled by the writer "the great statesman to whom my country is chiefly indebted for its national existence," was delivered before the body named in the title at the request of Bryant, Bancroft, and others of our most distinguished citizens. It was then requested for publication, and its character fully justifies the expectations of the public.

Want of room obliges us to postpone a full notice of "Facts for Priests and People."

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